



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

# Revised Library Edition

NEDL TRANSFER

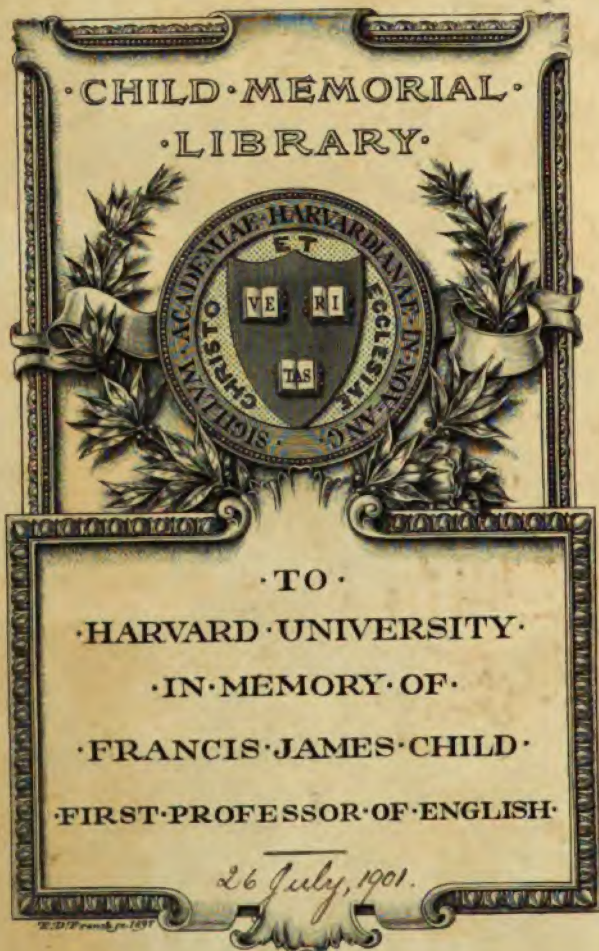


HN 4YX9 Y





KF26770 (2)











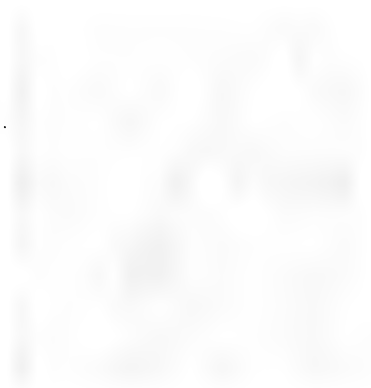


HISTORY  
OF THE  
CONQUEST OF MEXICO.









0

HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF MEXICO

BY  
WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

*"Victrices aquilas alium laturus in orbem."*  
LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, lib. v., v. 238.

EDITED BY JOHN FOSTER KIRK

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. II.

†  
PHILADELPHIA:  
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY.  
1892.

~~2635-10-2~~

KF26770 (2)

26 July 1901  
Harvard University  
Child Memorial Library

Copyright, 1843,  
By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT.

Copyright, 1871,  
By WILLIAM G. PRESCOTT.

Copyright, 1873,  
By J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

Mexico—Vol. II.



# CONTENTS

OF

## THE SECOND VOLUME

### BOOK IV.

#### RESIDENCE IN MEXICO.

#### CHAPTER VII.

**CORTES DESCENDS FROM THE TABLE-LAND.—NEGOTIATES WITH NARVAEZ.  
—PREPARES TO ASSAULT HIM.—QUARTERS OF NARVAEZ.—ATTACK BY  
NIGHT.—NARVAEZ DEFEATED, p. 1.**

	PAGE		PAGE
Cortés crosses the Valley . . .	1	He divides his Forces . . .	10
Reinforced at Cholula . . .	1	Quarters of Narvaez at Cem-	
Falls in with his Envoy . . .	2	poalla . . . . .	11
Unites with Sandoval . . .	3	Cortés crosses the Rio de Ca-	
He reviews his Troops . . .	4	noas . . . . .	12
Embassy from Narvaez . . .	5	Surprises Narvaez by Night .	13
His letter to the General . . .	5	Tumult in his Camp . . .	14
Cortés' Tenure of Authority .	6	Narvaez wounded and taken .	15
Negotiates with Narvaez . .	7	The Sanctuary in Flames . .	15
Spaniards resume their March	8	The Garrisons surrender . .	16
Prepare for the Assault . . .	9	Cortés gives Audience to his	
Cortés harangues the Soldiers	9	Captives . . . . .	18
Their Enthusiasm in his Cause	10	Reflections on the Enterprise	19

#### CHAPTER VIII.

**DISCONTENT OF THE TROOPS.—INSURRECTION IN THE CAPITAL.—RETURN  
OF CORTÉS.—GENERAL SIGNS OF HOSTILITY.—MASSACRE BY ALVARADO.  
—RISING OF THE AZTECS, p. 22.**

Discontent of the Troops of		Arrives at Tlascala . . . .	27
Narvaez . . . . .	22	Beautiful Landscape . . .	28
Policy of Cortés . . . . .	23	Disposition of the Natives .	29
He displeases his Veterans .	23	News from the Spaniards in	
He divides his Forces . . .	24	Mexico . . . . .	30
News of an Insurrection in		Cortés marches to the Capital	30
the Capital . . . . .	25	Signs of Alienation in the	
Cortés prepares to return . .	27	Aztecs . . . . .	30



	PAGE		PAGE
Spaniards re-enter the Capital . . .	30	His Coldness to Montezuma . . .	39
Cause of the Insurrection . . .	31	Cortés releases Montezuma's	
Massacre by Alvarado . . .	32	Brother . . . . .	40
His Apology for the Deed . . .	33	He heads the Aztecs . . . .	40
His probable Motives . . . .	35	The City in Arms . . . . .	40
Rising of the Aztecs . . . .	36	Notice of Oviedo . . . . .	41
Assault the Garrison . . . .	36	His Life and Writings . . . .	43
Cortés reprimands his officer . .	38	Canargo's History . . . . .	44

## BOOK V.

## EXPULSION FROM MEXICO

## CHAPTER I.

DESPERATE ASSAULT ON THE QUARTERS.—FURY OF THE MEXICANS.—  
SALLY OF THE SPANIARDS.—MONTEZUMA ADDRESSES THE PEOPLE.—  
DANGEROUSLY WOUNDED, p. 45.

Quarters of the Spaniards . . .	45	Their Dwellings in Flames . .	53
Desperate Assault of the Az-		Spaniards sound the Retreat .	54
tecs . . . . .	47	Gallantry of Cortés . . . .	54
Cannonade of the Besieged . .	47	Resolute Bearing of the Aztecs	55
Indians fire the Outworks . .	48	Cortés requests Montezuma to	
Fury of the Mexicans . . . .	50	interpose . . . . .	56
Appearance of their Forces . .	51	He ascends the Turret . . . .	57
Sally of the Spaniards . . . .	51	Addresses his Subjects . . . .	58
Aztecs shower Missiles from		Is dangerously wounded . . .	59
the <i>Aztecs</i> . . . . .	53	His Grief and Humiliation . .	59

## CHAPTER II.

STORMING OF THE GREAT TEMPLE.—SPIRIT OF THE AZTECS.—DISTRESSES  
OF THE GARRISON.—SHARP COMBATS IN THE CITY.—DEATH OF MONTE-  
ZUMA, p. 62.

The Aztecs hold the Great		Impeded by the Canals . . .	73
Temple . . . . .	62	Sharp Combats in the City . .	75
It is stormed by the Spaniards	63	Bold Bearing of Cortés . . .	76
Spirited Resistance . . . .	64	Apparition of St. James . . .	77
Bloody Combat on the Area . .	65	Attempt to convert Monte-	
Heroism of Cortés . . . . .	65	zuma . . . . .	78
Spaniards victorious . . . .	66	Its Failure . . . . .	79
Conflagration of the Temple .	67	Last Hours of Montezuma . .	80
Cortés invites a Parley . . .	68	His Character . . . . .	82
He addresses the Aztecs . . .	68	His Posterity . . . . .	84
Spirit of the Aztecs . . . .	69	Effect of his Death on the	
The Spaniards dismayed . . .	69	Spaniards . . . . .	86
Distresses of the Garrison . .	70	Interment of Montezuma . . .	86
Military Machine of Cortés .	72		

CHAPTER III.

**COUNCIL OF WAR.—SPANIARDS EVACUATE THE CITY.—NOCHE TRISTE, OR THE "MELANCHOLY NIGHT."—TERRIBLE SLAUGHTER.—HALT FOR THE NIGHT.—AMOUNT OF LOSSES, p. 88.**

	PAGE		PAGE
Council of War . . . . .	88	Wreck of Bodies and Treasure	96
Predictions of the Astrologer	89	Spaniards arrive at the Third	
Their Effect on Cortés . . . .	89	Breach . . . . .	97
He decides to abandon the		The Cavaliers return to the	
Capital . . . . .	89	Rescue . . . . .	98
Arranges his Order of March	91	Condition of the Rear . . . .	98
Spaniards leave the City . . .	92	Alvarado's Leap . . . . .	99
Noche Triste, or the "Melan-		Sad Spectacle of the Survivors	101
choly Night" . . . . .	93	Feelings of Cortés . . . . .	101
The Capital is roused . . . .	94	Spaniards defile through Ta-	
Spaniards assailed on the		cuba . . . . .	102
Causeway . . . . .	94	Storm the Temple . . . . .	103
The Bridge wedged in the		Halt for the Night . . . . .	103
Stones . . . . .	95	Reflections of the General . .	104
Despair of the Spaniards . . .	95	The Loss of the Spaniards . .	106
Fearful Carnage . . . . .	96		

CHAPTER IV.

**RETREAT OF THE SPANIARDS.—DISTRESSES OF THE ARMY.—PYRAMIDS OF TEOTIHUACAN.—GREAT BATTLE OF OTUMBA, p. 108.**

Quiet of the Mexicans . . . .	108	Sensations of the Spaniards . .	118
The Spaniards resume their		Instructions of Cortés . . . .	119
Retreat . . . . .	108	He leads the Attack . . . . .	119
Distresses of the Army . . . .	110	Great Battle of Otumba . . . .	120
Their heroic Fortitude . . . .	112	Gallantry of the Spaniards . .	120
Pyramids of Teotihuacan . . .	113	Their Forces in Disorder . . .	121
Account of them . . . . .	113	Desperate Effort of Cortés . .	122
Their probable Destination . .	114	The Aztec Chief is slain . . .	122
The <i>Micoatl</i> , or Path of the		The Barbarians put to Flight .	123
Dead . . . . .	116	Rich Spoil for the Victors . .	123
The Races who reared them . .	116	Reflections on the Battle . . .	124
Indian Host in the Valley of			
Otumba . . . . .	117		

CHAPTER V.

**ARRIVAL IN TLASCALA.—FRIENDLY RECEPTION.—DISCONTENTS OF THE ARMY.—JEALOUSY OF THE TLASCALANS.—EMBASSY FROM MEXICO, p. 126.**

Spaniards arrive at Tlascala . .	126	The General's resolute Reply . .	133
Friendly Reception . . . . .	127	Jealousy of the Tlascalans . .	135
Feelings of the Tlascalans . . .	128	Cortés strives to allay it . . .	135
Spaniards recruit their Strength	129	Events in Mexico . . . . .	136
Their further Misfortunes . . .	130	Preparations for Defence . . .	137
Tidings from Villa Rica . . . .	131	Aztec Embassy to Tlascala . .	137
Indomitable Spirit of Cortés . .	131	Stormy Debate in the Senate . .	138
Discontents of the Army . . . .	131	Mexican Alliance rejected . . .	139
Their Remonstrance . . . . .	133		

## CHAPTER VI.

WAR WITH THE SURROUNDING TRIBES.—SUCCESSES OF THE SPANIARDS.  
—DEATH OF MAXIXCA.—ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS.—RETURN IN  
TRIUMPH TO TLASCALA, p. 141.

	PAGE		PAGE
War with the surrounding Tribes . . . . .	141	Building of the Brigantines . . . . .	149
Battle with the Tepeacans . . . . .	142	Death of Maxixca . . . . .	150
They are branded as Slaves . . . . .	143	The Smallpox in Mexico . . . . .	150
Hostilities with the Aztecs renewed . . . . .	145	The disaffected Soldiers leave the Army . . . . .	151
Suspensions of the Allies . . . . .	145	Arrival of Reinforcements . . . . .	152
Cortés heads his Forces . . . . .	145	Further Good Fortune of Cortés . . . . .	153
Capture of Quauhquechollan . . . . .	145	His Letter to the Emperor . . . . .	154
Mexicans routed . . . . .	146	Memorial of the Army . . . . .	155
Spaniards follow up the Blow . . . . .	147	The Policy of Cortés . . . . .	157
Cortés' Treatment of his Allies . . . . .	148	Returns in Triumph to Tlascala . . . . .	157
State of his Resources . . . . .	149	Prepares for the final Campaign . . . . .	159

## CHAPTER VII.

GUATEMOZIN, EMPEROR OF THE AZTECS.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE MARCH.  
—MILITARY CODE.—SPANIARDS CROSS THE SIERRA.—ENTER TEZUCO.  
—PRINCE IXTLILXOCHITL, p. 160.

The Aztec Monarch dies . . . . .	160	Crosses the Sierra . . . . .	171
The Electors appoint another . . . . .	160	Magnificent View of the Valley . . . . .	172
Prayer of the High-priest . . . . .	160	Energy of Cortés . . . . .	174
Guatemozin elected Emperor . . . . .	162	Affairs in Tezucuo . . . . .	174
Prepares for War . . . . .	163	Spaniards arrive there . . . . .	175
Amount of the Spanish Force . . . . .	164	Overtures of the Tezcucans . . . . .	176
Cortés reviews his Troops . . . . .	164	Spanish Quarters in Tezucuo . . . . .	177
His animated Address . . . . .	164	The Inhabitants leave the Town . . . . .	177
Number of the Indian Allies . . . . .	165	Prince Ixtlilxochitl . . . . .	178
Their brilliant Array . . . . .	165	His youthful Excesses . . . . .	179
Military Code of Cortés . . . . .	166	Disputes the Succession . . . . .	180
Its Purpose . . . . .	167	Becomes the fast Friend of the Spaniards . . . . .	181
Its salutary Provisions . . . . .	167	Life and Writings of Gomara . . . . .	181
The Troops begin their March . . . . .	169	Of Bernal Diaz . . . . .	182
Designs of Cortés . . . . .	170		
He selects his Route . . . . .	170		

## BOOK VI.

## SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF MEXICO.

## CHAPTER I.

ARRANGEMENTS AT TEZUCO.—SACK OF IZTAPALAPAN.—ADVANTAGES OF  
THE SPANIARDS.—WISE POLICY OF CORTÉS.—TRANSPORTATION OF THE  
BRIGANTINES, p. 186.

Headquarters at Tezucuo . . . . .	186	Negotiates with the Aztecs . . . . .	188
Cortés distrusts the Natives . . . . .	187	City of Iztapalapan . . . . .	188

PAGE	PAGE
Spaniards march upon it . . . 189	Makes Overtures to Guatemozin . . . . . 198
Sack the Town . . . . . 191	Spirit of the Indian Emperor . 198
Natives break down the Dikes . 191	The Brigantines are completed . 199
Spaniards struggle in the Flood . . . . . 191	Sandoval detached to transport them . . . . . 199
Regain their Quarters in Tezcuco . . . . . 192	Signs of the Massacre at Zoltepec . . . . . 200
Indian Cities tender Allegiance . 193	Reaches Tlascala . . . . . 201
Some ask for Protection . . . 193	Transportation of the Brigantines . . . . . 201
Cortés detaches Sandoval to their Aid . . . . . 193	Joy at their Arrival . . . . . 201
Difficult Situation of Cortés . . 194	Reflections . . . . . 203
His sagacious Policy . . . . . 195	

## CHAPTER II.

CORTÉS RECONNOITRES THE CAPITAL.—OCCUPIES TACUBA.—SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY.—EXPEDITION OF SANDOVAL.—ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS, p. 205.

Cortés reconnoitres the Capital . 205	Embassy from Chalco . . . . . 214
Action at Xaltocan . . . . . 206	Sandoval is detached to defend it . . . . . 215
Spaniards ford the Lake . . . 207	Takes Huartepec . . . . . 216
Towns deserted as they advance . 207	Storms Jacapichtla . . . . . 217
Beautiful Environs of Mexico . 208	Puts the Garrison to the Sword . 217
Cortés occupies Tacuba . . . . 208	Counter-march on Chalco . . . 218
The Allies fire the Town . . . 209	Cortés' Coolness with Sandoval . 218
Ambuscade of the Aztecs . . . 210	His Reconciliation . . . . . 219
Parley with the Enemy . . . . 211	Arrival of Reinforcements . . 220
Single Combats . . . . . 212	The Dominican Friar . . . . . 221
Position of the Parties . . . . 212	
Spaniards return to Tezcuco . . 213	

## CHAPTER III.

SECOND RECONNOITRING EXPEDITION.—ENGAGEMENTS ON THE SIERRA.—CAPTURE OF CUERNAVACA.—BATTLES AT XOCHIMILCO.—NARROW ESCAPE OF CORTÉS.—HE ENTERS TACUBA, p. 222.

Second reconnoitring Expedition . . . . . 222	Cortés recrosses the Sierra . . 231
Preparations for the March . . . 222	Exquisite View of the Valley . 231
Spaniards enter the Sierra . . . 223	Marches against Xochimilco . . 232
Engagements in the Passes . . . 223	Narrow Escape of Cortés . . . 233
Rocks rolled down by the Aztecs . . . . . 224	Chivalric Spirit of the Age . . 234
Enemy routed . . . . . 225	Cortés surveys the Country . . 235
Spaniards bivouac in the Mulberry Grove . . . . . 225	Vigilance in his Quarters . . . 236
Storm the Cliffs . . . . . 226	Battles at Xochimilco . . . . 236
March through the Mountains . . 227	Spaniards Masters of the Town . 237
Arrive at Cuernavaca . . . . . 227	Conflagration of Xochimilco . . 239
Scenery in its Environs . . . . 227	Army arrives at Cojohuacan . . 239
Bold Passage of the Ravine . . . 229	Ambuscade of the Indians . . . 241
Capture of the City . . . . . 230	Spaniards enter Tacuba . . . . 242
	View from its Teocalli . . . . 242
	Strong Emotion of Cortés . . . 243
	Return to Tezcuco . . . . . 244



## CHAPTER IV.

CONSPIRACY IN THE ARMY.—BRIGANTINES LAUNCHED.—MUSTER OF FORCES.—EXECUTION OF XICOTENOATL.—MARCH OF THE ARMY.—BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE, p. 245.

	PAGE		PAGE
Affairs in Spain . . . . .	245	Cortés distributes his Troops . . .	255
Conspiracy in the Camp . . .	246	His Spirited Harangue . . . . .	256
Its Design . . . . .	247	Regulations read to the Army . . .	256
Disclosed to Cortés . . . . .	248	Desertion of Xicotencatl . . . . .	257
The Ringleader executed . . .	249	His Execution . . . . .	258
Policy of Cortés . . . . .	249	His Character . . . . .	259
The General's Body-guard . . .	251	March of the Army . . . . .	260
Brigantines launched . . . . .	252	Quarrel of Olid and Alvarado . . .	260
Impression on the Spectators . .	252	Spaniards destroy the Aqueduct . . . . .	261
Muster of Forces . . . . .	253	Commencement of the Siege . . . .	262
Instructions to the Allies . . .	254		

## CHAPTER V.

INDIAN FLOTILLA DEFEATED.—OCCUPATION OF THE CAUSEWAYS.—DESPERATE ASSAULTS.—FIRING OF THE PALACES.—SPIRIT OF THE BESIEGED.—BARRACKS FOR THE TROOPS, p. 263.

Sandoval marches on Iztapalapan . . . . .	263	Spaniards give Way . . . . .	273
Cortés takes command of the Fleet . . . . .	263	Cavalry to the Rescue . . . . .	274
Indian Flotilla defeated . . . .	265	Retreat to their Quarters . . . . .	274
Cortés occupies Xoloc . . . . .	266	Ixtlilxochitl in the Camp . . . .	276
Sandoval advances to Cojohuacan . . . . .	266	A second Assault . . . . .	276
Skirmishes on the Causeway . . .	267	Spaniards penetrate the City . . .	277
Blockade completed . . . . .	268	Fire the Palace of Arayacatl . . .	277
Simultaneous Assaults on Mexico . . . . .	269	Royal Aviary in Flames . . . . .	278
Ramparts raised by the Aztecs . .	269	Rage of the Mexicans . . . . .	278
Brigantines enfilade the Causeway . . . . .	269	Their Desperation . . . . .	279
Spaniards enter the City . . . . .	270	Sufferings of the Spaniards . . . .	279
Allies demolish the Buildings . .	270	Operations of Guatemozin . . . . .	282
Fierce Battles in the City . . . .	271	His Vigilance . . . . .	282
Spaniards reach the Square . . . .	272	Ambuscade among the Reeds . . . .	283
Storm the Pyramid . . . . .	273	Resources of the Indian Emperor . . . . .	284
Hurl the Priests headlong . . . .	273	Accession of Allies to the Spaniards . . . . .	284
The Aztecs rally . . . . .	273	Barracks for the Troops . . . . .	285
		Hard Fare of the Besiegers . . . .	286
		Spirit of the Aztecs . . . . .	287

## CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL ASSAULT ON THE CITY.—DEFEAT OF THE SPANIARDS.—THEIR DICASTROUS CONDITION.—SACRIFICE OF THE CAPTIVES.—DEFECTION OF THE ALLIES.—CONSTANCY OF THE TROOPS, p. 288.

Views of the Spaniards . . . . .	288	Cortés rebukes Alvarado . . . . .	290
Council of War . . . . .	289	The Enemy give Way . . . . .	291
General Assault on the City . . .	289	Their Cunning Stratagem . . . . .	292

# CONTENTS.

xi

PAGE	PAGE
Horn of Guatemozin sounds . . . 293	His Interview with him . . . 300
Aztecs turn upon their Foe . . . 293	Great Drum beat in the Temple . . . 301
Terrible Rout of the Spaniards . . . 294	Sacrifice of the Captives . . . 302
Imminent Danger of Cortés . . . 294	Sensations of the Spaniards . . . 302
Self-devotion of his Followers . . . 295	Rejoicings of the Aztecs . . . 303
Sharp Struggle on the Causeway . . . . . 296	Prophecy of the Priests . . . 304
His Division retreats . . . . . 297	Defection of the Allies . . . 304
Sandoval and Alvarado . . . . . 297	Gloomy Condition of the Spaniards . . . . . 305
Their Troops driven from the City . . . . . 298	Their Constancy . . . . . 306
Sandoval visits the General . . . 299	Heroism of their Women . . . 306

## CHAPTER VII.

SUCCESSSES OF THE SPANIARDS.—FRUITLESS OFFERS TO GUATEMOZIN.—BUILDINGS RAZED TO THE GROUND.—TERRIBLE FAMINE.—THE TROOPS GAIN THE MARKET-PLACE.—BATTERING ENGINE, p. 308.

Allies return to the Camp . . . 308	Sufferings of the Besieged . . . 318
Accession of Confederates . . . 310	Neglect of their Dead . . . 319
Plan of the Campaign . . . . . 310	Their unconquerable Spirit . . . 320
The Breaches filled . . . . . 312	Conflagration of the Teocalli . . . 321
Famine in the City . . . . . 312	Success of Alvarado . . . . . 321
Fruitless Offers to Guatemozin . . 313	Spaniards in the Market-place . . 324
Council of the Aztecs . . . . . 314	Cortés surveys the City . . . . . 324
Result of their Deliberations . . . 315	Its Desolation . . . . . 325
Buildings razed to the Ground . . . 315	Battering Engine . . . . . 326
Single Combats . . . . . 317	Its Failure . . . . . 327
Guatemozin's Palace in Flames . . 317	

## CHAPTER VIII.

DREADFUL SUFFERINGS OF THE BESIEGED.—SPIRIT OF GUATEMOZIN.—MURDEROUS ASSAULTS.—CAPTURE OF GUATEMOZIN.—EVACUATION OF THE CITY.—TERMINATION OF THE SIEGE.—REFLECTIONS, p. 328.

Dreadful Famine in the City . . . 328	Brought before Cortés . . . . . 342
Cannibalism . . . . . 329	His Wife, Montezuma's Daughter . . . . . 343
The Corpses fill the Streets . . . 329	Furious Thunder-storm . . . . . 344
Pestilence sweeps off Multitudes . . . . . 330	Mexicans abandon their City . . . 345
Alarming Prodiges . . . . . 330	Number of those who perished . . . 345
Spirit of Guatemozin . . . . . 331	Amount of the Spoil . . . . . 347
Cortés requests an Interview with him . . . . . 332	Cortés dismisses his Allies . . . 347
Guatemozin consents . . . . . 333	Rejoicings of the Spaniards . . . 348
He avoids a Parley . . . . . 332	Solemn Thanksgiving . . . . . 348
Murderous Assault . . . . . 334	Reflections . . . . . 349
Appalling Scene of Carnage . . . . 335	Aztec Institutions . . . . . 350
Preparations for the final Attack . . . . . 336	Their moral influence . . . . . 351
Cortés urges an Interview . . . . . 337	Cruelty ascribed to the Spaniards . . . . . 351
The Signal given . . . . . 338	The Conquest as a military Achievement . . . . . 354
Aztecs attempt to escape . . . . . 339	Notice of the Historian Solís . . . 356
Capture of Guatemozin . . . . . 340	His Life and Writings . . . . . 356
Cessation of Hostilities . . . . . 340	Sahagun's Twelfth Book . . . . . 360
Person of Guatemozin . . . . . 342	

## BOOK VII.

## CONCLUSION—SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF CORTÉS.

## CHAPTER I.

**TORTURE OF GUATEMOZIN.—SUBMISSION OF THE COUNTRY.—REBUILDING OF THE CAPITAL.—MISSION TO CASTILE.—COMPLAINTS AGAINST CORTÉS.—HE IS CONFIRMED IN HIS AUTHORITY, p. 361.**

	PAGE		PAGE
Small Amount of Treasure . . . . .	361	Quelled by Sandoval . . . . .	371
Disappointment of the Soldiers . . . . .	362	Fonseca's Hostility to Cortés . . . . .	372
Torture of Guatemozin . . . . .	362	His Cause referred to a select Tribunal . . . . .	373
His Fortitude unshaken . . . . .	362	Accusations against Cortés . . . . .	373
Submission of the Country . . . . .	363	Defence by his Friends . . . . .	373
The Southern Ocean reached . . . . .	364	Acts of Cortés ratified . . . . .	375
Rebuilding of the Capital . . . . .	366	He is confirmed in the supreme Authority . . . . .	375
Aztec Prophecy accomplished . . . . .	366	He triumphs over Fonseca . . . . .	376
Mission to Castile . . . . .	367	Mortification of Velasquez . . . . .	377
Envoys captured by the French . . . . .	368	His Death and Character . . . . .	377
Charges against Cortés . . . . .	369		
Tápia sent to New Spain . . . . .	370		
Insurrection of the Natives . . . . .	371		

## CHAPTER II.

**MODERN MEXICO.—SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY.—CONDITION OF THE NATIVES.—CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.—CULTIVATION OF THE SOIL.—VOYAGES AND EXPEDITIONS, p. 379.**

Mexico rebuilt . . . . .	379	Treatment of the Natives . . . . .	388
Edifices in the City . . . . .	380	Franciscan Missionaries . . . . .	388
Its Fortress . . . . .	381	Their Reception by Cortés . . . . .	389
Its Population . . . . .	382	Progress of Conversion . . . . .	391
Settlement of the Country . . . . .	382	Settlements of the Conquerors . . . . .	392
Encouragements to Marriage . . . . .	383	Cultivation of the Soil . . . . .	393
The Wife of Cortés arrives in Mexico . . . . .	384	Fleet burnt at Zacatula . . . . .	393
Her Death . . . . .	385	Voyages to discover a Strait . . . . .	394
System of <i>Repartimientos</i> . . . . .	386	Expedition of Alvarado . . . . .	396
Reward of the Tlascalans . . . . .	387	Result of the Enterprises of Cortés . . . . .	396

## CHAPTER III.

**DEFECTION OF OLID.—DREADFUL MARCH TO HONDURAS.—EXECUTION OF GUATEMOZIN.—DOÑA MARINA.—ARRIVAL AT HONDURAS, p. 398.**

Defection of Olid . . . . .	398	Lost in the Mazes of the Forests . . . . .	403
Cortés prepares to visit Honduras . . . . .	399	Builds a stupendous Bridge . . . . .	403
The General's Retinue . . . . .	399	Horses sink in the Marshes . . . . .	404
Obstacles on the March . . . . .	401	Reports of a Conspiracy . . . . .	404
Passes near Palenque . . . . .	402	Guatemozin arrested . . . . .	405
		His Execution . . . . .	405

# CONTENTS.

xiii

	PAGE		PAGE
His Character . . . . .	406	Missionaries in the Isles of	
Feelings of the Army . . . . .	408	Peten . . . . .	412
Cause of the Execution . . . . .	408	Passage of "the Mountain of	
Cortés' Remorse . . . . .	409	Flints" . . . . .	413
Prosecution of the March . . . . .	409	Army arrives at Honduras . . . . .	413
Leaving of Peten . . . . .	409	Famine in the Colony . . . . .	414
Donña Marina . . . . .	410	Cortés reaches Truxillo . . . . .	415
Her Meeting with her Mother . . . . .	410	Prepares to reduce Nicaragua . . . . .	415
She marries a Castilian Knight . . . . .	411	His romantic Daring . . . . .	415
Her Son Don Martin . . . . .	411	Tidings from Mexico . . . . .	416

## CHAPTER IV.

**DISTURBANCES IN MEXICO.—RETURN OF CORTÉS.—DISTRUST OF THE COURT.—CORTÉS RETURNS TO SPAIN.—DEATH OF SANDOVAL.—BRILLIANT RECEPTION OF CORTÉS.—HONOURS CONFERRED ON HIM, p. 417.**

Misrule in Mexico . . . . .	417	He lands at Palos . . . . .	428
Cortés attempts to return . . . . .	418	His Meeting with Pizarro . . . . .	428
Driven back by the Tempest . . . . .	418	Death of Sandoval . . . . .	429
His Despondency . . . . .	418	His Person and Character . . . . .	430
Embarks once more for Mexico . . . . .	419	Brilliant Reception of Cortés . . . . .	431
Lands near San Juan de Ulua . . . . .	419	Sensation caused by his Presence . . . . .	431
Progress to the Capital . . . . .	419	Admitted to an Audience by the Emperor . . . . .	432
Cortés re-enters Mexico in State . . . . .	419	Charles V. visits him when ill . . . . .	433
Distrust of the Crown . . . . .	421	He is made Marquis of the Valley . . . . .	433
Ponce de Leon sent as Commissioner . . . . .	422	Grants of Lands and Vassals . . . . .	434
He dies on his Arrival . . . . .	422	Refused the Government of Mexico . . . . .	435
Appoints Estrada his Successor . . . . .	422	Reinstated in his military Command . . . . .	435
Affronts to Cortés . . . . .	424	Cortés' second Marriage . . . . .	436
He leaves the City . . . . .	425	Splendid Presents to his Bride . . . . .	436
The Commission of the Royal Audience . . . . .	425	His Residence at Court . . . . .	437
Cortés determines to return to Spain . . . . .	426		
News of his Father's Death . . . . .	427		
Preparations for Departure . . . . .	427		

## CHAPTER V.

**CORTÉS REVISITS MEXICO.—RETIRE TO HIS ESTATES.—HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.—FINAL RETURN TO CASTILE.—COLD RECEPTION.—DEATH OF CORTÉS.—HIS CHARACTER, p. 438.**

Cortés embarks for Mexico . . . . .	438	Disastrous Expedition . . . . .	444
Stops at Hispaniola . . . . .	438	Arrival of a Viceroy . . . . .	445
Proceedings of the Audience . . . . .	438	Policy of the Crown . . . . .	445
Cortés lands at Villa Rica . . . . .	441	Maritime Enterprises of Cortés . . . . .	447
Reception in Mexico . . . . .	441	His Disgust with Mendoza . . . . .	448
Retires to his Estates . . . . .	442	His final Return to Castile . . . . .	448
His improvement of them . . . . .	443	He joins the Expedition to Algiers . . . . .	449
His Voyages of Discovery . . . . .	444		
He embarks for California . . . . .	444		

	PAGE		PAGE
His cold Reception by Charles V. . . . .	450	His funeral Obsequies . . . .	455
Cortés' last Letter to the Emperor . . . . .	450	Fate of his Remains . . . .	456
Taken ill at Seville . . . .	452	Posterity of Cortés . . . .	458
His Will . . . . .	452	His Character . . . . .	459
Scruples of Conscience as to Slavery . . . . .	453	His Knight-errantry . . . .	459
Views entertained on this Topic . . . . .	453	His military Genius . . . .	460
He moves to Castilleja . . . .	454	Power over his Soldiers . . .	461
Death of Cortés . . . . .	455	Character as a Conqueror . .	463
		His enlightened Views . . .	463
		His private Life . . . . .	464
		His Bigotry . . . . .	465
		His Manners and Habits . . .	467

## APPENDIX, PART I.

### ORIGIN OF THE MEXICAN CIVILIZATION—ANALOGIES WITH THE OLD WORLD.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE . . . .	471	Analgies from Science . . . .	486
Speculations on the New World . . . . .	473	Chronological System . . . .	486
Manner of its Population . . .	473	Hieroglyphics and Symbols . .	486
Plato's Atlantis . . . . .	473	Adjustment of Time . . . .	487
Modern Theory . . . . .	475	Affinities of Language . . . .	487
Communication with the Old World . . . . .	475	Difficulties of Comparison . .	489
Origin of American Civilization . . . . .	476	Traditions of Migration . . .	490
Plan of the Essay . . . . .	477	Tests of their Truth . . . .	491
Analgies suggested by the Mexicans to the Old World . . .	477	Physical Analogies . . . . .	491
Their Traditions of the Deluge .	478	Architectural Remains . . . .	493
Resemble the Hebrew Accounts . . . . .	478	Destructive Spirit of the Spaniards . . . . .	493
Temple of Cholula . . . . .	479	Ruins in Chiapa and Yucatan .	494
Analogy to the Tower of Babel .	479	Works of Art . . . . .	495
The Mexican Eve . . . . .	480	Tools for Building . . . . .	495
The God Quetzalcoatl . . . .	480	Little Resemblance to Egyptian Art . . . . .	495
Natural Errors of the Missionaries . . . . .	481	Sculpture . . . . .	496
The Cross in Anahuac . . . .	481	Hieroglyphics . . . . .	496
Eucharist and Baptism . . . .	482	Probable Age of these Monuments . . . . .	498
Chroniclers strive for Coincidences . . . . .	483	Their probable Architects . .	498
Argument drawn from these . .	484	Difficulties in forming a Conclusion . . . . .	500
Resemblance of social Usages .	484	Ignorance of Iron and of Milk .	501
		Unsatisfactory Explanations .	502
		General Conclusions . . . .	502

# APPENDIX, PART II.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Aztec Mother's Advice to her		Extract from Camargo's Tlascalala	522
Daughter . . . . .	504	Extract from Oviedo's History	524
Translations of Nezahualcoyotl's Poem . . . . .	507	Dialogue of Oviedo with Cano	527
Palace of Tezcotzinco . . . . .	511	Privilege of Doña Isabel de Montezuma . . . . .	533
Punishment of the guilty Tezcucan Queen . . . . .	513	Military Ordinances of Cortés	536
Velasquez's Instructions to Cortés . . . . .	514	Extracts from the Fifth Letter of Cortés . . . . .	540
Extract from Las Casas' History . . . . .	517	Last Letter of Cortés . . . . .	543
Deposition of Puerto Carrero . . . . .	518	Account of his funeral Obsequies . . . . .	546
Extract from the Letter of Vera Cruz . . . . .	521		













# CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

---

## BOOK IV.

### RESIDENCE IN MEXICO.

---

#### CHAPTER VII.

*Cortés descends from the Table-land.—Negotiates with Narvaez.—Prepares to Assault him.—Quarters of Narvaez.—Attack by Night.—Narvaez Defeated.*

1520.

TRAVERSING the southern causeway, by which they had entered the capital, the little party were soon on their march across the beautiful Valley. They climbed the mountain screen which Nature had so ineffectually drawn around it, passed between the huge volcanoes that, like faithless watch-dogs on their posts, have long since been buried in slumber, threaded the intricate defiles where they had before experienced such bleak and tempestuous weather, and, emerging on the other side, descended the western slope which opens on the wide expanse of the fruitful plateau of Cholula.

They heeded little of what they saw on their rapid march, nor whether it was cold or hot. The anxiety of their minds made them indifferent to outward annoyances; and they had fortunately none to encounter from the natives, for the name of Spaniard was in itself a charm,—a better guard than helm or buckler to the bearer.

In Cholula, Cortés had the inexpressible satisfaction of meeting Velasquez de Leon, with the hundred

VOL. II.

B

and twenty soldiers intrusted to his command for the formation of a colony. That faithful officer had been some time at Cholula, waiting for the general's approach. Had he failed, the enterprise of Cortés must have failed also.<sup>1</sup> The idea of resistance, with his own handful of followers, would have been chimerical. As it was, his little band was now trebled, and acquired a confidence in proportion.

Cordially embracing their companions in arms, now knit together more closely than ever by the sense of a great and common danger, the combined troops traversed with quick step the streets of the sacred city, where many a dark pile of ruins told of their disastrous visit on the preceding autumn. They kept the high-road to Tlascala, and, at not many leagues' distance from that capital, fell in with Father Olmedo and his companions on their return from the camp of Narvaez, to which, it will be remembered, they had been sent as envoys. The ecclesiastic bore a letter from that commander, in which he summoned Cortés and his followers to submit to his authority as captain-general of the country, menacing them with condign punishment in case of refusal or delay. Olmedo gave many curious particulars of the state of the enemy's camp. Narvaez he described as puffed up by authority, and negligent of precautions against a foe whom he held in contempt. He was surrounded by a number of pompous, conceited officers, who ministered to his vanity, and whose braggart tones the good father, who had an eye for the ridiculous, imitated, to the no small diversion of Cortés and the soldiers. Many of the troops, he said, showed no great partiality for their commander, and were strongly disinclined to a rupture with their countrymen; a state of feeling much promoted by the accounts they had received of Cortés, by his own arguments and

<sup>1</sup>So says Oviedo,—and with truth: "Si aquel capitan Juan Velasquez de Leon no estubiera mal con su pariente Diego Velasquez, é se pasara con los 150 Hom-

bres, que havia llevado á Guacacalco, á la parte de Pánfilo de Narvaez su cuñado, acabado oviera Cortés su oficio." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 12.

promises, and by the liberal distribution of the gold with which he had been provided. In addition to these matters, Cortés gathered much important intelligence respecting the position of the enemy's force and his general plan of operations.

At Tlascala the Spaniards were received with a frank and friendly hospitality. It is not said whether any of the Tlascalan allies had accompanied them from Mexico. If they did, they went no farther than their native city. Cortés requested a reinforcement of six hundred fresh troops to attend him on his present expedition. It was readily granted; but, before the army had proceeded many miles on its route, the Indian auxiliaries fell off, one after another, and returned to their city. They had no personal feeling of animosity to gratify in the present instance, as in a war against Mexico. It may be, too, that, although intrepid in a contest with the bravest of the Indian races, they had had too fatal experience of the prowess of the white men to care to measure swords with them again. At any rate, they deserted in such numbers that Cortés dismissed the remainder at once, saying, good-humoredly, "He had rather part with them then than in the hour of trial."

The troops soon entered on that wild district in the neighbourhood of Perote, strewn with the wreck of volcanic matter, which forms so singular a contrast to the general character of beauty with which the scenery is stamped. It was not long before their eyes were gladdened by the approach of Sandoval and about sixty soldiers from the garrison of Vera Cruz, including several deserters from the enemy. It was a most important reinforcement, not more on account of the numbers of the men than of the character of the commander, in every respect one of the ablest captains in the service. He had been compelled to fetch a circuit in order to avoid falling in with the enemy, and had forced his way through thick forests and wild mountain-passes, till he had fortunately, without accident, reached

the appointed place of rendezvous and stationed himself once more under the banner of his chieftain.<sup>2</sup>

At the same place, also, Cortés was met by Tobillos, a Spaniard whom he had sent to procure the lances from Chinantla. They were perfectly well made, after the pattern which had been given,—double-headed spears, tipped with copper, and of great length. Tobillos drilled the men in the exercise of this weapon, the formidable uses of which, especially against horse, had been fully demonstrated, towards the close of the last century, by the Swiss battalions, in their encounters with the Burgundian chivalry, the best in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Cortés now took a review of his army,—if so paltry a force may be called an army,—and found their numbers were two hundred and sixty-six, only five of whom were mounted. A few muskets and cross-bows were sprinkled among them. In defensive armour they were sadly deficient. They were for the most part cased in the quilted doublet of the country, thickly stuffed with cotton, the *escarpil*, recommended by its superior lightness, but which, though competent to turn the arrow of the Indian, was ineffectual against a musket-ball. Most of this cotton mail was exceedingly out of repair, giving evidence, in its unsightly gaps, of much rude service and hard blows. Few, in this emergency, but would have given almost any price—the best of the gold chains which they wore in tawdry display over their poor habiliments—for a steel morion or cuirass, to take the place of their own hacked and battered armour.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 123, 124.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 115-117.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 12.

<sup>3</sup> But, although irresistible against cavalry, the long pike of the German proved no match for the short sword and buckler of the Spaniard, in the great battle of Ravenna, fought a few years before this, 1512. Machiavelli makes some

excellent reflections on the comparative merit of these arms. Arte della Guerra, lib. 2, ap. Opere, tom. iv. p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 118.—"Tambien quiero dezir la gran necesidad que teniamos de armas, que por vn peto, ó capacete, ó casco, ó babera de hierro, dieramos aquella noche quãto nos pidiera por ello, y todo quãto auiamos ganado." Cap. 122.

Under this coarse covering, however, they bore hearts stout and courageous as ever beat in human bosoms. For they were the heroes, still invincible, of many a hard-fought field, where the odds had been incalculably against them. They had large experience of the country and of the natives, and knew well the character of their own commander, under whose eye they had been trained till every movement was in obedience to him. The whole body seemed to constitute but a single individual, in respect of unity of design and of action. Thus its real effective force was incredibly augmented; and, what was no less important, the humblest soldier felt it to be so.

The troops now resumed their march across the table-land, until, reaching the eastern slope, their labours were lightened, as they descended towards the broad plains of the *tierra caliente*, spread out like a boundless ocean of verdure below them. At some fifteen leagues' distance from Cempoalla, where Narvaez, as has been noticed, had established his quarters, they were met by another embassy from that commander. It consisted of the priest, Guevara, Andres de Duero, and two or three others. Duero, the fast friend of Cortés, had been the person most instrumental, originally, in obtaining him his commission from Velasquez. They now greeted each other with a warm embrace, and it was not till after much preliminary conversation on private matters that the secretary disclosed the object of his visit.

He bore a letter from Narvaez, couched in terms somewhat different from the preceding. That officer required, indeed, the acknowledgment of his paramount authority in the land, but offered his vessels to transport all, who desired it, from the country, together with their treasures and effects, without molestation or inquiry. The more liberal tenor of these terms was, doubtless, to be ascribed to the influence of Duero. The secretary strongly urged Cortés to comply with them, as the most favourable that could be obtained,



and as the only alternative affording him a chance of safety in his desperate condition. "For, however valiant your men may be, how can they expect," he asked, "to face a force so much superior in numbers and equipment as that of their antagonist?" But Cortés had set his fortunes on the cast, and he was not the man to shrink from it. "If Narvaez bears a royal commission," he returned, "I will readily submit to him. But he has produced none. He is a deputy of my rival, Velasquez. For myself, I am a servant of the king; I have conquered the country for him; and for him I and my brave followers will defend it, be assured, to the last drop of our blood. If we fall, it will be glory enough to have perished in the discharge of our duty."<sup>5</sup>

His friend might have been somewhat puzzled to comprehend how the authority of Cortés rested on a different ground from that of Narvaez; and if they both held of the same superior, the governor of Cuba, why that dignitary should not be empowered to supersede his own officer, in case of dissatisfaction, and appoint a substitute.<sup>6</sup> But Cortés here reaped the full

<sup>5</sup>"Yo les respondí, que no via provision de Vuestra Alteza, por donde le debiese entregar la Tierra; é que si alguna trahia, que la presentasse ante mí, y ante el Cabildo de la Vera Cruz, segun orden, y costumbre de España, y que yo estaba presto de la obedecer, y cumplir; y que hasta tanto, por ningun interese, ni partido haria lo que él decia; ántes yo, y los que conmigo estaban, moriríamos en defensa de la Tierra, pues la habíamos ganado, y tenido por Vuestra Magestad pacífica, y segura, y por no ser Traydores y desleales á nuestro Rey. . . . Considerando, que morir en servicio de mi Rey, y por defender, y amparar sus Tierras, y no las dejar usurpar, á mí, y á los de mi Compañía se nos seguia tanta gloria." Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 125-127.

<sup>6</sup>Such are the natural reflections of Oviedo, speculating on the matter some years later. "É tambien que me pareca donaire, ó no bastante la escusa que Cortés da para fundar é justificar su negocio, que es decir, que el Narvaez presentase las provisiones que llevaba de S. M. Como si el dicho Cortés oviera ido á aquella tierra por mandado de S. M. ó con mas, ni tanta autoridad como llevaba Narvaez; pues que es claro é notorio, que el Adelantado Diego Velasquez, que embió á Cortés, era parte, segun derecho, para le embiar á remover, y el Cortés obligado á le obedecer. No quiero decir mas en esto por no ser odioso á ninguna de las partes." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 12.

benefit of that legal fiction, if it may be so termed, by which his commission, resigned to the self-constituted municipality of Vera Cruz, was again derived through that body from the crown. The device, indeed, was too palpable to impose on any but those who chose to be blinded. Most of the army were of this number. To them it seemed to give additional confidence, in the same manner as a strip of painted canvas, when substituted, as it has sometimes been, for a real parapet of stone, has been found not merely to impose on the enemy, but to give a sort of artificial courage to the defenders concealed behind it.<sup>7</sup>

Duero had arranged with his friend in Cuba, when he took command of the expedition, that he himself was to have a liberal share of the profits. It is said that Cortés confirmed this arrangement at the present juncture, and made it clearly for the other's interest that he should prevail in the struggle with Narvaez. This was an important point, considering the position of the secretary.<sup>8</sup> From this authentic source the general derived much information respecting the designs of Narvaez, which had escaped the knowledge of Olmedo. On the departure of the envoys, Cortés intrusted them with a letter for his rival, a counterpart of that which he had received from him. This show of negotiation intimated a desire on his part to postpone, if not avoid, hostilities, which might the better put Narvaez off his guard. In the letter he summoned that commander and his followers to present themselves before him without delay, and to acknowledge his authority as the representative of his sovereign. He should otherwise be compelled to proceed against them as rebels to the crown!<sup>9</sup> With this

<sup>7</sup> More than one example of this *ruse* is mentioned by Mariana in Spanish history, though the precise passages have escaped my memory.

<sup>8</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 119.

<sup>9</sup> “*É* assimismo mandaba, y

mandé por el dicho Mandamiento á todas las Personas, que con el dicho Narvaez estaban, que no tubiesen, ni obedeciesen al dicho Narvaez por tal Capitan, ni Justicia; ántes, dentro de cierto término, que en el dicho Mandamiento señalé, pare-

missive, the vaunting tone of which was intended quite as much for his own troops as the enemy, Cortés dismissed the envoys. They returned to disseminate among their comrades their admiration of the general, and of his unbounded liberality, of which he took care they should experience full measure, and they dilated on the riches of his adherents, who, over their wretched attire, displayed, with ostentatious profusion, jewels ornaments of gold, collars, and massive chains winding several times round their necks and bodies, the rich spoil of the treasury of Montezuma.

The army now took its way across the level plains of the *tierra caliente*, on which Nature has exhausted all the wonders of creation; it was covered more thickly than at the present day with noble forests, where the towering cottonwood-tree, the growth of ages, stood side by side with the light bamboo or banana, the product of a season, each in its way attesting the marvellous fecundity of the soil, while innumerable creeping flowers, muffling up the giant branches of the trees, waved in bright festoons above their heads, loading the air with odours. But the senses of the Spaniards were not open to the delicious influences of nature. Their minds were occupied by one idea.

Coming upon an open reach of meadow, of some extent, they were at length stopped by a river, or rather stream, called *Rio de Canoas*, "the River of Canoes," of no great volume ordinarily, but swollen at this time by excessive rains. It had rained hard that day, although at intervals the sun had broken forth with intolerable fervour, affording a good specimen of those alternations of heat and moisture which give such activity to vegetation in the tropics, where the process of forcing seems to be always going on.

The river was about a league distant from the camp

ciessen ante mí, para que yo les dijese, lo que debían hacer en servicio de Vuestra Alteza: con protestacion, que lo contrario haciendo, procedería contra ellos, como

contra Traydores, y aleves, y malos Vasallos, que se rebelaban contra su Rey, y quieren usurpar sus Tierras, y Señoríos." Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 127.

of Narvaez. Before seeking out a practicable ford by which to cross it, Cortés allowed his men to recruit their exhausted strength by stretching themselves on the ground. The shades of evening had gathered round; and the rising moon, wading through dark masses of cloud, shone with a doubtful and interrupted light. It was evident that the storm had not yet spent its fury.<sup>10</sup> Cortés did not regret this. He had made up his mind to an assault that very night, and in the darkness and uproar of the tempest his movements would be most effectually concealed.

Before disclosing his design, he addressed his men in one of those stirring, soldierly harangues to which he had recourse in emergencies of great moment, as if to sound the depths of their hearts, and, where any faltered, to reanimate them with his own heroic spirit. He briefly recapitulated the great events of the campaign, the dangers they had surmounted, the victories they had achieved over the most appalling odds, the glorious spoil they had won. But of this they were now to be defrauded; not by men holding a legal warrant from the crown, but by adventurers, with no better title than that of superior force. They had established a claim on the gratitude of their country and their sovereign. This claim was now to be dishonoured, their very services were converted into crimes, and their names branded with infamy as those of traitors. But the time had at last come for vengeance. God would not desert the soldier of the Cross. Those whom he had carried victorious through greater dangers would not be left to fail now. And, if they should fail, better to die like brave men on the field of battle, than, with fame and fortune cast away, to perish ignominiously like slaves on the gibbet. This last point he urged home upon his hearers; well knowing there was not one among them so dull as not to be touched by it.

<sup>10</sup> "Y aun llouia de rato en rato, y entonces salia la Luna, que quando allí llegámos hazia muy escuro, y

llouia, y tambien la escuridad ayudó." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 122.

They responded with hearty acclamations, and Velasquez de Leon, and de Lugo, in the name of the rest, assured their commander, if they failed, it should be his fault, not theirs. They would follow wherever he led. The general was fully satisfied with the temper of his soldiers, as he felt that his difficulty lay not in awakening their enthusiasm, but in giving it a right direction. One thing is remarkable. He made no allusion to the defection which he knew existed in the enemy's camp. He would have his soldiers, in this last pinch, rely on nothing but themselves.

He announced his purpose to attack the enemy that very night, when he should be buried in slumber, and the friendly darkness might throw a veil over their own movements and conceal the poverty of their numbers. To this the troops, jaded though they were by incessant marching, and half famished, joyfully assented. In their situation, suspense was the worst of evils. He next distributed the commands among his captains. To Gonzalo de Sandoval he assigned the important office of taking Narvaez. He was commanded, as *alguacil mayor*, to seize the person of that officer as a rebel to his sovereign, and, if he made resistance, to kill him on the spot.<sup>11</sup> He was provided with sixty picked men to aid him in this difficult task, supported by several of the ablest captains, among whom were two of the Alvarados, de Avila, and Ordaz. The largest division of the force was placed under Cristóval de Olid, or, according to some authorities, of Pizarro, one of that family so renowned in the subsequent conquest of Peru. He was to get possession of the artillery, and to cover the assault of Sandoval by keeping those of the enemy

<sup>11</sup> The Attorney of Narvaez, in his complaint before the crown, expatiates on the diabolical enormity of these instructions. "El dho Fernando Cortés como traidor al-boso, sin apereibir al dho mi parte, con un diabólico pensam<sup>to</sup> é infernal osadía, en contemto é menosprecio de V. M. ó de sus provisiones R.",

no mirando ni asattando la lealtad q<sup>a</sup> debia á V. M., el dho Cortés dió un Mandamiento al dho Gonzalo de Sandoval para que prendiese al dho Pánfilo de Narvaez, é si se defendiese q<sup>o</sup> lo mactase." Demanda de Zavallos en nombre de Narvaez, MS.

at bay who would interfere with it. Cortés reserved only a body of twenty men for himself, to act on any point that occasion might require. The watch-word was *Espíritu Santo*, it being the evening of Whit-Sunday. Having made these arrangements, he prepared to cross the river.<sup>12</sup>

During the interval thus occupied by Cortés, Narvaez had remained at Cempoalla, passing his days in idle and frivolous amusement. From this he was at length roused, after the return of Duero, by the remonstrances of the old cacique of the city. "Why are you so heedless?" exclaimed the latter; "do you think Malinche is so? Depend on it, he knows your situation exactly, and, when you least dream of it, he will be upon you."<sup>13</sup>

Alarmed at these suggestions and those of his friends, Narvaez at length put himself at the head of his troops, and, on the very day on which Cortés arrived at the River of Canoes, sallied out to meet him. But, when he had reached this barrier, Narvaez saw no sign of an enemy. The rain, which fell in torrents, soon drenched the soldiers to the skin. Made somewhat effeminate by their long and luxurious residence at Cempoalla, they murmured at their uncomfortable situation. "Of what use was it to remain there fighting with the elements? There was no sign of an enemy, and little reason to apprehend his approach in such tempestuous weather. It would be wiser to return to Cempoalla, and in the morning they should be all fresh for action, should Cortés make his appearance."

Narvaez took counsel of these advisers, or rather of his own inclinations. Before retracing his steps, he provided against surprise by stationing a couple of

<sup>12</sup> Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 12, 47.—Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 122.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 1.

<sup>13</sup> "Que hazeis, que estais mui descuidado? pensais que Malinche,

y los Tenles que trae cõsigo, que son assí como vosotros? Pues yo os digo, que quãdo no os cataredes, será aqui, y os matará." Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 121.

sentinels at no great distance from the river, to give notice of the approach of Cortés. He also detached a body of forty horse in another direction, by which he thought it not improbable the enemy might advance on Cempoalla. Having taken these precautions, he fell back again before night on his own quarters.

He there occupied the principal *teocalli*. It consisted of a stone building on the usual pyramidal basis; and the ascent was by a flight of steep steps on one of the faces of the pyramid. In the edifice or sanctuary above he stationed himself with a strong party of arquebusiers and crossbowmen. Two other *teocallis* in the same area were garrisoned by large detachments of infantry. His artillery, consisting of seventeen or eighteen small guns, he posted in the area below, and protected it by the remainder of his cavalry. When he had thus distributed his forces, he returned to his own quarters, and soon after to repose, with as much indifference as if his rival had been on the other side of the Atlantic, instead of a neighbouring stream.

That stream was now converted by the deluge of waters into a furious torrent. It was with difficulty that a practicable ford could be found. The slippery stones, rolling beneath the feet, gave way at every step. The difficulty of the passage was much increased by the darkness and driving tempest. Still, with their long pikes, the Spaniards contrived to make good their footing,—at least, all but two, who were swept down by the fury of the current. When they had reached the opposite side, they had new impediments to encounter, in traversing a road, never good, now made doubly difficult by the deep mire, and the tangled brushwood with which it was overrun.

Here they met with a cross, which had been raised by them on their former march into the interior. They hailed it as a good omen; and Cortés, kneeling before the blessed sign, confessed his sins, and declared his great object to be the triumph of the holy

Catholic faith. The army followed his example, and, having made a general confession, received absolution from Father Olmedo, who invoked the blessing of Heaven on the warriors who had consecrated their swords to the glory of the Cross. Then rising up and embracing one another, as companions in the good cause, they found themselves wonderfully invigorated and refreshed. The incident is curious, and well illustrates the character of the time,—in which war, religion, and rapine were so intimately blended together. Adjoining the road was a little coppice; and Cortés, and the few who had horses, dismounting, fastened the animals to the trees, where they might find some shelter from the storm. They deposited there, too, their baggage, and such superfluous articles as would encumber their movements. The general then gave them a few last words of advice. "Everything," said he, "depends on obedience. Let no man, from desire of distinguishing himself, break his ranks. On silence, despatch, and, above all, obedience to your officers, the success of our enterprise depends."

Silently and stealthily they held on their way, without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, when they suddenly came on the two sentinels who had been stationed by Narvaez to give notice of their approach. This had been so noiseless that the vedettes were both of them surprised on their post, and one only, with difficulty, effected his escape. The other was brought before Cortés. Every effort was made to draw from him some account of the present position of Narvaez. But the man remained obstinately silent; and, though threatened with the gibbet, and having a noose actually drawn round his neck, his Spartan heroism was not to be vanquished. Fortunately, no change had taken place in the arrangements of Narvaez since the intelligence previously derived from Duero.

The other sentinel, who had escaped, carried the news of the enemy's approach to the camp. But his



report was not credited by the lazy soldiers whose slumbers he had disturbed. "He had been deceived by his fears," they said, "and mistaken the noise of the storm and the waving of the bushes for the enemy. Cortés and his men were far enough on the other side of the river, which they would be slow to cross in such a night." Narvaez himself shared in the same blind infatuation, and the discredited sentinel slunk abashed to his own quarters, vainly menacing them with the consequences of their incredulity.<sup>14</sup>

Cortés, not doubting that the sentinel's report must alarm the enemy's camp, quickened his pace. As he drew near, he discerned a light in one of the lofty towers of the city. "It is the quarters of Narvaez," he exclaimed to Sandoval, "and that light must be your beacon." On entering the suburbs, the Spaniards were surprised to find no one stirring, and no symptom of alarm. Not a sound was to be heard, except the measured tread of their own footsteps, half drowned in the howling of the tempest. Still they could not move so stealthily as altogether to elude notice, as they defiled through the streets of this populous city. The tidings were quickly conveyed to the enemy's quarters, where in an instant all was bustle and confusion. The trumpets sounded to arms. The dragoons sprang to their steeds, the artillery-men to their guns. Narvaez hastily buckled on his armour, called his men around him, and summoned those in the neighbouring *teocallis* to join him in the area. He gave his orders with coolness; for, however wanting in prudence, he was not deficient in presence of mind, or courage.

All this was the work of a few minutes. But in those minutes the Spaniards had reached the avenue leading to the camp. Cortés ordered his men to keep close to the walls of the buildings, that the cannon-

<sup>14</sup> Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 128.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—Her-

rera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 2, 3.

shot might pass between the two files.<sup>18</sup> No sooner had they presented themselves before the enclosure, than the artillery of Narvaez opened a general fire. Fortunately, the pieces were pointed so high that most of the balls passed over their heads, and three men only were struck down. They did not give the enemy time to reload. Cortés shouting the watch-word of the night, "Espíritu Santo! Espíritu Santo! Upon them!" in a moment Olid and his division rushed on the artillery-men, whom they pierced or knocked down with their pikes, and got possession of their guns. Another division engaged the cavalry, and made a diversion in favour of Sandoval, who with his gallant little band sprang up the great stairway of the temple. They were received with a shower of missiles,—arrows and musket-balls, which, in the hurried aim, and the darkness of the night, did little mischief. The next minute the assailants were on the platform, engaged hand to hand with their foes. Narvaez fought bravely in the midst, encouraging his followers. His standard-bearer fell by his side, run through the body. He himself received several wounds; for his short sword was no match for the long pikes of the assailants. At length he received a blow from a spear, which struck out his left eye. "Santa Maria!" exclaimed the unhappy man, "I am slain!" The cry was instantly taken up by the followers of Cortés, who shouted "Victory!"

Disabled, and half mad with agony from his wound, Narvaez was withdrawn by his men into the sanctuary. The assailants endeavoured to force an entrance, but it was stoutly defended. At length a soldier, getting possession of a torch or firebrand, flung it on the thatched roof, and in a few moments the combustible materials of which it was composed were in a blaze.

<sup>18</sup> "Ya que se acercaban al Apoyento de Narvaez, Cortés, que andaba reconociendo, i ordenando á todas partes, dixo á la Tropa de Sandoval: Señores, arrimaos á las

dos aceras de la Calle, para que las balas del Artillería pasen por medio, sin hacer daño." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 3.

Those within were driven out by the suffocating heat and smoke. A soldier named Farfan grappled with the wounded commander, and easily brought him to the ground; when he was speedily dragged down the steps, and secured with fetters. His followers, seeing the fate of their chief, made no further resistance.<sup>16</sup>

During this time, Cortés and the troops of Olid had been engaged with the cavalry, and had discomfited them, after some ineffectual attempts on the part of the latter to break through the dense array of pikes, by which several of their number were unhorsed and some of them slain. The general then prepared to assault the other *teocallis*, first summoning the garrisons to surrender. As they refused, he brought up the heavy guns to bear on them, thus turning the artillery against its own masters. He accompanied this menacing movement with offers of the most liberal import; an amnesty for the past, and a full participation in all the advantages of the Conquest. One of the garrisons was under the command of Salvatierra, the same officer who talked of cutting off the ears of Cortés. From the moment he had learned the fate of his own general, the hero was seized with a violent fit of illness which disabled him from further action. The garrison waited only for one discharge of the ordnance, when they accepted the terms of capitulation. Cortés, it is said, received, on this occasion, support from an unexpected auxiliary. The air was filled with the *cocuyos*,—a species of large beetle which emits an intense phosphoric light from its body, strong enough to enable one to read by it. These wandering fires, seen in the darkness of the night, were converted, by the excited imaginations of the besieged, into an army with matchlocks! Such is the report of an eye-witness.<sup>17</sup> But the facility with which

<sup>16</sup> Demanda de Zavallos en nombre de Narvaez, MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.

<sup>17</sup> "Como hazia tan oscuro auiá

muchos cocayos (ansi los llaman en Cuba) que relumbraban de noche, é los de Narvaez creyeron que era muchas de las escopetas." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 122.

the enemy surrendered may quite as probably be referred to the cowardice of the commander, and the disaffection of the soldiers, not unwilling to come under the banners of Cortés.

The body of cavalry, posted, it will be remembered, by Narvaez on one of the roads to Cempoalla, to intercept his rival, having learned what had been passing, were not long in tendering their submission. Each of the soldiers in the conquered army was required, in token of his obedience, to deposit his arms in the hands of the alguacils, and to take the oaths to Cortés as Chief Justice and Captain-General of the colony.

The number of the slain is variously reported. It seems probable that not more than twelve perished on the side of the vanquished, and of the victors half that number. The small amount may be explained by the short duration of the action, and the random aim of the missiles in the darkness. The number of the wounded was much more considerable.<sup>18</sup>

The field was now completely won. A few brief hours had sufficed to change the condition of Cortés from that of a wandering outlaw at the head of a handful of needy adventurers, a rebel with a price upon his head, to that of an independent chief, with a force at his disposal strong enough not only to secure his present conquests, but to open a career for still loftier ambition. While the air rung with the acclamations of the soldiery, the victorious general, assuming a deportment corresponding with his change of fortune,

<sup>18</sup> Narvaez, or rather his attorney, swells the amount of slain on his own side much higher. But it was his cue to magnify the mischief sustained by his employer. The collation of this account with those of Cortés and his followers affords the best means of approximation to the truth. "E allí le matáron quince hombres q<sup>o</sup> murieron de las feridas q<sup>o</sup> les diéron é les quemáron

VOL. II.

seis hombres del dho Incendio q<sup>o</sup> despues parecieron las cabezas de ellos quemadas, é pusiéron á sacomano todo quantto ttenian los que benian con el dho mi parte como si fueran Moros y al dho mi parte robáron é saqueáron todos sus vienes, oro, é Platta é Joyas." Demanda de Zavallos en nombre de Narvaez, MS.

took his seat in a chair of state, and, with a rich, embroidered mantle thrown over his shoulders, received, one by one, the officers and soldiers, as they came to tender their congratulations. The privates were graciously permitted to kiss his hand. The officers he noticed with words of compliment or courtesy; and when Duero, Bermudez, the treasurer, and some others of the vanquished party, his old friends, presented themselves, he cordially embraced them.<sup>19</sup>

Narvaez, Salvatierra, and two or three of the other hostile leaders were led before him in chains. It was a moment of deep humiliation for the former commander, in which the anguish of the body, however keen, must have been forgotten in that of the spirit. "You have great reason, Señor Cortés," said the discomfited warrior, "to thank Fortune for having given you the day so easily, and put me in your power." "I have much to be thankful for," replied the general; "but for my victory over you, I esteem it as one of the least of my achievements since my coming into the country!"<sup>20</sup> He then ordered the wounds of the prisoners to be cared for, and sent them under a strong guard to Vera Cruz.

Notwithstanding the proud humility of his reply, Cortés could scarcely have failed to regard his victory over Narvaez as one of the most brilliant achievements in his career. With a few scores of followers, badly

<sup>19</sup> "Entre ellos venia Andres de Duero, y Agustin Bermudez, y muchos amigos de nuestro Capitán, y assí como venia, ivan á besar las manos á Cortés, q'estaua sentado en vna silla de caderas, con vna ropa larga de color como narajada, cõ sus armas debaxo, acõpañado de nosotros. Pues ver la gracia con que les hablaua, y abraçaua, y las palabras de tãtos cumplimiẽtos que les deria, era cosa de ver que alegre estaua: y tenia mucha razon de verse en aquel pũto tan señor, y pujáte: y assí como le besauã la mano, se fuérõ cada vno á su

posada." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 122.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.—"Dixose que como Narvaez vido á Cortés, estando así preso le dixo: Señor Cortés, tened en mucho la ventura que habeis tenido, é lo mucho que habeis hecho en tener mi persona, ó en tomar mi persona. É que Cortés le respondiõ, é dixo: Lo menos que yo he hecho en esta tierra donde estais, es haberos prendido: é luego le hizo poner á buen recando é le tubo mucho tiempo preso." Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., li b. 33, cap. 47.

clothed, worse fed, wasted by forced marches, under every personal disadvantage, deficient in weapons and military stores, he had attacked in their own quarters, routed, and captured the entire force of the enemy, thrice his superior in numbers, well provided with cavalry and artillery, admirably equipped, and complete in all the munitions of war! The amount of troops engaged on either side was, indeed, inconsiderable. But the proportions are not affected by this; and the relative strength of the parties made a result so decisive one of the most remarkable events in the annals of war.

It is true there were some contingencies on which the fortunes of the day depended, that could not be said to be entirely within his control. Something was the work of chance. If Velasquez de Leon, for example, had proved false, the expedition must have failed."<sup>21</sup> If the weather, on the night of the attack, had been fair, the enemy would have had certain notice of his approach, and been prepared for it. But these are the chances that enter more or less into every enterprise. He is the skilful general who knows how to turn them to account; to win the smiles of Fortune, and make even the elements fight on his side.

If Velasquez de Leon was, as it proved, the very officer whom the general should have trusted with the command, it was his sagacity which originally discerned

<sup>21</sup> Oviedo says that military men discussed whether Velasquez de Leon should have obeyed the commands of Cortés rather than those of his kinsman, the governor of Cuba. They decided in favour of the former, on the ground of his holding his commission immediately from him. "Visto he platicar sobre esto á caballeros é personas militares sobre si este Juan Velasquez de Leon hizo lo que debia, en acudir ó no á Diego Velasquez, ó al Pánfilo en su nombre; E combienen los veteranos milites, é á mi parecer determinan

bien la question, en que si Juan Velasquez tubo conducta de capitan para que con aquella Gente que él le dió ó toviese en aquella tierra como capitan particular le acudiese á él ó á quien le mandase. Juan Velasquez faltó á lo que era obligado en no pasar á Pánfilo de Narvaez siendo requerido de Diego Velasquez, mas si le hizo capitan Hernando Cortés, é le dió él la Gente, á él havia de acudir, como acudió, excepto si viera carta, á mandamiento expreso del Rey en contrario." Hist. de las Ind., MS. lib. 33, cap. 12.

this and selected him for it. It was his address that converted this dangerous foe into a friend, and one so fast that in the hour of need he chose rather to attach himself to his desperate fortunes than to those of the governor of Cuba, powerful as the latter was, and his near kinsman. It was the same address which gained Cortés such an ascendancy over his soldiers and knit them to him so closely that in the darkest moment not a man offered to desert him.<sup>22</sup> If the success of the assault may be ascribed mainly to the dark and stormy weather which covered it, it was owing to him that he was in a condition to avail himself of this. The shortest possible time intervened between the conception of his plan and its execution. In a very few days he descended by extraordinary marches from the capital to the sea-coast. He came like a torrent from the mountains, pouring on the enemy's camp, and sweeping everything away, before a barrier could be raised to arrest it. This celerity of movement, the result of a clear head and determined will, has entered into the strategy of the greatest captains, and forms a prominent feature in their most brilliant military exploits. It was undoubtedly in the present instance a great cause of success.

But it would be taking a limited view of the subject to consider the battle which decided the fate of Narvaez as wholly fought at Cempoalla. It was begun in Mexico. With that singular power which he exercised over all who came near him, Cortés converted the very emissaries of Narvaez into his own friends and agents. The reports of Guevara and his companions, the intrigues of Father Olmedo, and the general's gold, were

<sup>22</sup> This ascendancy the thoughtful Oviedo refers to his dazzling and liberal manners, so strongly contrasted with those of the governor of Cuba. "En lo demás valerosa persona ha sido, é para mucho; y este deseo de mandar juntamente con que fué mui bien

partido é gratificador de los que le viniéron, fué mucha causa juntamente con ser mal quisto Diego Velasquez, para que Cortés se saliese con lo que emprendió, é se quedase en el oficio, é governacion." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 12.

all busily at work to shake the loyalty of the soldiers, and the battle was half won before a blow had been struck. It was fought quite as much with gold as with steel. Cortés understood this so well that he made it his great object to seize the person of Narvaez. In such an event, he had full confidence that indifference to their own cause and partiality to himself would speedily bring the rest of the army under his banner. He was not deceived. Narvaez said truly enough, therefore, some years after this event, that "he had been beaten by his own troops, not by those of his rival; that his followers had been bribed to betray him."<sup>23</sup> This affords the only explanation of their brief and ineffectual resistance.

<sup>23</sup> It was in a conversation with Oviedo himself, at Toledo, in 1525, in which Narvaez descanted with much bitterness, as was natural, on his rival's conduct. The gossip, which has never appeared in print, may have some interest for the Spanish reader. "Que el año de 1525, estando Cesar en la cibdad de Toledo, vi allí al dicho Narvaez, é publicamente decia, que Cortés era vn traidor: E que dándole S. M. licencia se lo haria conocer de su persona á la suya, é que era hombre sin verdad, é otras muchas é feas palabras llamándole alevoso é tirano, é ingrato á su Señor, é á quien le havia embiado á la Nueva España, que era el Adelantado

Diego Velasquez á su propia costa, é se le havia alzado con la tierra, é con la Gente é Hacienda, é otras muchas cosas que mal sonaban. Y en la manera de su prision la contaba mui al reves de lo que está dicho. Lo que yo noto de esto es, que con todo lo que oí á Narvaez, (como yo se lo dixé) no puedo hallarle desculpa para su descuido, porque ninguna necesidad tenia de andar con Cortés en pláticas, sino estar en vela mejor que la que hizo. E á esto decia él que le havian vendido aquellos de quien se fiaba, que Cortés le havia sobornado." Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 12.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Discontent of the Troops.—Insurrection in the Capital.—Return of Cortés.—General Signs of Hostility.—Massacre by Alvarado.—Rising of the Aztecs.

1520.

THE tempest, that had raged so wildly during the night, passed away with the morning, which rose bright and unclouded on the field of battle. As the light advanced, it revealed more strikingly the disparity of the two forces so lately opposed to each other. Those of Narvaez could not conceal their chagrin; and murmurs of displeasure became audible, as they contrasted their own superior numbers and perfect appointments with the way-worn visages and rude attire of their handful of enemies! It was with some satisfaction, therefore, that the general beheld his dusky allies from Chinantla, two thousand in number, arrive upon the field. They were a fine, athletic set of men; and, as they advanced in a sort of promiscuous order, so to speak, with their gay banners of feather-work, and their long lances tipped with *itztli* and copper glistening in the morning sun, they had something of an air of military discipline. They came too late for the action, indeed, but Cortés was not sorry to exhibit to his new followers the extent of his resources in the country. As he had now no occasion for his Indian allies, after a courteous reception and a liberal recompense he dismissed them to their homes.<sup>1</sup>

He then used his utmost endeavours to allay the discontent of the troops. He addressed them in his most soft and insinuating tones, and was by no means frugal

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 6.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—

Bernal Diaz, de la Conquista, cap. 123.

of his promises.\* He suited the action to the word. There were few of them but had lost their accoutrements or their baggage, or horses taken and appropriated by the victors. This last article was in great request among the latter, and many a soldier, weary with the long marches hitherto made on foot, had provided himself, as he imagined, with a much more comfortable as well as creditable conveyance for the rest of the campaign. The general now commanded everything to be restored.<sup>3</sup> "They were embarked in the same cause," he said, "and should share with one another equally." He went still further, and distributed among the soldiers of Narvaez a quantity of gold and other precious commodities gathered from the neighbouring tribes or found in his rival's quarters.<sup>4</sup>

These proceedings, however politic in reference to his new followers, gave great disgust to his old. "Our commander," they cried, "has forsaken his friends for his foes. We stood by him in his hour of distress, and are rewarded with blows and wounds, while the spoil goes to our enemies!" The indignant soldiery commissioned the priest Olmedo and Alonso de Avila to lay their complaints before Cortés. The ambassadors stated them without reserve, comparing their commander's conduct to the ungrateful proceeding of Alexander, who, when he gained a victory, usually gave away more to his enemies than to the troops who enabled him to beat them. Cortés was greatly perplexed. Victorious or defeated, his path seemed equally beset with difficulties.

\* Diaz, who had often listened to it, thus notices his eloquence: "Comenzó vn parlamento por tan lindo estilo, y plática, tábis dichas cierto otras palabras mas sabrosas, y llenas de ofertas, q yo aquí no sabré escriuir." Ibid., cap. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Diaz had secured for his share of the spoil of the Philistines, as he tells us, a very good horse with all his accoutrements, a brace of swords, three daggers, and

a buckler,—a very beautiful outfit for the campaign. The general's orders were, naturally enough, not at all to his taste. Ibid., cap. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Narvaez alleges that Cortés plundered him of property to the value of 100,000 castellanos of gold! (Demanda de Zavalllos en nombre de Narvaez, MS.) If so, the pillage of the leader may have supplied the means of liberality to the privates.

He endeavoured to soothe their irritation by pleading the necessity of the case. "Our new comrades," he said, "are formidable from their numbers, so much so that we are even now much more in their power than they are in ours. Our only security is to make them not merely confederates, but friends. On any cause of disgust, we shall have the whole battle to fight over again, and, if they are united, under a much greater disadvantage than before. I have considered your interests," he added, "as much as my own. All that I have is yours. But why should there be any ground for discontent, when the whole country, with its riches, is before us? And our augmented strength must henceforth secure the undisturbed control of it."

But Cortés did not rely wholly on argument for the restoration of tranquillity. He knew this to be incompatible with inaction, and he made arrangements to divide his forces at once and to employ them on distant services. He selected a detachment of two hundred men, under Diego de Ordaz, whom he ordered to form the settlement before meditated on the Coatzacoalco. A like number was sent with Velasquez de Leon, to secure the province of Panuco, some three degrees to the north, on the Mexican Gulf. Twenty in each detachment were drafted from his own veterans.

Two hundred men he despatched to Vera Cruz, with orders to have the rigging, iron, and everything portable on board of the fleet of Narvaez, brought on shore, and the vessels completely dismantled. He appointed a person named Cavallero superintendent of the marine, with instructions that if any ships hereafter should enter the port they should be dismantled in like manner, and their officers imprisoned on shore.\*

But, while he was thus occupied with new schemes of discovery and conquest, he received such astounding

\* Demanda de Zavillos en nombre de Narvaez, MS.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 124.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind.,

MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 130.—Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.—The visit of Narvaez left melan-

intelligence from Mexico as compelled him to concentrate all his faculties and his forces on that one point. The city was in a state of insurrection. No sooner had the struggle with his rival been decided, than Cortés despatched a courier with the tidings to the capital. In less than a fortnight the messenger returned with a letter from Alvarado, conveying the alarming information that the Mexicans were in arms and had vigorously assaulted the Spaniards in their own quarters. The enemy, he added, had burned the brigantines, by which Cortés had secured the means of retreat in case of the destruction of the bridges. They had attempted to force the defences, and had succeeded in partially undermining them, and they had overwhelmed the garrison with a tempest of missiles, which had killed several and wounded a great number. The letter concluded with beseeching the commander to hasten to the relief of his men, if he would save them or keep his hold on the capital.

These tidings were a heavy blow to the general,—the heavier, it seemed, coming as they did in the hour of triumph, when he had thought to have all his enemies at his feet. There was no room for hesitation. To lose his footing in the capital, the noblest city in the Western World, would be to lose the country itself, which looked up to it as its head.\* He opened the matter fully to his soldiers, calling on all who would save their countrymen to follow him. All declared their readiness to go; showing an alacrity, says Diaz, which some would have been slow to manifest had they foreseen the future.

Cortés now made preparations for instant departure.

choly traces among the natives, that made it long remembered. A negro in his suite brought with him the smallpox. The disease spread rapidly in that quarter of the country, and great numbers of the Indian population soon fell victims to it. Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 6.

\*“Se perdía la mejor, y mas Noble Ciudad de todo lo nuevamente descubierto del Mundo; y ella perdida, se perdía todo lo que estaba ganado, por ser la Cabeza de todo, y á quien todos obedecían.” Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 131.

He countermanded the orders previously given to Velasquez and Ordaz, and directed them to join him with their forces at Tlascala. He called the troops from Vera Cruz, leaving only a hundred men in garrison there, under command of one Rodrigo Rangre; for he could not spare the services of Sandoval at this crisis. He left his sick and wounded at Cempoalla, under charge of a small detachment, directing that they should follow as soon as they were in marching order. Having completed these arrangements, he set out from Cempoalla, well supplied with provisions by its hospitable cacique, who attended him some leagues on his way. The Totonac chief seems to have had an amiable facility of accommodating himself to the powers that were in the ascendant.

Nothing worthy of notice occurred during the first part of the march. The troops everywhere met with a friendly reception from the peasantry, who readily supplied their wants. For some time before reaching Tlascala, the route lay through a country thinly settled; and the army experienced considerable suffering from want of food, and still more from that of water. Their distress increased to an alarming degree, as, in the hurry of their forced march, they travelled with the meridian sun beating fiercely on their heads. Several faltered by the way, and, throwing themselves down by the roadside, seemed incapable of further effort, and almost indifferent to life.

In this extremity, Cortés sent forward a small detachment of horse to procure provisions in Tlascala, and speedily followed in person. On arriving, he found abundant supplies already prepared by the hospitable natives. They were sent back to the troops; the stragglers were collected one by one; refreshments were administered; and the army, restored in strength and spirits, entered the republican capital.

Here they gathered little additional news respecting the events in Mexico, which a popular rumour attributed to the secret encouragement and machinations of

Montezuma. Cortés was commodiously lodged in the quarters of Maxixca, one of the four chiefs of the republic. They readily furnished him with two thousand troops. There was no want of heartiness, when the war was with their ancient enemy the Aztec.<sup>7</sup>

The Spanish commander, on reviewing his forces after the junction with his two captains, found that they amounted to about a thousand foot, and one hundred horse, besides the Tlascalan levies.<sup>8</sup> In the infantry were nearly a hundred arquebusiers, with as many crossbowmen; and the part of the army brought over by Narvaez was admirably equipped. It was inferior, however, to his own veterans in what is better than any outward appointments,—military training, and familiarity with the peculiar service in which they were engaged.

Leaving these friendly quarters, the Spaniards took a more northerly route, as more direct than that by which they had before penetrated into the Valley. It was the road to Tezcuco. It still compelled them to climb the same bold range of the Cordilleras, which attains its greatest elevation in the two mighty *volcans* at whose base they had before travelled. The sides of the sierra were clothed with dark forests of pine, cypress, and cedar,<sup>9</sup> through which glimpses now and then opened into fathomless dells and valleys, whose

<sup>7</sup> Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 131.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13, 14.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 124, 125.—Peter Martyr, De Orbe Novo, dec. 5, cap. 5.—Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.

<sup>8</sup> Gomara, Crónica, cap. 103.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 7.—Bernal Diaz raises the amount to 1300 foot and 96 horse. (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 125.) Cortés diminishes it to less than half that number. (Rel. Seg., ubi supra.) The estimate cited in the text from the two preceding authorities corresponds nearly enough with that already given from

official documents of the forces of Cortés and Narvaez before the junction.

<sup>9</sup> “Las sierras altas de Tetzcuco á que le mostrasen desde la mas alta cumbre de aquellas montañas y sierras de Tetzcuco, que son las sierras de Tlallocan altísimas y humbrosas, en las cuales he estado y visto, y puedo decir que son bastante para descubrir el un emisferio y otro, porque son los mayores puertos y mas altos de esta Nueva España, de árboles y montes de grandísima altura, de cedras, cipreses y pinarea.” Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.

depths, far down in the sultry climate of the tropics, were lost in a glowing wilderness of vegetation. From the crest of the mountain range the eye travelled over the broad expanse of country, which they had lately crossed, far away to the green plains of Cholula. Towards the west, they looked down on the Mexican Valley, from a point of view wholly different from that which they had before occupied, but still offering the same beautiful spectacle, with its lakes trembling in the light, its gay cities and villas floating on their bosom, its burnished *teocallis* touched with fire, its cultivated slopes and dark hills of porphyry stretching away in dim perspective to the verge of the horizon. At their feet lay the city of Tezcuco, which, modestly retiring behind her deep groves of cypress, formed a contrast to her more ambitious rival on the other side of the lake, who seemed to glory in the unveiled splendours of her charms, as Mistress of the Valley.

As they descended into the populous plains, their reception by the natives was very different from that which they had experienced on the preceding visit. There were no groups of curious peasantry to be seen gazing at them as they passed, and offering their simple hospitality. The supplies they asked were not refused, but granted with an ungracious air, that showed the blessing of the giver did not accompany them. This air of reserve became still more marked as the army entered the suburbs of the ancient capital of the Acolhuans. No one came forth to greet them, and the population seemed to have dwindled away,—so many of them were withdrawn to the neighbouring scene of hostilities at Mexico.<sup>10</sup> Their cold reception was a sensible mortification to the veterans of Cortés, who, judging from the past, had boasted to their new comrades of the sensation their presence would excite.

<sup>10</sup> The historian partly explains the reason : " En la misma Ciudad de Tezcuco habia algunos apasionados de los deudos y amigos de

los que mataron Pedro de Alvarado y sus compañeros en México." Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 88.

among the natives. The cacique of the place, who, as it may be remembered, had been created through the influence of Cortés, was himself absent. The general drew an ill omen from all these circumstances, which even raised an uncomfortable apprehension in his mind respecting the fate of the garrison in Mexico.<sup>11</sup>

But his doubts were soon dispelled by the arrival of a messenger in a canoe from that city, whence he had escaped through the remissness of the enemy, or, perhaps, with their connivance. He brought despatches from Alvarado, informing his commander that the Mexicans had for the last fortnight desisted from active hostilities and converted their operations into a blockade. The garrison had suffered greatly, but Alvarado expressed his conviction that the siege would be raised, and tranquillity restored, on the approach of his countrymen. Montezuma sent a messenger, also, to the same effect. At the same time, he exculpated himself from any part in the late hostilities, which he said had been conducted not only without his privity, but contrary to his inclination and efforts.

The Spanish general, having halted long enough to refresh his wearied troops, took up his march along the southern margin of the lake, which led him over the same causeway by which he had before entered the capital. It was the day consecrated to St. John the Baptist, the 24th of June, 1520. But how different was the scene from that presented on his former entrance!<sup>12</sup> No crowds now lined the roads, no boats swarmed on the lake, filled with admiring spectators.

“En todo en camino nunca me salió á recibir ninguna Persona de el dicho Muteczuma, como ántes lo solian facer; y toda la Tierra estaba alborotada, y casi despoblada: de que concebí mala sospecha, creyendo que los Españoles que en la dicha Ciudad habian quedado, eran muertos.” Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 132.

“Y como asomó á la vista de

la Ciudad de México, parecióle que estaba toda yerma, y que no parecía persona por todos los caminos, ni casas, ni plazas, ni nadie le salió á recibir, ni de los suyos, ni de los enemigos; y fué esto señal de indignacion y enemistad por lo que habia pasado.” Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 12.



A single pirogue might now and then be seen in the distance, like a spy stealthily watching their movements, and darting away the moment it had attracted notice. A deathlike stillness brooded over the scene, —a stillness that spoke louder to the heart than the acclamations of multitudes.

Cortés rode on moodily at the head of his battalions, finding abundant food for meditation, doubtless, in this change of circumstances. As if to dispel these gloomy reflections, he ordered his trumpets to sound, and their clear, shrill notes, borne across the waters, told the inhabitants of the beleaguered fortress that their friends were at hand. They were answered by a joyous peal of artillery, which seemed to give a momentary exhilaration to the troops, as they quickened their pace, traversed the great drawbridges, and once more found themselves within the walls of the imperial city.

The appearance of things here was not such as to allay their apprehensions. In some places they beheld the smaller bridges removed, intimating too plainly, now that their brigantines were destroyed, how easy it would be to cut off their retreat.<sup>13</sup> The town seemed even more deserted than Tezcucó. Its once busy and crowded population had mysteriously vanished. And, as the Spaniards defiled through the empty streets, the tramp of their horses' feet upon the pavement was answered by dull and melancholy echoes that fell heavily on their hearts. With saddened feelings they reached the great gates of the palace of Axayacatl. The gates were thrown open, and Cortés and his veterans, rushing in, were cordially embraced by their companions in arms, while both parties soon forgot the present in the interesting recapitulation of the past.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> "Pontes ligneos qui tractim lapideos intersecant, sublatis, ac vias aggeribus munitas reperit." P. Martyr, De Orbe Novo, dec. 5, cap. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Probanza á pedimento de Juan de Lexalde, MS.—Rel. Seg. de

Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 133.—

"Esto causó gran admiración en todos los que venían, pero no dejaron de marchar, hasta entrar donde estaban los Españoles acorralados. Venían todos muy casados y muy fatigados y con mucho

The first inquiries of the general were respecting the origin of the tumult. The accounts were various. Some imputed it to the desire of the Mexicans to release their sovereign from confinement; others to the design of cutting off the garrison while crippled by the absence of Cortés and their countrymen. All agreed, however, in tracing the immediate cause to the violence of Alvarado. It was common for the Aztecs to celebrate an annual festival in May, in honour of their patron war-god. It was called the "incensing of Huitzilopochtli," and was commemorated by sacrifice, religious songs, and dances, in which most of the nobles engaged, for it was one of the great festivals which displayed the pomp of the Aztec ritual. As it was held in the court of the *teocalli*, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Spanish quarters, and as a part of the temple itself was reserved for a Christian chapel, the caciques asked permission of Alvarado to perform their rites there. They requested also, it is said, to be allowed the presence of Montezuma. This latter petition Alvarado declined, in obedience to the injunctions of Cortés; but acquiesced in the former, on condition that the Aztecs should celebrate no human sacrifices and should come without weapons.

They assembled accordingly on the day appointed, to the number of six hundred, at the smallest computation.<sup>15</sup> They were dressed in their most magnificent gala costumes, with their graceful mantles of feather-

deseo de llegar á donde estaban sus hermanos; los de dentro cuando los vieron, recibieron singular consolacion y esfuerzo y recibieronlos con la artillería que tenían, saludándolos, y dándolos el parabien de su venida." Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 22.

<sup>15</sup> "É así los Indios, todos Señores, mas de 600 desnudos é con muchas joyas de oro é hermosos penachos, é muchas piedras preciosas, é como mas aderezados é

gentiles hombres se pndieron é supieron aderezar, é sin arma alguna defensiva ni ofensiva bailaban é cantaban é hacian su areito é fiesta segun su costumbre." (Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 54.) Some writers carry the number as high as eight hundred or even one thousand. Las Casas, with a more modest exaggeration than usual, swells it only to two thousand. Brevisima Relatione, p. 48.

work sprinkled with precious stones, and their necks, arms, and legs ornamented with collars and bracelets of gold. They had that love of gaudy splendour which belongs to semi-civilized nations, and on these occasions displayed all the pomp and profusion of their barbaric wardrobes.

Alvarado and his soldiers attended as spectators, some of them taking their station at the gates as if by chance, and others mingling in the crowd. They were all armed,—a circumstance which, as it was usual, excited no attention. The Aztecs were soon engrossed by the exciting movement of the dance, accompanied by their religious chant and wild, discordant minstrelsy. While thus occupied, Alvarado and his men, at a concerted signal, rushed with drawn swords on their victims. Unprotected by armour or weapons of any kind, they were hewn down without resistance by their assailants, who in their bloody work, says a contemporary, showed no touch of pity or compunction.<sup>16</sup> Some fled to the gates, but were caught on the long pikes of the soldiers. Others, who attempted to scale the *coatepantli*, or Wall of Serpents, as it was called, which surrounded the area, shared the like fate, or were cut to pieces, or shot by the ruthless soldiery. The pavement, says a writer of the age, ran with streams of blood, like water in a heavy shower.<sup>17</sup> Not an Aztec, of all that gay company, was left alive! It was repeating the dreadful scene of Cholula, with the disgraceful addition that the Spaniards, not content with slaughtering their victims, rifled them of the precious ornaments on their persons! On this sad day fell the flower of the Aztec nobility. Not a family of note but had mourning and desolation brought within

<sup>16</sup> "Sin duelo ni piedad Christiana los acuchilló, i mató." Gomara, Crónica, cap. 104.

<sup>17</sup> "Fué tan grande el derramamiento de Sangre, que corrian

arroyos de ella por el Patio, como agua cuando mucho llueve." Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 20.

its walls.<sup>18</sup> And many a doleful ballad, rehearsing the tragic incidents of the story, and adapted to the plaintive national airs, continued to be chanted by the natives long after the subjugation of the country.<sup>19</sup>

Various explanations have been given of this atrocious deed. But few historians have been content to admit that of Alvarado himself. According to this, intelligence had been obtained through his spies—some of them Mexicans—of an intended rising of the Indians. The celebration of this festival was fixed on as the period for its execution, when the caciques would be met together and would easily rouse the people to support them. Alvarado, advised of all this, had forbidden them to wear arms at their meeting. While affecting to comply, they had secreted their weapons in the neighbouring arsenals, whence they could readily withdraw them. But his own blow, by anticipating

<sup>18</sup>[In the process instituted against Alvarado this massacre forms one of the most important charges. He is there accused of having killed four hundred of the principal nobles and a great number of the common people, of whom more than three thousand, it is stated, were assembled to celebrate the festival in honour of their war-god. "Ynbio al patyo donde todos baylaban y syn cabsa ni razon alguna dieron sobrellos y mataron todos los mas de los señores que estaban presos con el dicho Motenzuma y mataron cuatro cientos señores e prencipales que con el estaban e mataron mucho numero de yndios que estaban baylando en mas cantydad de tresmill personas." (Procesos de Residencia, instruidos contra Pedro de Alvarado y Nuño de Guzman, p. 53.) The public are under great obligations to the licentiate Don Ignacio Rayon for bringing into light this important document, which for more than three centuries have lain hid in the General Archives of Mexico. We have hardly less reason to

thank him for placing the manuscript in the hands of so competent a scholar as Don José Fernando Ramirez, to enrich it with the stores of his critical erudition. The publication of the process did not take place till some years after that of my own history of the Conquest of Mexico. But, as it contains a minute specification of the various charges against Alvarado, and his own defence, it furnishes me with the means of correcting any errors into which I have fallen in reference to that commander, while it corroborates, I may add, the general tenor of the statements I have derived from contemporary chroniclers.]

<sup>19</sup>"Y de aquí á que se acabe el mundo, ó ellos del todo se acaben, no dexarán de lamentar, y cantar en sus areytos, y bayles, como en romances, que acá dezimos, aquella calamidad, y perdida de la sucession de toda su nobleza, de que se preciauan de tantos años atrasa." *Las Casas, Breuissima Relatiõe*, p. 49.

theirs, defeated the design, and, as he confidently hoped, would deter the Aztecs from a similar attempt in future.<sup>20</sup>

Such is the account of the matter given by Alvarado. But, if true, why did he not verify his assertion by exposing the arms thus secreted? Why did he not vindicate his conduct in the eyes of the Mexicans generally, by publicly avowing the treason of the nobles, as was done by Cortés at Cholula? The whole looks much like an apology devised after the commission of the deed, to cover up its atrocity.

Some contemporaries assign a very different motive for the massacre, which, according to them, originated in the cupidity of the Conquerors, as shown by their plundering the bodies of their victims.<sup>21</sup> Bernal Diaz, who, though not present, had conversed familiarly with those who were, vindicates them from the charge of this unworthy motive. According to him, Alvarado struck the blow in order to intimidate the Aztecs from any insurrectionary movement.<sup>22</sup> But whether he had reason to apprehend such, or even affected to do so before the massacre, the old chronicler does not inform us.

On reflection, it seems scarcely possible that so foul a deed, and one involving so much hazard to the

<sup>20</sup> See Alvarado's reply to queries of Cortés, as reported by Diaz (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 125), with some additional particulars in Torquemada (*Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 66), Solís (*Conquista*, lib. 4, cap. 12), and Herrera (*Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 8), who all seem content to endorse Alvarado's version of the matter. I find no other authority, of any weight, in the same charitable vein.

<sup>21</sup> Oviedo mentions a conversation which he had some years after this tragedy with a noble Spaniard, Don Thome Cano, who came over in the train of Narvaez and was present at all the subsequent opera-

tions of the army. He married a daughter of Montezuma, and settled in Mexico after the Conquest. Oviedo describes him as a man of sense and integrity. In answer to the historian's queries respecting the cause of the rising, he said that Alvarado had wantonly perpetrated the massacre from pure avarice; and the Aztecs, enraged at such unprovoked and unmerited cruelty, rose, as they well might, to avenge it. (*Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 54.) See the original dialogue in Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.

<sup>22</sup> "Verdaderamente dió en ellos por metelles temor." *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 125.

Spaniards themselves, should have been perpetrated from the mere desire of getting possession of the baubles worn on the persons of the natives. It is more likely this was an after-thought, suggested to the rapacious soldiery by the display of the spoil before them. It is not improbable that Alvarado may have gathered rumours of a conspiracy among the nobles,—rumours, perhaps, derived through the Tlascalans, their inveterate foes, and for that reason very little deserving of credit.<sup>23</sup> He proposed to defeat it by imitating the example of his commander at Cholula. But he omitted to imitate his leader in taking precautions against the subsequent rising of the populace. And he grievously miscalculated when he confounded the bold and war-like Aztec with the effeminate Cholulan.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Such, indeed, is the statement of Ixtlilxochitl, derived, as he says, from the native Tezcucan annalists. According to them, the Tlascalans, urged by their hatred of the Aztecs and their thirst for plunder, persuaded Alvarado, nothing loth, that the nobles meditated a rising on the occasion of these festivities. The testimony is important, and I give it in the author's words: "Fué que ciertos Tlascaltecas (según las Historias de Tescuco que son las que lo sigo y la carta que otras veces he referido) por envidia lo uno acordándose que en semejante fiesta los Mexicanos solían sacrificar gran suma de cautivos de los de la Nación Tlascalteca, y lo otro que era la mejor ocasión que ellos podían tener para poder hinchir las manos de despojos y hartar su codicia, y vengarse de sus Enemigos (porque hasta entonces no habían tenido lugar, ni Cortés se les diera, ni admitiera sus dichos, porque siempre hacía las cosas con mucho acuerdo) fueron con esta invención al capitán Pedro de Albarado, que estaba en lugar de Cortés, el qual no fué menester mucho para darles crédito porque tan buenos filos, y pensamientos tenía como ellos,

y mas viendo que allí en aquella fiesta habían acudido todos los Señores y Cabezas del Imperio y que muertos no tenían mucho trabajo en sojuzgarlos." Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 88.

<sup>24</sup> [Alvarado intimates, in the defence of his conduct which forms part of the process, one source of the rumours respecting the rising of the Aztecs, by saying that the existence of such a scheme was matter of public notoriety among the Tlascalans. He adds that he obtained more precise intelligence from two or three Indians, one a Tezcucan, another a slave whom he had rescued from the sacrifice to which he had been doomed by the Aztecs; that these latter, under cover of the festivities, had planned an insurrection against the Spaniards, in which he and his countrymen were all to be exterminated. At the same time they determined to tear down the image of the Virgin which had been raised in the temple, and in its place to substitute that of their war-god, Huitzilopochtli. Montezuma was accused of being privy to this conspiracy. Thus instructed, Alvarado, as he asserts, got his men in

No sooner was the butchery accomplished, than the tidings spread like wildfire through the capital. Men could scarcely credit their senses. All they had hitherto suffered, the desecration of their temples, the imprisonment of their sovereign, the insults heaped on his person, all were forgotten in this one act.<sup>28</sup> Every feeling of long-smothered hostility and rancour now burst forth in the cry for vengeance. Every former sentiment of superstitious dread was merged in that of inextinguishable hatred. It required no effort of the priests—though this was not wanting—to fan these passions into a blaze. The city rose in arms to a man; and on the following dawn, almost before the Spaniards could secure themselves in their defences, they were assaulted with desperate fury. Some of the assailants attempted to scale the walls; others succeeded in partially undermining and setting fire to the works. Whether they would have succeeded in carrying the place by storm is doubtful. But, at the prayers of the garrison, Montezuma himself interfered, and, mounting the battlements, addressed the populace, whose fury he endeavoured to mitigate by urging considerations for his own safety. They respected their monarch so far as to desist from further attempts to storm the fortress,

readiness to resist the enemy, who, after a short encounter, was repulsed with slaughter, while one Spaniard was slain, and he himself, with several others, severely wounded (*Proceso*, pp. 66, 67). But although a long array of witnesses, most of them probably his ancient friends and comrades, are introduced to endorse his statement, one who reflects on the submissive spirit hitherto shown, not only by Montezuma, but his subjects, in their dealings with the Spaniards, and contrasts it with the fierce and unscrupulous temper displayed by Alvarado, will have little doubt on whose head the guilt of the massacre must rest; and as little seems to have been

felt by most of the writers of the time who have spoken of the affair.]

<sup>28</sup> Martyr well recapitulates these grievances, showing that they seemed such in the eyes of the Spaniards themselves,—of those, at least, whose judgment was not warped by a share in the transactions. "*Emori statuerunt malle, quam diutius ferre tales hospites qui regem suum sub tutoris vitæ specie detineant, civitatem occupent, antiquos hostes Tascaltecanos et alios præterea in contumeliam ante illorum oculos ipsorum impensa conseruent; . . . qui demum simulachra deorum confregerint, et ritus veteres ac ceremonias ant quas illis abstulerint.*" *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 5, cap. 5.

but changed their operations into a regular blockade. They threw up works around the palace to prevent the egress of the Spaniards. They suspended the *tianguetz*, or market, to preclude the possibility of their enemies obtaining supplies; and they then quietly sat down, with feelings of sullen desperation, waiting for the hour when famine should throw their victims into their hands.

The condition of the besieged, meanwhile, was sufficiently distressing. Their magazines of provisions, it is true, were not exhausted; but they suffered greatly from want of water, which, within the enclosure, was exceedingly brackish, for the soil was saturated with the salt of the surrounding element. In this extremity, they discovered, it is said, a spring of fresh water in the area. Such springs were known in some other parts of the city; but, discovered first under these circumstances, it was accounted as nothing less than a miracle. Still they suffered much from their past encounters. Seven Spaniards, and many Tlascalans, had fallen, and there was scarcely one of either nation who had not received several wounds. In this situation, far from their own countrymen, without expectation of succour from abroad, they seemed to have no alternative before them but a lingering death by famine, or one more dreadful on the altar of sacrifice. From this gloomy state they were relieved by the coming of their comrades.<sup>26</sup>

Cortés calmly listened to the explanation made by Alvarado. But, before it was ended, the conviction must have forced itself on his mind that he had made a wrong selection for this important post. Yet the mistake was natural. Alvarado was a cavalier of high family, gallant and chivalrous, and his warm personal friend. He had talents for action, was possessed of firmness and intrepidity, while his frank and dazzling manners made the *Tonatiuh* an especial favourite with

<sup>26</sup> Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 13, 47.—Gomara, MS.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, Crónica, cap. 105.



the Mexicans. But underneath this showy exterior the future conqueror of Guatemala concealed a heart rash, rapacious, and cruel. He was altogether destitute of that moderation which, in the delicate position he occupied, was a quality of more worth than all the rest.

When Alvarado had concluded his answers to the several interrogatories of Cortés, the brow of the latter darkened, as he said to his lieutenant, "You have done badly. You have been false to your trust. Your conduct has been that of a madman!" And, turning abruptly on his heel, he left him in undisguised displeasure.

Yet this was not a time to break with one so popular, and, in many respects, so important to him, as this captain, much less to inflict on him the punishment he merited. The Spaniards were like mariners labouring in a heavy tempest, whose bark nothing but the dexterity of the pilot and the hearty co-operation of the crew can save from foundering. Dissensions at such a moment must be fatal. Cortés, it is true, felt strong in his present resources. He now found himself at the head of a force which could scarcely amount to less than twelve hundred and fifty Spaniards, and eight thousand native warriors, principally Tlascalans.<sup>27</sup> But, though relying on this to overawe resistance, the very augmentation of numbers increased the difficulty of subsistence. Discontented with himself, disgusted with his officer, and embarrassed by the disastrous consequences in which Alvarado's intemperance had involved him, he became irritable, and indulged in a petulance by no means common; for, though a man of lively passions by nature, he held them habitually under control.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> He left in garrison, on his departure from Mexico, 140 Spaniards and about 6,500 Tlascalans, including a few Cempoallan warriors. Supposing five hundred of these—a liberal allowance—to have

perished in battle and otherwise, it would still leave a number which, with the reinforcement now brought, would raise the amount to that stated in the text.

<sup>28</sup> "Seeing how all went contrary

On the day that Cortés arrived, Montezuma had left his own quarters to welcome him. But the Spanish commander, distrusting, as it would seem, however unreasonably, his good faith, received him so coldly that the Indian monarch withdrew, displeased and dejected, to his apartment. As the Mexican populace made no show of submission, and brought no supplies to the army, the general's ill humour with the emperor continued. When, therefore, Montezuma sent some of the nobles to ask an interview with Cortés, the latter, turning to his own officers, haughtily exclaimed, "What have I to do with this dog of a king who suffers us to starve before his eyes?"

His captains, among whom were Olid, De Avila, and Velasquez de Leon, endeavoured to mitigate his anger, reminding him, in respectful terms, that had it not been for the emperor the garrison might even now have been overwhelmed by the enemy. This remonstrance only chafed him the more. "Did not the dog," he asked, repeating the opprobrious epithet, "betray us in his communications with Narvaez? And does he not now suffer his markets to be closed, and leave us to die of famine?" Then, turning fiercely to the Mexicans, he said, "Go tell your master and his people to open the markets, or we will do it for them, at their cost!" The chiefs, who had gathered the import of his previous taunt on their sovereign, from his tone and gesture, or perhaps from some comprehension of his language, left his presence swelling with resentment, and, in communicating his message, took care it should lose none of its effect.<sup>29</sup>

Shortly after, Cortés, at the suggestion, it is said, of

to his expectations and that we still received no supplies, he grew extremely sad, and showed himself in his bearing towards the Spaniards fretful and haughty." Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 126.

<sup>29</sup> The scene is reported by Diaz, who was present. (*Hist. de la*

*Conquista*, cap. 126.) See, also, the *Chronicle of Gomara*, the chaplain of Cortés. (Cap. 106.) It is further confirmed by Don Thome Cano, an eye-witness, in his conversation with Oviedo. See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.

Montezuma, released his brother Cuitlahua, lord of Iztapalapan, who, it will be remembered, had been seized on suspicion of co-operating with the chief of Tezcuco in his meditated revolt. It was thought he might be of service in allaying the present tumult and bringing the populace to a better state of feeling. But he returned no more to the fortress.<sup>30</sup> He was a bold, ambitious prince, and the injuries he had received from the Spaniards rankled deep in his bosom. He was presumptive heir to the crown, which, by the Aztec laws of succession, descended much more frequently in a collateral than in a direct line. The people welcomed him as the representative of their sovereign, and chose him to supply the place of Montezuma during his captivity. Cuitlahua willingly accepted the post of honour and of danger. He was an experienced warrior, and exerted himself to reorganize the disorderly levies and to arrange a more efficient plan of operations. The effect was soon visible.

Cortés meanwhile had so little doubt of his ability to overawe the insurgents, that he wrote to that effect to the garrison of Villa Rica by the same despatches in which he informed them of his safe arrival in the capital. But scarcely had his messenger been gone half an hour, when he returned breathless with terror and covered with wounds. "The city," he said, "was all in arms! The drawbridges were raised, and the enemy would soon be upon them!" He spoke truth. It was not long before a hoarse, sullen sound became audible, like that of the roaring of distant waters. It grew louder and louder; till, from the parapet surrounding the enclosure, the great avenues which led to it might be seen dark with the masses of warriors, who came rolling on in a confused tide towards the fortress. At the same time, the terraces and *azoteas* or flat roofs, in the neighbourhood, were thronged with combatants brandishing their missiles, who seemed to

<sup>30</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 8.

have risen up as if by magic!<sup>21</sup> It was a spectacle to appal the stoutest. But the dark storm to which it was the prelude, and which gathered deeper and deeper round the Spaniards during the remainder of their residence in the capital, must form the subject of a separate Book.

<sup>21</sup> "El qual Mensajero bolvió dende á media hora todo descabrado, y herido, dando voces, que todos los Indios de la Ciudad venian de Guerra y que tenian todas las Puertes alzadas; é junto tras él da sobre nosotros tanta multitud de Gente por todas partes que

ni las calles ni Azoteas se parecian con Gente; la qual venia con los mayores alaridos, y grita mas espantable, que en el Mundo se puede pensar." Rel. Seg. de Cortes, ap. Lorenzana, p. 134.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés was born in 1478. He belonged to an ancient family of the Asturias. Every family, indeed, claims to be ancient in this last retreat of the intrepid Goths. He was early introduced at court, and was appointed page to Prince Juan, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, on whom their hopes, and those of the nation, deservedly rested. Oviedo accompanied the camp in the latter campaigns of the Moorish war, and was present at the memorable siege of Granada. On the untimely death of his royal master, in 1496, he passed over to Italy and entered the service of King Frederick of Naples. At the death of that prince he returned to his own country, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century we find him again established in Castile, where he occupied the place of keeper of the crown jewels. In 1513 he was named by Ferdinand the Catholic *veedor*, or inspector, of the gold founderies in the American colonies. Oviedo, accordingly, transported himself to the New World, where he soon took a commission under Pedrarias, governor of Darien, and shared in the disastrous fortunes of that colony. He obtained some valuable privileges from the Crown, built a fortress on Tierra Firme and entered into traffic with the natives. In this we may presume he was prosperous, since we find him at length established with a wife and family at Hispaniola, or Fernandina, as it was then called. Although he continued to make his principal residence in the New World, he made occasional visits to Spain, and in 1526 published at Madrid his *Sumario*. It is dedicated to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and contains an account of the West Indies, their geography, climate, the races who inhabited them, together with their animals and vegetable productions. The subject was of great interest to the inquisitive minds of Europe, and one of which they had previously gleaned but scanty information. In 1535, in a subsequent visit to Spain, Oviedo gave to the world the first volume of his great work, which he had been many years in compiling,—the *Historia de las Indias occidentales*. In the same year he was appointed by Charles the Fifth alcaide of the fortress of Hispaniola. He continued in the island the ten following years, actively engaged in the prosecution of his historical researches, and then returned for the last time to his native land. The veteran scholar was

well received at court, and obtained the honourable appointment of Chronicler of the Indies. He occupied this post until the period of his death, which took place at Valladolid in 1557, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, at the very time when he was employed in preparing the residue of his history for the press.

Considering the intimate footing on which Oviedo lived with the eminent persons of his time, it is singular that so little is preserved of his personal history and his character. Nic. Antonio speaks of him as a "man of large experience, courteous in his manners, and of great probity." His long and active life is a sufficient voucher for his experience, and one will hardly doubt his good breeding when we know the high society in which he moved. He left a large mass of manuscripts, embracing a vast range both of civil and natural history. By far the most important is his *Historia general de las Indias*. It is divided into three parts, containing fifty books. The first part, consisting of nineteen books, is the one already noticed as having been published during his lifetime. It gives in a more extended form the details of geographical and natural history embodied in his *Sumario*, with a narrative, moreover, of the discoveries and conquests of the Islands. A translation of this portion of the work was made by the learned Ramusio, with whom Oviedo was in correspondence, and is published in the third volume of his inestimable collection. The two remaining parts relate to the conquests of Mexico, of Peru, and other countries of South America. It is that portion of the work consulted for these pages. The manuscript was deposited, at his death, in the *Casa de la Contratacion*, at Seville. It afterwards came into the possession of the Dominican monastery of Monserrat. In process of time, mutilated copies found their way into several private collections; when, in 1775, Don Francisco Cerda y Rico, an officer in the Indian department, ascertained the place in which the original was preserved, and, prompted by his literary zeal, obtained an order from the government for its publication. Under his supervision the work was put in order for the press, and Oviedo's biographer, Alvarez y Baena, assures us that a complete edition of it, prepared with the greatest care, would soon be given to the world. (*Hijos de Madrid* (Madrid, 1790), tom. ii. pp. 354-361.) It still remains in manuscript.

No country has been more fruitful in the field of historical composition than Spain. Her ballads are chronicles done into verse. The chronicles themselves date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Every city, every small town, every great family, and many a petty one, has its chronicler. These were often mere monkish chroniclers, who in the seclusion of the convent found leisure for literary occupation. Or, not unfrequently, they were men who had taken part in the affairs they described, more expert with the sword than with the pen. The compositions of this latter class have a general character of that indifference to fine writing which shows a mind intent on the facts with which it is occupied, much more than on forms of expression. The monkish chroniclers, on the other hand, often make a pedantic display of obsolete erudition, which contrasts rather whimsically with the homely texture of the narrative. The chronicles of both the one and the other class of writers may frequently claim the merit of picturesque and animated detail, showing that the subject was one of living interest, and that the writer's heart was in his subject.

Many of the characteristic blemishes of which I have been speaking may be charged on Oviedo. His style is cast in no classic mould. His thoughts find themselves a vent in tedious, interminable sentences,

that may fill the reader with despair; and the thread of the narrative is broken by impertinent episodes that lead to nothing. His scholarship was said to be somewhat scanty. One will hardly be led to doubt it, from the tawdry display of Latin quotations with which he garnishes his pages, like a poor gullant who would make the most of his little store of finery. He affected to take the elder Pliny as his model, as appears from the preface to his *Sumario*. But his own work fell far short of the model of erudition and eloquence which that great writer of natural history has bequeathed to us.

Yet, with his obvious defects, Oviedo showed an enlightened curiosity, and a shrewd spirit of observation, which place him far above the ordinary range of chroniclers. He may even be said to display a philosophic tone in his reflections, though his philosophy must be regarded as cold and unscrupulous wherever the rights of the aborigines are in question. He was indefatigable in amassing materials for his narratives, and for this purpose maintained a correspondence with the most eminent men of his time who had taken part in the transactions which he commemorates. He even condescended to collect information from more humble sources, from popular tradition and the reports of the common soldiers. Hence his work often presents a medley of inconsistent and contradictory details, which perplex the judgment, making it exceedingly difficult, at this distance of time, to disentangle the truth. It was perhaps for this reason that Las Casas complimented the author by declaring that "his works were a wholesale fabrication, as full of lies as of pages!" Yet another explanation of this severe judgment may be found in the different characters of the two men. Oviedo shared in the worldly feelings common to the Spanish Conquerors, and, while he was ever ready to magnify the exploits of his countrymen, held lightly the claims and the sufferings of the unfortunate aborigines. He was incapable of appreciating the generous philanthropy of Las Casas, or of rising to his lofty views, which he doubtless derided as those of a benevolent, it might be, but visionary, fanatic. Las Casas, on the other hand, whose voice had been constantly uplifted against the abuses of the Conquerors, was filled with abhorrence at the sentiments avowed by Oviedo, and it was natural that his aversion to the principles should be extended to the person who professed them. Probably no two men could have been found less competent to form a right estimate of each other.

Oviedo showed the same activity in gathering materials for natural history as he had done for the illustration of civil. He collected the different plants of the Islands in his garden, and domesticated many of the animals, or kept them in confinement under his eye, where he could study their peculiar habits. By this course, if he did not himself rival Pliny and Hernandez in science, he was, at least, enabled to furnish the man of science with facts of the highest interest and importance.

Besides these historical writings, Oviedo left a work in six volumes, called by the whimsical title of *Quincuagenas*. It consists of imaginary dialogues between the most eminent Spaniards of the time, in respect to their personal history, their families, and genealogy. It is a work of inestimable value to the historian of the times of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Charles the Fifth. But it has attracted little attention in Spain, where it still remains in manuscript. A complete copy of Oviedo's History of the Indies is in the archives of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, and it is understood that this body has now an edition prepared for the press. Such parts as are literally transcribed

from preceding narratives, like the Letters of Cortés, which Oviedo transferred without scruple entire and unmutated into his own pages, though enlivened, it is true, by occasional criticism of his own, might as well be omitted. But the remainder of the great work affords a mass of multifarious information which would make an important contribution to the colonial history of Spain.

An authority of frequent reference in these pages is Diego Muñoz Camargo. He was a noble Tlascalcan *mestee*, and lived in the latter half of the sixteenth century. He was educated in the Christian faith, and early instructed in Castilian, in which tongue he composed his *Historic de Tlascala*. In this work he introduces the reader to the different members of the great Nahuatlac family who came successively up the Mexican plateau. Born and bred among the aborigines of the country, when the practices of the pagan age had not wholly become obsolete, Camargo was in a position perfectly to comprehend the condition of the ancient inhabitants; and his work supplies much curious and authentic information respecting the social and religious institutions of the land at the time of the Conquest. His patriotism warms as he recounts the old hostilities of his countrymen with the Aztecs; and it is singular to observe how the detestation of the rival nations survived their common subjection under the Castilian yoke.

Camargo embraces in his narrative an account of this great event, and of the subsequent settlement of the country. As one of the Indian family, we might expect to see his chronicle reflect the prejudices, or, at least, partialities, of the Indian. But the Christian convert yielded up his sympathies as freely to the Conquerors as to his own countrymen. The desire to magnify the exploits of the latter, and at the same time to do full justice to the prowess of the white men, produces occasionally a most whimsical contrast in his pages, giving the story a strong air of inconsistency. In point of literary execution the work has little merit; as great, however, as could be expected from a native Indian, indebted for his knowledge of the tongue to such imperfect instruction as he could obtain from the missionaries. Yet in style of composition it may compare not unfavourably with the writings of some of the missionaries themselves.

The original manuscript was long preserved in the convent of *San Felipe Neri* in Mexico, where Torquemada, as appears from occasional references, had access to it. It has escaped the attention of other historians, but was embraced by Muñoz in his magnificent collection, and deposited in the archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid; from which source the copy in my possession was obtained. It bears the title of *Pedazo de Historia verdadera*, and is without the author's name, and without division into books or chapters.

## BOOK V.

### EXPULSION FROM MEXICO.

---

#### CHAPTER I.

**Desperate Assault on the Quarters.—Fury of the Mexicans.—Sally of the Spaniards.—Montezuma addresses the People.—Dangerously Wounded.**

1520.

THE palace of Axayacatl, in which the Spaniards were quartered, was, as the reader may remember, a vast, irregular pile of stone buildings, having but one floor, except in the centre, where another story was added, consisting of a suite of apartments which rose like turrets on the main building of the edifice. A vast area stretched around, encompassed by a stone wall of no great height. This was supported by towers or bulwarks at certain intervals, which gave it some degree of strength, not, indeed, as compared with European fortifications, but sufficient to resist the rude battering enginery of the Indians. The parapet had been pierced here and there with embrasures for the artillery, which consisted of thirteen guns; and smaller apertures were made in other parts for the convenience of the arquebusiers. The Spanish forces found accommodation within the great building; but the numerous body of Tlascalan auxiliaries could have had no other shelter than what was afforded by barracks or sheds hastily constructed for the purpose in the spacious court-yard. Most of them, probably, bivouacked under



the open sky, in a climate milder than that to which they were accustomed among the rude hills of their native land. Thus crowded into a small and compact compass, the whole army could be assembled at a moment's notice; and, as the Spanish commander was careful to enforce the strictest discipline and vigilance, it was scarcely possible that he could be taken by surprise. No sooner, therefore, did the trumpet call to arms, as the approach of the enemy was announced, than every soldier was at his post, the cavalry mounted, the artillerymen at their guns, and the archers and arquebusiers stationed so as to give the assailants a warm reception.

On they came, with the companies, or irregular masses, into which the multitude was divided, rushing forward each in its own dense column, with many a gay banner displayed, and many a bright gleam of light reflected from helmet, arrow, and spear-head, as they were tossed about in their disorderly array. As they drew near the enclosure, the Aztecs set up a hideous yell, or rather that shrill whistle used in fight by the nations of Anahuac, which rose far above the sound of shell and atabal and their other rude instruments of warlike melody. They followed this by a tempest of missiles,—stones, darts, and arrows,—which fell thick as rain on the besieged, while volleys of the same kind descended from the crowded terraces in the neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup>

The Spaniards waited until the foremost column had arrived within the best distance for giving effect to their fire, when a general discharge of artillery and

<sup>1</sup> "Eran tantas las Piedras, que nos echaban con Hondas dentro en la Fortuleza, que no parecia sino que el Cielo las llovía; é las Flechas, y Tiraderas eran tantas, que todas las paredes y Patios estaban llenos, que casi no podíamos andar con ellas." (Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 134.)

No wonder that they should have found some difficulty in wading through the arrows, if Herrera's account be correct, that *forty cart-loads* of them were gathered up and burnt by the besieged every day! Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 9.

arquebuses swept the ranks of the assailants and mowed them down by hundreds.<sup>2</sup> The Mexicans were familiar with the report of these formidable engines as they had been harmless'y discharged on some holiday festival; but never till now had they witnessed their murderous power. They stood aghast for a moment, as with bewildered looks they staggered under the fury of the fire;<sup>3</sup> but, soon rallying, the bold barbarians uttered a piercing cry, and rushed forward over the prostrate bodies of their comrades. A second and a third volley checked their career, and threw them into disorder, but still they pressed on, letting off clouds of arrows; while their comrades on the roofs of the houses took more deliberate aim at the combatants in the court-yard. The Mexicans were particularly expert in the use of the sling;<sup>4</sup> and the stones which they hurled from their elevated positions on the heads of their enemies did even greater execution than the arrows. They glanced, indeed, from the mail-covered bodies of the cavaliers, and from those who were sheltered under the cotton panoply, or *escaupil*. But some of the soldiers, especially the veterans of Cortés, and many of their Indian allies, had but slight defences, and suffered greatly under this stony tempest.

The Aztecs, meanwhile, had advanced close under the walls of the intrenchment, their ranks broken and

<sup>2</sup> "Luego sin tardanza se juntaron los Mexicanos, en gran copia, puestos á punto de Guerra, que no parecia, sino que habian salido debajo de tierra todos juntos, y comenzaron luego á dar grita y pelear, y los Españoles les comenzaron á responder de dentro con toda la artilleria que de nuevo habian traído, y con toda la gente que de nuevo habia venido, y los Españoles hicieron gran destrozo en los Indios, con la artilleria, arcabuzes, y ballestas y todo el otro artificio de pelear." (Sahagun,

Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 22.) The good father waxes eloquent in his description of the battle-scene.

<sup>3</sup> The enemy presented so easy a mark, says Gomara, that the gunners loaded and fired with hardly the trouble of pointing their pieces. "Tan recio, que los artilleros sin asestar jugaban con los tiros." Crónica, cap. 106.

<sup>4</sup> "Hondas, que eran la mas fuerte arma de pelea que los Mejicanos tenian." Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.

disordered and their limbs mangled by the unintermitting fire of the Christians. But they still pressed on, under the very muzzles of the guns. They endeavoured to scale the parapet, which, from its moderate height, was in itself a work of no great difficulty. But the moment they showed their heads above the rampart they were shot down by the unerring marksmen within, or stretched on the ground by a blow of a Tlascalan *maquahuitl*. Nothing daunted, others soon appeared to take the place of the fallen, and strove by raising themselves on the writhing bodies of their dying comrades, or by fixing their spears in the crevices of the wall, to surmount the barrier. But the attempt proved equally vain.

Defeated here, they tried to effect a breach in the parapet by battering it with heavy pieces of timber. The works were not constructed on those scientific principles by which one part is made to overlook and protect another. The besiegers, therefore, might operate at their pleasure, with but little molestation from the garrison within, whose guns could not be brought into a position to bear on them, and who could mount no part of their own works for their defence without exposing their persons to the missiles of the whole besieging army. The parapet, however, proved too strong for the efforts of the assailants. In their despair, they endeavoured to set the Christian quarters on fire, shooting burning arrows into them, and climbing up so as to dart their firebrands through the embrasures. The principal edifice was of stone. But the temporary defences of the Indian allies, and other parts of the exterior works, were of wood. Several of these took fire, and the flame spread rapidly among the light, combustible materials. This was a disaster for which the besieged were wholly unprepared. They had little water, scarcely enough for their own consumption. They endeavoured to extinguish the flames by heaping on earth. But in vain. Fortunately, the great building was of materials which defied the destroying

element. But the fire raged in some of the outworks, connected with the parapet, with a fury which could only be checked by throwing down a part of the wall itself, thus laying open a formidable breach. This, by the general's order, was speedily protected by a battery of heavy guns, and a file of arquebusiers, who kept up an incessant volley through the opening on the assailants.<sup>5</sup>

The fight now raged with fury on both sides. The walls around the palace belched forth an unintermitting sheet of flame and smoke. The groans of the wounded and dying were lost in the fiercer battle-cries of the combatants, the roar of the artillery, the sharper rattle of the musketry, and the hissing sound of Indian missiles. It was the conflict of the European with the American; of civilized man with the barbarian; of the science of the one with the rude weapons and warfare of the other. And as the ancient walls of Tenochtitlan shook under the thunders of the artillery, it announced that the white man, the destroyer, had set his foot within her precincts.<sup>6</sup>

Night at length came, and drew her friendly mantle over the contest. The Aztec seldom fought by night. It brought little repose, however, to the Spaniards, in hourly expectation of an assault; and they found abundant occupation in restoring the breaches in their defences and in repairing their battered armour. The beleaguering host lay on their arms through the night, giving token of their presence, now and then, by sending a stone or shaft over the battlements, or by a solitary

<sup>5</sup> "En la Fortaleza daban tan recio combate, que por muchas partes nos pusieron fuego, y por la una se quemó mucha parte de ella, sin la poder remediar, hasta que la atajámos, cortando las paredes, y derrocando un pedazo que mató el fuego. E si no fuera por la mucha Guarda, que allí puse de Escopeteros, y Ballesteros, y otros tiros de pólvora, nos entrarán á escala vista,

VOL. II.

sin los poder resistir." Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., ubi supra. — Gomara Crónica, cap. 106. — Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13. — Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 22. — Gonzalo de las Casas, Defensa, MS., Parte 1, cap. 26. — Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 126.

cry of defiance from some warrior more determined than the rest, till all other sounds were lost in the vague, indistinct murmurs which float upon the air in the neighbourhood of a vast assembly.

The ferocity shown by the Mexicans seems to have been a thing for which Cortés was wholly unprepared. His past experience, his uninterrupted career of victory with a much feebler force at his command, had led him to underrate the military efficiency, as well as the valour, of the Indians. The apparent facility with which the Mexicans had acquiesced in the outrages on their sovereign and themselves had led him to hold their courage, in particular, too lightly. He could not believe the present assault to be anything more than a temporary ebullition of the populace, which would soon waste itself by its own fury. And he proposed, on the following day, to sally out and inflict such chastisement on his foes as should bring them to their senses and show who was master in the capital.

With early dawn, the Spaniards were up and under arms; but not before their enemies had given evidence of their hostility by the random missiles which from time to time were sent into the enclosure. As the gray light of morning advanced, it showed the besieging army, far from being diminished in numbers, filling up the great square and neighbouring avenues in more dense array than on the preceding evening. Instead of a confused, disorderly rabble, it had the appearance of something like a regular force, with its battalions distributed under their respective banners, the devices of which showed a contribution from the principal cities and districts in the Valley. High above the rest was conspicuous the ancient standard of Mexico, with its well-known cognizance, an eagle pouncing on an ocelot, emblazoned on a rich mantle of feather-work. Here and there priests might be seen mingling in the ranks of the besiegers, and, with frantic gestures, animating them to avenge their insulted deities.

The greater part of the enemy had little clothing save the *maxtlatl*, or sash round the loins. They were variously armed, with long spears tipped with copper or flint, or sometimes merely pointed and hardened in the fire. Some were provided with slings, and others with darts having two or three points, with long strings attached to them, by which, when discharged, they could be torn away again from the body of the wounded. This was a formidable weapon, much dreaded by the Spaniards. Those of a higher order wielded the terrible *maquahuitl*, with its sharp and brittle blades of obsidian. Amidst the motley bands of warriors were seen many whose showy dress and air of authority intimidated persons of high military consequence. Their breasts were protected by plates of metal, over which was thrown the gay surcoat of feather-work. They wore casques resembling in their form the head of some wild and ferocious animal, crested with bristly hair, or overshadowed by tall and graceful plumes of many a brilliant colour. Some few were decorated with the red fillet bound round the hair, having tufts of cotton attached to it, which denoted by their number that of the victories they had won, and their own pre-eminent rank among the warriors of the nation. The motley assembly plainly showed that priest, warrior, and citizen had all united to swell the tumult.

Before the sun had shot his beams into the Castilian quarters, the enemy were in motion, evidently preparing to renew the assault of the preceding day. The Spanish commander determined to anticipate them by a vigorous sortie, for which he had already made the necessary dispositions. A general discharge of ordnance and musketry sent death far and wide into the enemy's ranks, and, before they had time to recover from their confusion, the gates were thrown open, and Cortés, sallying out at the head of his cavalry, supported by a large body of infantry and several thousand Tlascalans, rode at full gallop against them. Taken thus by surprise, it was scarcely possible to offer much resist-

ance. Those who did were trampled down under the horses' feet, cut to pieces with the broadswords, or pierced with the lances of the riders. The infantry followed up the blow, and the rout for the moment was general.

But the Aztecs fled only to take refuge behind a barricade, or strong work of timber and earth, which had been thrown across the great street through which they were pursued. Rallying on the other side, they made a gallant stand, and poured in turn a volley of their light weapons on the Spaniards, who, saluted with a storm of missiles at the same time from the terraces of the houses, were checked in their career and thrown into some disorder.\*

Cortés, thus impeded, ordered up a few pieces of heavy ordnance, which soon swept away the barricades and cleared a passage for the army. But it had lost the momentum acquired in its rapid advance. The enemy had time to rally and to meet the Spaniards on more equal terms. They were attacked in flank, too, as they advanced, by fresh battalions, who swarmed in from the adjoining streets and lanes. The canals were alive with boats filled with warriors, who with their formidable darts searched every crevice or weak place in the armour of proof, and made havoc on the unprotected bodies of the Tlascalans. By repeated and vigorous charges, the Spaniards succeeded in driving the Indians before them; though many, with a desperation which showed they loved vengeance better than life, sought to embarrass the movements of their horses by clinging to their legs, or, more successfully, strove to pull the riders from their saddles. And woe to the unfortunate cavalier who was thus dismounted, —to be despatched by the brutal *maguahuil*, or to be dragged on board a canoe to the bloody altar of sacrifice!

But the greatest annoyance which the Spaniards

\* Carta del Ejército, MS.

endured was from the missiles from the *azoteas*, consisting often of large stones, hurled with a force that would tumble the stoutest rider from his saddle. Galled in the extreme by these discharges, against which even their shields afforded no adequate protection, Cortés ordered fire to be set to the buildings. This was no very difficult matter, since, although chiefly of stone, they were filled with mats, cane-work, and other combustible materials, which were soon in a blaze. But the buildings stood separated from one another by canals and draw-bridges, so that the flames did not easily communicate to the neighbouring edifices. Hence the labour of the Spaniards was incalculably increased, and their progress in the work of destruction—fortunately for the city—was comparatively slow.\* They did not relax their efforts, however, till several hundred houses had been consumed, and the miseries of a conflagration, in which the wretched inmates perished equally with the defenders, were added to the other horrors of the scene.

The day was now far spent. The Spaniards had been everywhere victorious. But the enemy, though driven back on every point, still kept the field. When broken by the furious charges of the cavalry, he soon rallied behind the temporary defences, which, at different intervals, had been thrown across the streets, and, facing about, renewed the fight with undiminished courage, till the sweeping away of the barriers by the cannon of the assailants left a free passage for the movements of their horse. Thus the action was a succession of rallying and retreating, in which both parties suffered much, although the loss inflicted on the

\* "Están todas en el agua, y de casa á casa vna puente leuadiza, passalla á nado, era cosa muy peligrosa; porque desde las açuteas tirauan tanta piedra, y cantos, que era cosa perdida ponernos en ello. Y demas desto, en algunas casas que les poniamos fuego, tardaua

vna casa en se quemar vn dia entero, y no se podia pegar fuego de vna casa á otra; lo vno, por estar apartadas la vna de otra el agua en medio; y lo otro, por ser de açuteas." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 126.



Indians was probably tenfold greater than that of the Spaniards. But the Aztecs could better afford the loss of a hundred lives than their antagonists that of one. And, while the Spaniards showed an array broken and obviously thinned in numbers, the Mexican army, swelled by the tributary levies which flowed in upon it from the neighbouring streets, exhibited, with all its losses, no sign of diminution. At length, sated with carnage, and exhausted by toil and hunger, the Spanish commander drew off his men, and sounded a retreat.\*

On his way back to his quarters, he beheld his friend the secretary Duero, in a street adjoining, unhorsed, and hotly engaged with a body of Mexicans, against whom he was desperately defending himself with his poniard. Cortés, roused at the sight, shouted his war-cry, and, dashing into the midst of the enemy, scattered them like chaff by the fury of his onset; then, recovering his friend's horse, he enabled him to remount, and the two cavaliers, striking their spurs into their steeds, burst through their opponents and joined the main body of the army.<sup>10</sup> Such displays of generous gallantry were not uncommon in these engagements, which called forth more feats of personal adventure than battles with antagonists better skilled in the science of war. The chivalrous bearing of the general was emulated in full measure by Sandoval, De Leon, Olid, Alvarado, Ordaz, and his other brave companions, who won such glory under the eye of their leader as prepared

\* "The Mexicans fought with such ferocity," says Diaz, "that, if we had had the assistance on that day of ten thousand Hector, and as many Orlando, we should have made no impression on them. There were several of our troops," he adds, "who had served in the Italian wars, but neither there nor in the battles with the Turk had they ever seen anything like the desperation shown by these Indians."

Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 126. See, also, for the last pages, Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 135.—Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, MS.—Probanza á pedimento de Juan de Lexalde, MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 198.

<sup>10</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 9.—Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 69.

the way for the independent commands which afterwards placed provinces and kingdoms at their disposal.

The undaunted Aztecs hung on the rear of their retreating foes, annoying them at every step by fresh flights of stones and arrows; and, when the Spaniards had re-entered their fortress, the Indian host encamped around it, showing the same dogged resolution as on the preceding evening. Though true to their ancient habits of inaction during the night, they broke the stillness of the hour by insulting cries and menaces, which reached the ears of the besieged. "The gods have delivered you, at last, into our hands," they said; "Huitzilopochtli has long cried for his victims. The stone of sacrifice is ready. The knives are sharpened. The wild beasts in the palace are roaring for their offal. And the cages," they added, taunting the Tlascalans with their leanness, "are waiting for the false sons of Anahuac, who are to be fattened for the festival!" These dismal menaces, which sounded fearfully in the ears of the besieged, who understood too well their import, were mingled with piteous lamentations for their sovereign, whom they called on the Spaniards to deliver up to them.

Cortés suffered much from a severe wound which he had received in the hand in the late action. But the anguish of his mind must have been still greater as he brooded over the dark prospect before him. He had mistaken the character of the Mexicans. Their long and patient endurance had been a violence to their natural temper, which, as their whole history proves, was arrogant and ferocious beyond that of most of the races of Anahuac. The restraint which, in deference to their monarch more than to their own fears, they had so long put on their natures, being once removed, their passions burst forth with accumulated violence. The Spaniards had encountered in the Tlascalan an open enemy, who had no grievance to complain of, no wrong to redress. He fought under the vague apprehension only of some coming evil to his country. But

the Aztec, hitherto the proud lord of the land, was goaded by insult and injury, till he had reached that pitch of self-devotion which made life cheap in comparison with revenge. Armed thus with the energy of despair, the savage is almost a match for the civilized man; and a whole nation, moved to its depths by a common feeling, which swallows up all selfish considerations of personal interest and safety, becomes, whatever be its resources, like the earthquake and the tornado, the most formidable among the agencies of nature.

Considerations of this kind may have passed through the mind of Cortés, as he reflected on his own impotence to restrain the fury of the Mexicans, and resolved, in despite of his late supercilious treatment of Montezuma, to employ his authority to allay the tumult,—an authority so successfully exerted in behalf of Alvarado at an earlier stage of the insurrection. He was the more confirmed in his purpose on the following morning, when the assailants, redoubling their efforts, succeeded in scaling the works in one quarter and effecting an entrance into the enclosure. It is true, they were met with so resolute a spirit that not a man of those who entered was left alive. But, in the impetuosity of the assault, it seemed, for a few moments, as if the place was to be carried by storm."<sup>11</sup>

Cortés now sent to the Aztec emperor to request his interposition with his subjects in behalf of the Spaniards. But Montezuma was not in the humour to comply. He had remained moodily in his quarters ever since the general's return. Disgusted with the treatment he had received, he had still further cause for mortification in finding himself the ally of those who were the open enemies of his nation. From his apartment he had beheld the tragical scenes in his capital, and seen another, the presumptive heir to his

<sup>11</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 126.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 12.—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 107.

throne, taking the place which he should have occupied at the head of his warriors and fighting the battles of his country.<sup>12</sup> Distressed by his position, indignant at those who had placed him in it, he coldly answered, "What have I to do with Malinche? I do not wish to hear from him. I desire only to die. To what a state has my willingness to serve him reduced me!"<sup>13</sup> When urged still further to comply by Olid and Father Olmedo, he added, "It is of no use. They will neither believe me, nor the false words and promises of Malinche. You will never leave these walls alive." On being assured, however, that the Spaniards would willingly depart if a way were opened to them by their enemies, he at length—moved, probably, more by the desire to spare the blood of his subjects than of the Christians—consented to expostulate with his people.<sup>14</sup>

In order to give the greater effect to his presence, he put on his imperial robes. The *tīlmatli*, his mantle of white and blue, flowed over his shoulders, held together by its rich clasp of the green *chalchivītl*. The same precious gem, with emeralds of uncommon size, set in gold, profusely ornamented other parts of his dress. His feet were shod with the golden sandals, and his brows covered by the *copilli*, or Mexican diadem, resembling in form the pontifical tiara. Thus attired, and surrounded by a guard of Spaniards and several Aztec nobles, and preceded by the golden wand, the symbol of sovereignty, the Indian monarch ascended the central turret of the palace. His presence was

<sup>12</sup> Cortés sent Marina to ascertain from Montezuma the name of the gallant chief, who could be easily seen from the walls animating and directing his countrymen. The emperor informed him that it was his brother Cuītlahua, the presumptive heir to his crown, and the same chief whom the Spanish commander had released a few days previous. Herrera, *Hist. general*,

dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 10.

<sup>13</sup> "¿Que quiere de mí ya Malinche, que yo no desee vivir ni oille? pues en tal estado por su causa mi ventura me ha traído." Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 126.

<sup>14</sup> Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, ubi supra.—Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 88.

instantly recognized by the people, and, as the royal retinue advanced along the battlements, a change, as if by magic, came over the scene. The clang of instruments, the fierce cries of the assailants, were hushed, and a death-like stillness pervaded the whole assembly, so fiercely agitated, but a few moments before, by the wild tumult of war! Many prostrated themselves on the ground; others bent the knee; and all turned with eager expectation towards the monarch whom they had been taught to reverence with slavish awe, and from whose countenance they had been wont to turn away as from the intolerable splendours of divinity. Montezuma saw his advantage; and, while he stood thus confronted with his awe-struck people, he seemed to recover all his former authority and confidence, as he felt himself to be still a king. With a calm voice, easily heard over the silent assembly, he is said by the Castilian writers to have thus addressed them:

“Why do I see my people here in arms against the palace of my fathers? Is it that you think your sovereign a prisoner, and wish to release him? If so, you have acted rightly. But you are mistaken. I am no prisoner. The strangers are my guests. I remain with them only from choice, and can leave them when I list. Have you come to drive them from the city? That is unnecessary. They will depart of their own accord, if you will open a way for them. Return to your homes, then. Lay down your arms. Show your obedience to me who have a right to it. The white men shall go back to their own land; and all shall be well again within the walls of Tenochtitlan.”

As Montezuma announced himself the friend of the detested strangers, a murmur ran through the multitude; a murmur of contempt for the pusillanimous prince who could show himself so insensible to the insults and injuries for which the nation was in arms. The swollen tide of their passions swept away all the barriers of ancient reverence, and, taking a new direction, descended on the head of the unfortunate

monarch, so far degenerated from his warlike ancestors. "Base Aztec," they exclaimed, "woman, coward! the white men have made you a woman,—fit only to weave and spin!" These bitter taunts were soon followed by still more hostile demonstrations. A chief, it is said, of high rank, bent a bow or brandished a javelin with an air of defiance against the emperor,<sup>18</sup> when, in an instant, a cloud of stones and arrows descended on the spot where the royal train was gathered. The Spaniards appointed to protect his person had been thrown off their guard by the respectful deportment of the people during their lord's address. They now hastily interposed their bucklers. But it was too late. Montezuma was wounded by three of the missiles, one of which, a stone, fell with such violence on his head, near the temple, as brought him senseless to the ground. The Mexicans, shocked at their own sacrilegious act, experienced a sudden revulsion of feeling, and, setting up a dismal cry, dispersed, panic-struck, in different directions. Not one of the multitudinous array remained in the great square before the palace!

The unhappy prince, meanwhile, was borne by his attendants to his apartments below. On recovering from the insensibility caused by the blow, the wretchedness of his condition broke upon him. He had tasted the last bitterness of degradation. He had been reviled, rejected by his people. The meanest of the rabble had raised their hands against him. He had nothing more to live for. It was in vain that Cortés and his officers endeavoured to soothe the anguish of his spirit and fill him with better thoughts. He spoke not a word in answer. His wound, though dangerous, might still, with skilful treatment, not prove mortal. But Montezuma refused all the remedies prescribed for it. He tore off the bandages as often as they were applied,

<sup>18</sup> Acosta reports a tradition that Guatemozin, Montezuma's nephew, who himself afterwards succeeded

to the throne, was the man that shot the first arrow. Lib. 7, cap. 26.

maintaining, all the while, the most determined silence. He sat with eyes dejected, brooding over his fallen fortunes, over the image of ancient majesty and present humiliation. He had survived his honour. But a spark of his ancient spirit seemed to kindle in his bosom, as it was clear he did not mean to survive his disgrace. From this painful scene the Spanish general and his followers were soon called away by the new dangers which menaced the garrison.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> I have reported this tragical event, and the circumstances attending it, as they are given, in more or less detail, but substantially in the same way, by the most accredited writers of that and the following age,—several of them eye-witnesses. (See Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 126.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—*Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 136.—Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.—*Ixtlilxochitl*, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 88.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 10.—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 70.—Acosta, *ubi supra*.—Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 5, cap. 5.) It is also confirmed by Cortés in the instrument granting to Montezuma's favourite daughter certain estates by way of dowry. (See Appendix, Part 2, No. 12.) Don Thoan Cano, indeed, who married this princess, assured Oviedo that the Mexicans respected the person of the monarch so long as they saw him, and were not aware, when they discharged their missiles, that he was present, being hid from sight by the shields of the Spaniards. (See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.) This improbable statement is repeated by the chaplain Gomara. (*Crónica*, cap. 107.) It is rejected by Oviedo, however, who says that Alvarado, himself present at the scene, in a conversation with him afterwards, explicitly confirmed the narrative given in the text. (*Hist.*

*de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.) The Mexicans gave a very different account of the transaction. According to them, Montezuma, together with the lords of Tezucuo and Tlatelolco, then detained as prisoners in the fortress by the Spaniards, were all strangled by means of the *garrote*, and their dead bodies thrown over the walls to their countrymen. I quote the original of Father Sahagun, who gathered the story from the Aztecs themselves:

“De esta manera se determinaron los Españoles á morir ó vencer varonilmente; y así hablaron á todos los amigos Indios, y todos ellos estuvieron firmes en esta determinacion: y lo primero que hicieron fué que diéron garrote á todos los Señores que tenían presos, y los echaron muertos fuera del fuerte: y antes que esto hiciesen les dijéron muchas cosas, y les hicieron saber su determinacion, y que de ellos habia de comenzar esta obra, y luego todos los demas habian de ser muertos á sus manos, dijéronles, no es posible que vuestros Idolos os libren de nuestras manos. Y desde les hubieron dado Garrote, y vieron que estaban muertos, mandáronlos echar por las azoteas, fuera de la casa, en un lugar que se llama Tortuga de Piedra, porque allí estaba una piedra labrada á manera de Tortuga. Y desde supieron y vieron los de á fuera, que aquellos Señores tan principales habian sido muertos por las manos de los

Españoles, luego tomaron los cuerpos, y les hicieron sus exequias, al modo de su idolatría, y quemaron sus cuerpos, y tomaron sus cenizas, y las pusieron en lugares apropiadas á sus dignidades y valor.<sup>6</sup> Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 23.

It is hardly necessary to comment on the absurdity of this monstrous imputation, which, however,

has found favour with some later writers. Independently of all other considerations, the Spaniards would have been slow to compass the Indian monarch's death, since, as the Tezcucan Ixtlilxochitl truly observes, it was the most fatal blow which could befall them, by dissolving the last tie which held them to the Mexicana. Hist. Chich., MS., ubi supra.



## CHAPTER II.

Storming of the Great Temple.—Spirit of the Azteca.—Distresses of the Garrison.—Sharp Combats in the City.—Death of Montezuma.

1520.

OPPOSITE to the Spanish quarters, at only a few rods' distance, stood the great *teocalli* of Huitzilopochtli. This pyramidal mound, with the sanctuaries that crowned it, rising altogether to the height of near a hundred and fifty feet, afforded an elevated position that completely commanded the palace of Axayacatl, occupied by the Christians. A body of five or six hundred Mexicans, many of them nobles and warriors of the highest rank, had got possession of the *teocalli*, whence they discharged such a tempest of arrows on the garrison that no one could leave his defences for a moment without imminent danger; while the Mexicans, under shelter of the sanctuaries, were entirely covered from the fire of the besieged. It was obviously necessary to dislodge the enemy, if the Spaniards would remain longer in their quarters.

Cortés assigned this service to his chamberlain, Escobar, giving him a hundred men for the purpose, with orders to storm the *teocalli* and set fire to the sanctuaries. But that officer was thrice repulsed in the attempt, and, after the most desperate efforts, was obliged to return with considerable loss and without accomplishing his object.

Cortés, who saw the immediate necessity of carrying the place, determined to lead the storming party himself. He was then suffering much from the wound in his left hand, which had disabled it for the present.

He made the arm serviceable, however, by fastening his buckler to it,<sup>1</sup> and, thus crippled, sallied out at the head of three hundred chosen cavaliers and several thousand of his auxiliaries.

In the court-yard of the temple he found a numerous body of Indians prepared to dispute his passage. He briskly charged them ; but the flat smooth stones of the pavement were so slippery that the horses lost their footing and many of them fell. Hastily dismounting, they sent back the animals to their quarters, and, renewing the assault, the Spaniards succeeded without much difficulty in dispersing the Indian warriors and opening a free passage for themselves to the *teocalli*. This building, as the reader may remember, was a huge pyramidal structure, about three hundred feet square at the base. A flight of stone steps on the outside, at one of the angles of the mound, led to a platform, or terraced walk, which passed round the building until it reached a similar flight of stairs directly over the preceding, that conducted to another landing as before. As there were five bodies or divisions of the *teocalli*, it became necessary to pass round its whole extent four times, or nearly a mile, in order to reach the summit, which, it may be recollected, was an open area, crowned only by the two sanctuaries dedicated to the Aztec deities.<sup>2</sup>

Cortés, having cleared a way for the assault, sprang up the lower stairway, followed by Alvarado, Sandoval, Ordaz, and the other gallant cavaliers of his little band, leaving a file of arquebusiers and a strong corps of Indian allies to hold the enemy in check at the foot of the monument. On the first landing, as well as on the

<sup>1</sup> "Salí fuera de la Fortaleza, aunque manco de la mano izquierda de una herida que el primer día me habían dado : y liada la rodela en el brazo fuí á la Torre con algunos Españoles, que me siguieron." Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 138

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*.—I have ventured to repeat the description of the temple here, as it is important that the reader, who may perhaps not turn to the preceding pages, should have a distinct image of it in his own mind before beginning the account of the combat.

several galleries above, and on the summit, the Aztec warriors were drawn up to dispute his passage. From their elevated position they showered down volleys of lighter missiles, together with heavy stones, beams, and burning rafters, which, thundering along the stairway, overturned the ascending Spaniards and carried desolation through their ranks. The more fortunate, eluding or springing over these obstacles, succeeded in gaining the first terrace, where, throwing themselves on their enemies, they compelled them, after a short resistance, to fall back. The assailants pressed on, effectually supported by a brisk fire of the musketeers from below, which so much galled the Mexicans in their exposed situation that they were glad to take shelter on the broad summit of the *teocalli*.

Cortés and his comrades were close upon their rear, and the two parties soon found themselves face to face on this aerial battle-field, engaged in mortal combat in presence of the whole city, as well as of the troops in the court-yard, who paused, as if by mutual consent, from their own hostilities, gazing in silent expectation on the issue of those above. The area, though somewhat smaller than the base of the *teocalli*, was large enough to afford a fair field of fight for a thousand combatants. It was paved with broad, flat stones. No impediment occurred over its surface, except the huge sacrificial block, and the temples of stone which rose to the height of forty feet, at the farther extremity of the arena. One of these had been consecrated to the Cross. The other was still occupied by the Mexican war-god. The Christian and the Aztec contended for their religions under the very shadow of their respective shrines; while the Indian priests, running to and fro, with their hair wildly streaming over their sable mantles, seemed hovering in mid-air, like so many demons of darkness urging on the work of slaughter!

The parties closed with the desperate fury of men who had no hope but in victory. Quarter was neither asked nor given; and to fly was impossible. The edge

of the area was unprotected by parapet or battlement. The least slip would be fatal; and the combatants, as they struggled in mortal agony, were sometimes seen to roll over the sheer sides of the precipice together.<sup>3</sup> Cortés himself is said to have had a narrow escape from this dreadful fate. Two warriors, of strong, muscular frames, seized on him, and were dragging him violently towards the brink of the pyramid. Aware of their intention, he struggled with all his force, and, before they could accomplish their purpose, succeeded in tearing himself from their grasp and hurling one of them over the walls with his own arm! The story is not improbable in itself, for Cortés was a man of uncommon agility and strength. It has been often repeated, but not by contemporary history.<sup>4</sup>

The battle lasted with unintermitting fury for three hours. The number of the enemy was double that of the Christians; and it seemed as if it were a contest which must be determined by numbers and brute force, rather than by superior science. But it was not so. The invulnerable armour of the Spaniard, his sword of matchless temper, and his skill in the use of it, gave him advantages which far outweighed the odds of physical strength and numbers. After doing all that

<sup>3</sup> Many of the Aztecs, according to Sahagun, seeing the fate of such of their comrades as fell into the hands of the Spaniards on the narrow terraces below, voluntarily threw themselves headlong from the lofty summit and were dashed in pieces on the pavement. "Y los de arriba viendo á los de abajo muertos, y á los de arriba que los iban matando los que habian subido, comenzaron á arrojar del cu abajo, desde lo alto, los cuales todos morian despeñados, quebrados brazos y piernas, y hechos pedazos, porque el cu era muy alto; y otros los mesmos Españoles los arrojan de lo alto del cu, y así todos cuantos allá habian subido de los

Mexicanos, murieron mala muerte." Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Among others, see Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 9. —Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 69,—and Solís, very circumstantially, as usual, *Conquista*, lib. 4, cap. 16.—The first of these authors had access to some contemporary sources, the chronicle of the old soldier, Ojeda, for example, not now to be met with. It is strange that so valiant an exploit should not have been communicated by Cortés himself, who cannot be accused of diffidence in such matters.

the courage of despair could enable men to do, resistance grew fainter and fainter on the side of the Aztecs. One after another they had fallen. Two or three priests only survived, to be led away in triumph by the victors. Every other combatant was stretched a corpse on the bloody arena, or had been hurled from the giddy heights. Yet the loss of the Spaniards was not inconsiderable. It amounted to forty-five of their best men; and nearly all the remainder were more or less injured in the desperate conflict.\*

The victorious cavaliers now rushed towards the sanctuaries. The lower story was of stone; the two upper were of wood. Penetrating into their recesses, they had the mortification to find the image of the Virgin and the Cross removed.<sup>6</sup> But in the other edifice they still beheld the grim figure of Huitzilopochtli, with his censer of smoking hearts, and the walls of his oratory reeking with gore,—not improbably of their own countrymen! With shouts of triumph the Christians tore the uncouth monster from his niche, and tumbled him, in the presence of the horror-struck Aztecs, down the steps of the *teocalli*.<sup>7</sup> They then set

\* Captain Diaz, a little loth sometimes, is emphatic in his encomiums on the valour shown by his commander on this occasion. "Here Cortés showed himself a very man, such as he always was. Oh whata fighting, what a strenuous battle, did we have! It was a memorable thing to see us flowing with blood and full of wounds, and more than forty soldiers slain." (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 126.) The pens of the old chroniclers keep pace with their swords in the display of this brilliant exploit:—"colla penna e colla spada," equally fortunate. See Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 138.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 106.—Sahagun, Hist.

de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 22.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 9.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.—Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Archbishop Lorenzana is of opinion that this image of the Virgin is the same now seen in the church of *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*! (Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 138, nota.) In what way the Virgin survived the sack of the city and was brought to light again, he does not inform us. But the more difficult to explain, the more undoubted the miracle.

\* [Sir Arthur Helps speaks, rather oddly, of Cortés having set fire to this image. Neither Cortés himself nor Bernal Diaz mentions any such

fire to the accursed building. The flames speedily ran up the slender towers, sending forth an ominous light over city, lake, and valley, to the remotest hut among the mountains. It was the funeral pyre of paganism, and proclaimed the fall of that sanguinary religion which had so long hung like a dark cloud over the fair regions of Anahuac!<sup>7</sup>

Having accomplished this good work, the Spaniards descended the winding slopes of the *teocalli* with more free and buoyant step, as if conscious that the blessing of Heaven now rested on their arms. They passed through the dusky files of Indian warriors in the courtyard, too much disinayed by the appalling scenes they had witnessed to offer resistance, and reached their own quarters in safety. That very night they followed up the blow by a sortie on the sleeping town, and burned three hundred houses, the horrors of conflagration being made still more impressive by occurring at the hour when the Aztecs, from their own system of warfare, were least prepared for them.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> No achievement in the war struck more awe into the Mexicans than this storming of the great temple, in which the white men seemed to bid defiance equally to the powers of God and man. Hieroglyphical paintings minutely commemorating it were to be frequently found among the natives after the Conquest. The sensitive Captain Diaz intimates that those which he saw made full as much account of the wounds and losses of the Christians as the facts would warrant. (Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.) It was the only way

in which the conquered could take their revenge.

<sup>8</sup> "Sequenti nocte, nostri erumpentes in vna viarum arci vicina, domos combussere trecentum: in altera plerasque e quibus arci molestia siebat. Ita nunc trucidando, nunc diruendo, et interdum vulnera recipiendo, in pontibus et i. viis, diebus noctibusque multis laboratum est utrinque." (Martyr, De Orbe Novo, dec. 5, cap. 6.) In the number of actions and their general result, namely, the victories, barren victories, of the Christians, all writers are agreed. But as to

attempt to burn what is described as a "huge block of basalt, covered with sculptured figures." It is now in the Museum at Mexico, having lain undiscovered in the great square, close to the site of the *teocalli*, till the end of the last century. "For some years after that it was kept buried, lest the sight of one of their old deities might be too exciting for the Indians, who had certainly not forgotten it, and secretly ornamented it with flowers as long as it remained above ground." Tylor, Anahuac, p. 323.—Ed.]

Hoping to find the temper of the natives somewhat subdued by these reverses, Cortés now determined, with his usual policy, to make them a vantage-ground for proposing terms of accommodation. He accordingly invited the enemy to a parley, and, as the principal chiefs, attended by their followers, assembled in the great square, he mounted the turret before occupied by Montezuma, and made signs that he would address them. Marina, as usual, took her place by his side, as his interpreter. The multitude gazed with earnest curiosity on the Indian girl, whose influence with the Spaniards was well known, and whose connection with the general, in particular, had led the Aztecs to designate him by her Mexican name of Malinche.\* Cortés, speaking through the soft, musical tones of his mistress, told his audience they must now be convinced that they had nothing further to hope from opposition to the Spaniards. They had seen their gods trampled in the dust, their altars broken, their dwellings burned, their warriors falling on all sides. "All this," continued he, "you have brought on yourselves by your rebellion. Yet, for the affection the sovereign whom you have so unworthily treated still bears you, I would willingly stay my hand, if you will lay down your arms and return once more to your obedience. But, if you do not," he concluded, "I will make your city a heap of ruins, and leave not a soul alive to mourn over it!"

But the Spanish commander did not yet comprehend the character of the Aztecs, if he thought to intimidate them by menaces. Calm in their exterior, and slow to move, they were the more difficult to pacify when roused; and now that they had been stirred to their inmost depths, it was no human voice that could still

time, place, circumstance, or order, no two hold together. How shall the historian of the present day make a harmonious tissue out of these motley and many-coloured threads?

\* It is the name by which she is still celebrated in the popular min-

streisy of Mexico. Was the famous Tlascalcan mountain, *sierra de Malinche*, — anciently "*Mattaleueye*," — named in compliment to the Indian damsel? At all events, it was an honour well merited from her adopted countrymen.

the tempest. It may be, however, that Cortés did not so much misconceive the character of the people. He may have felt that an authoritative tone was the only one he could assume with any chance of effect in his present position, in which milder and more conciliatory language would, by intimating a consciousness of inferiority, have too certainly defeated its own object.

It was true, they answered, he had destroyed their temples, broken in pieces their gods, massacred their countrymen. Many more, doubtless, were yet to fall under their terrible swords. But they were content so long as for every thousand Mexicans they could shed the blood of a single white man!<sup>10</sup> "Look out," they continued, "on our terraces and streets; see them still thronged with warriors as far as your eyes can reach. Our numbers are scarcely diminished by our losses. Yours, on the contrary, are lessening every hour. You are perishing from hunger and sickness. Your provisions and water are failing. You must soon fall into our hands. *The bridges are broken down, and you cannot escape!*"<sup>11</sup> There will be too few of you left to glut the vengeance of our gods!" As they concluded, they sent a volley of arrows over the battlements, which compelled the Spaniards to descend and take refuge in their defences.

The fierce and indomitable spirit of the Aztecs filled the besieged with dismay. All, then, that they had done and suffered, their battles by day, their vigils by night, the perils they had braved, even the victories they had won, were of no avail. It was too evident that they had no longer the spring of ancient superstition to work upon in the breasts of the natives, who, like some wild beast that has burst the bonds of

<sup>10</sup> According to Cortés, they boasted, in somewhat loftier strain, they could spare twenty-five thousand for one: "á morir veinte y cinco mil de ellos, y uno de los nuestros." Rel. Seg. de Cortés,

ap. Lorenzana, p. 139.

<sup>11</sup> "Que todas las calzadas de las entradas de la ciudad eran deshechas, como de hecho passaba." Ibid., loc. cit.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.



his keeper, seemed now to swell and exult in the full consciousness of their strength. The annunciation respecting the bridges fell like a knell on the ears of the Christians. All that they had heard was too true; and they gazed on one another with looks of anxiety and dismay.

The same consequences followed which sometimes take place among the crew of a shipwrecked vessel. Subordination was lost in the dreadful sense of danger. A spirit of mutiny broke out, especially among the recent levies drawn from the army of Narvaez. They had come into the country from no motive of ambition, but attracted simply by the glowing reports of its opulence, and they had fondly hoped to return in a few months with their pockets well lined with the gold of the Aztec monarch. But how different had been their lot! From the first hour of their landing, they had experienced only trouble and disaster, privations of every description, sufferings unexampled, and they now beheld in perspective a fate yet more appalling. Bitterly did they lament the hour when they left the sunny fields of Cuba for these cannibal regions! And heartily did they curse their own folly in listening to the call of Velasquez, and still more in embarking under the banner of Cortés!<sup>13</sup>

They now demanded, with noisy vehemence, to be led instantly from the city, and refused to serve longer in defence of a place where they were cooped up like sheep in the shambles, waiting only to be dragged to slaughter. In all this they were rebuked by the more orderly, soldier-like conduct of the veterans of Cortés. These latter had shared with their general the day of his prosperity, and they were not disposed to desert

<sup>13</sup> "Pues tambien quiero dezir las maldiciones que los de Narvaez echauan á Cortés, y las palabras que dezian, que renegauan dél, y de la tierra, y aun de Diego Velasquez, que acá les embió, que

bien pacíficos estauan en sus casas en la Isla de Cuba, y estavan embelesados, y sin sentido." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.

him in the tempest. It was, indeed, obvious, on a little reflection, that the only chance of safety, in the existing crisis, rested on subordination and union, and that even this chance must be greatly diminished under any other leader than their present one.

Thus pressed by enemies without and by factions within, that leader was found, as usual, true to himself. Circumstances so appalling as would have paralyzed a common mind only stimulated his to higher action and drew forth all its resources. He combined, what is most rare, singular coolness and constancy of purpose with a spirit of enterprise that might well be called romantic. His presence of mind did not now desert him. He calmly surveyed his condition and weighed the difficulties which surrounded him, before coming to a decision. Independently of the hazard of a retreat in the face of a watchful and desperate foe, it was a deep mortification to surrender up the city where he had so long lorded it as a master; to abandon the rich treasures which he had secured to himself and his followers; to forego the very means by which he had hoped to propitiate the favour of his sovereign and secure an amnesty for his irregular proceedings. This, he well knew, must, after all, be dependent on success. To fly now was to acknowledge himself further removed from the conquest than ever. What a close was this to a career so auspiciously begun! What a contrast to his magnificent vaunts! What a triumph would it afford to his enemies! The governor of Cuba would be amply revenged.

But, if such humiliating reflections crowded on his mind, the alternative of remaining, in his present crippled condition, seemed yet more desperate.<sup>13</sup> With his men daily diminishing in strength and numbers,

<sup>13</sup> Notwithstanding this, in the petition or letter from Vera Cruz, addressed by the army to the Emperor Charles V., after the Conquest, the importance of the

soldiers is expressly stated as the principal motive that finally induced their general to abandon the city. *Carta del Ejército, MS.*

their provisions reduced so low that a small daily ration of bread was all the sustenance afforded to the soldier under his extraordinary fatigues,<sup>14</sup> with the breaches every day widening in his feeble fortifications, with his ammunition, in fine, nearly expended, it would be impossible to maintain the place much longer—and none but men of iron constitutions and tempers, like the Spaniards, could have held it so long—against the enemy. The chief embarrassment was as to the time and manner in which it would be expedient to evacuate the city. The best route seemed to be that of Tlacopan (Tacuba). For the causeway, the most dangerous part of the road, was but two miles long in that direction, and would, therefore, place the fugitives, much sooner than either of the other great avenues, on terra firma. Before his final departure, however, Cortés proposed to make another sally, in order to reconnoitre the ground, and, at the same time, divert the enemy's attention from his real purpose by a show of active operations.

For some days his workmen had been employed in constructing a military machine of his own invention. It was called a *manta*, and was contrived somewhat on the principle of the mantelets used in the wars of the Middle Ages. It was, however, more complicated, consisting of a tower made of light beams and planks, having two chambers, one over the other. These were to be filled with musketeers, and the sides were provided with loop-holes, through which a fire could be kept up on the enemy. The great advantage proposed by this contrivance was to afford a defence to the troops against the missiles hurled from the terraces. These machines, three of which were made, rested on rollers, and were provided with strong ropes, by which they were to be dragged along the streets by the Tlascalan auxiliaries.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "The scarcity was such that the ration of the Indians was a small cake, and that of the Spaniards fifty grains of maize." Herrera,

Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 135.—Gomara, Crónica

The Mexicans gazed with astonishment on this war-like machinery, and, as the rolling fortresses advanced, belching forth fire and smoke from their entrails, the enemy, incapable of making an impression on those within, fell back in dismay. By bringing the *mantas* under the walls of the houses, the Spaniards were enabled to fire with effect on the mischievous tenants of the *azoteas*, and, when this did not silence them, by letting a ladder, or light drawbridge, fall on the roof from the top of the *manta*, they opened a passage to the terrace, and closed with the combatants hand to hand. They could not, however, thus approach the higher buildings, from which the Indian warriors threw down such heavy masses of stone and timber as dislodged the planks that covered the machines, or, thundering against their sides, shook the frail edifices to their foundations, threatening all within with indiscriminate ruin. Indeed, the success of the experiment was doubtful, when the intervention of a canal put a stop to their further progress.

The Spaniards now found the assertion of their enemies too well confirmed. The bridge which traversed the opening had been demolished; and, although the canals which intersected the city were, in general, of no great width or depth, the removal of the bridges not only impeded the movements of the general's clumsy machines, but effectually disconcerted those of his cavalry. Resolving to abandon the *mantas*, he

cap. 106.—Dr. Bird, in his picturesque romance of "Calavar," has made good use of these *mantas*, better, indeed, than can be permitted to the historian. He claims the privilege of the romancer; though it must be owned he does not abuse this privilege, for he has studied with great care the costume, manners, and military usages of the natives. He has done for them what Cooper has done for the wild tribes of the North,—touched their rude features with the bright

colouring of a poetic fancy. He has been equally fortunate in his delineation of the picturesque scenery of the land. If he has been less so in attempting to revive the antique dialogue of the Spanish cavalier, we must not be surprised. Nothing is more difficult than the skilful execution of a modern antique. It requires all the genius and learning of Scott to execute it so that the connoisseur shall not detect the counterfeit.

gave orders to fill up the chasm with stone, timber, and other rubbish drawn from the ruined buildings, and to make a new passage-way for the army. While this labour was going on, the Aztec slingers and archers on the other side of the opening kept up a galling discharge on the Christians, the more defenceless from the nature of their occupation. When the work was completed, and a safe passage secured, the Spanish cavaliers rode briskly against the enemy, who, unable to resist the shock of the steel-clad column, fell back with precipitation to where another canal afforded a similar strong position for defence.<sup>16</sup>

There were no less than seven of these canals, intersecting the great street of Tlacopan,<sup>17</sup> and at every one the same scene was renewed, the Mexicans making a gallant stand and inflicting some loss, at each, on their persevering antagonists. These operations consumed two days, when, after incredible toil, the Spanish general had the satisfaction to find the line of communication completely re-established through the whole length of the avenue, and the principal bridges placed under strong detachments of infantry. At this juncture, when he had driven the foe before him to the farthest extremity of the street, where it touches on the causeway, he was informed that the Mexicans, disheartened by their reverses, desired to open a parley with him respecting the terms of an accommodation, and that their chiefs awaited his return for that purpose at the fortress. Overjoyed at the intelligence, he instantly rode back, attended by Alvarado, Sandoval, and about sixty of the cavaliers, to his quarters.

The Mexicans proposed that he should release the

<sup>16</sup> Carta del Ejército, MS.—Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 140.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 109.

<sup>17</sup> Clavigero is mistaken in calling this the street of Iztapalapan. (Stor. del Messico, tom. iii. p. 120.) It was not the street by which the

Spaniards entered, but by which they finally left the city, and is correctly indicated by Lorenzana as that of Tlacopan,—or, rather, Tacuba, into which the Spaniards corrupted the name.

two priests captured in the temple, who might be the bearers of his terms and serve as agents for conducting the negotiation. They were accordingly sent with the requisite instructions to their countrymen. But they did not return. The whole was an artifice of the enemy, anxious to procure the liberation of their religious leaders, one of whom was their *teoteuctli*, or high-priest, whose presence was indispensable in the probable event of a new coronation.

Cortés, meanwhile, relying on the prospects of a speedy arrangement, was hastily taking some refreshment with his officers, after the fatigues of the day, when he received the alarming tidings that the enemy were in arms again, with more fury than ever; that they had overpowered the detachments posted under Alvarado at three of the bridges, and were busily occupied in demolishing them. Stung with shame at the facility with which he had been duped by his wily foe, or rather by his own sanguine hopes, Cortés threw himself into the saddle, and, followed by his brave companions, galloped back at full speed to the scene of action. The Mexicans recoiled before the impetuous charge of the Spaniards. The bridges were again restored; and Cortés and his chivalry rode down the whole extent of the great street, driving the enemy, like frightened deer, at the points of their lances. But before he could return on his steps, he had the mortification to find that the indefatigable foe, gathering from the adjoining lanes and streets, had again closed on his infantry, who, worn down by fatigue, were unable to maintain their position at one of the principal bridges. New swarms of warriors now poured in on all sides, overwhelming the little band of Christian cavaliers with a storm of stones, darts, and arrows, which rattled like hail on their armour and on that of their well-barbed horses. Most of the missiles, indeed, glanced harmless from the good panoplies of steel, or thick quilted cotton, but, now and then, one better

aimed penetrated the joints of the harness and stretched the rider on the ground.

The confusion became greater around the broken bridge. Some of the horsemen were thrown into the canal, and their steeds floundered wildly about without a rider. Cortés himself, at this crisis, did more than any other to cover the retreat of his followers. While the bridge was repairing, he plunged boldly into the midst of the barbarians, striking down an enemy at every vault of his charger, cheering on his own men, and spreading terror through the ranks of his opponents by the well-known sound of his battle-cry. Never did he display greater hardihood, or more freely expose his person, emulating, says an old chronicler, the feats of the Roman Cocles.<sup>18</sup> In this way he stayed the tide of assailants till the last man had crossed the bridge, when, some of the planks having given way, he was compelled to leap a chasm of full six feet in width, amidst a cloud of missiles, before he could place himself in safety.<sup>19</sup> A report ran through the army that the general was slain. It soon spread through the city, to the great joy of the Mexicans, and reached the fortress, where the besieged were thrown into no less consternation. But, happily for them, it was false. He, indeed, received two severe contusions

<sup>18</sup> It is Oviedo who finds a parallel for his hero in the Roman warrior; the same, to quote the spirit-stirring legend of Macaulay,

"who kept the bridge so well  
In the brave days of old."

"Mui digno es Cortés que se compare este fecho suyo desta jornada al de Oracio Cocles, que se tocó de suso, porque con su esfuerso é lanza sola dió tanto lugar, que los caballos pudieran pasar, é hizo des-  
embarazar la puente é pasó, á pesar de los Enemigos, aunque con harto trabajo." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.

<sup>19</sup> It was a fair leap, for a knight

and horse in armour. But the general's own assertion to the emperor (Rel. Seg., ap. Lorenzana, p. 142) is fully confirmed by Oviedo, who tells us he had it from several who were present: "Y según lo que yo he entendido de algunos que presentes se halláron, demás de la resistencia de aquellos havia de la vna parte á la otra casi vn estado de saltar con el caballo sin le faltar muchas pedradas de diversas partes, é manos, é por ir él, é su caballo bien armados no los hirieron; pero no dexó de quedar atormentado de los golpes que le diéron." Hist. de las Ind., MS., ubi supra.

on the knee, but in other respects remained uninjured. At no time, however, had he been in such extreme danger; and his escape, and that of his companions, were esteemed little less than a miracle. More than one grave historian refers the preservation of the Spaniards to the watchful care of their patron apostle, St. James, who, in these desperate conflicts, was beheld careering on his milk-white steed at the head of the Christian squadrons, with his sword flashing lightning, while a lady robed in white—supposed to be the Virgin—was distinctly seen by his side, throwing dust in the eyes of the infidel! The fact is attested both by Spaniards and Mexicans,—by the latter after their conversion to Christianity. Surely, never was there a time when the interposition of their tutelar saint was more strongly demanded.<sup>20</sup>

The coming of night dispersed the Indian battalions, which, vanishing like birds of ill omen from the field, left the well-contested pass in possession of the Spaniards. They returned, however, with none of the joyous feelings of conquerors to their citadel, but with slow step and dispirited, with weapons hacked, armour battered, and fainting under the loss of blood, fasting,

<sup>20</sup> Truly, "dignus vindice nodus!" The intervention of the celestial chivalry on these occasions is testified in the most unqualified manner by many respectable authorities. It is edifying to observe the combat going on in Oviedo's mind between the dictates of strong sense and superior learning, and those of the superstition of the age. It was an unequal combat, with odds sorely against the former, in the sixteenth century. I quote the passage, as characteristic of the times: "Afirman que se vido el Apóstol Santiago á caballo peleando sobre vn caballo blanco en favor de los Christianos; é decian los Indios que el caballo con los pies y manos é con la boca mataba muchos dellos, de forma, que en

poco discurso de tiempo no pareció Indio, é reposáron los Christianos lo restante de aquel dia. Ya sé que los incrédulos ó poco devotos dirán, que mi ocupacion en esto destos miraglos, pues no los ví, es superflua, ó perder tiempo novelando, y yo hablo, que esto é mas se pueda creer; pues que los gentiles é sin fé, é Idólatras escriben, que ovo grandes misterios é miraglos en sus tiempos, é aquellos sabemos que eran causados é fechos por el Diabolo, pues mas fácil cosa es á Dios é á la inmaculata Virgen Nuestra Señora é al glorioso Apóstol Santiago, é á los santos é amigos de Jesu Christo hacer esos miraglos, que de suso estan dichos. é otros maiores." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.



and fatigue. In this condition they had yet to learn the tidings of a fresh misfortune in the death of Montezuma.<sup>21</sup>

The Indian monarch had rapidly declined, since he had received his injury, sinking, however, quite as much under the anguish of a wounded spirit as under disease. He continued in the same moody state of insensibility as that already described; holding little communication with those around him, deaf to consolation, obstinately rejecting all medical remedies as well as nourishment. Perceiving his end approach, some of the cavaliers present in the fortress, whom the kindness of his manners had personally attached to him, were anxious to save the soul of the dying prince from the sad doom of those who perish in the darkness of unbelief. They accordingly waited on him, with Father Olmedo at their head, and in the most earnest manner implored him to open his eyes to the error of his creed, and consent to be baptized. But Montezuma—whatever may have been suggested to the contrary—seems never to have faltered in his hereditary faith, or to have contemplated becoming an apostate; for surely he merits that name in its most odious application, who, whether Christian or pagan, renounces his religion without conviction of its falsehood.<sup>22</sup> Indeed,

<sup>21</sup> "Multi restiterunt lapidibus et iaculis confossi, fuit et Cortesius graviter percussus, pauci evaserunt incolumes, et hi adeò languidi, vt neque lacertos erigere quirent. Postquam vero se in arcem receperunt, non commodè satis conditas dapas, quibus reficerentur, inuenerunt, nec fortè asperi malicii panis bucellas, aut aquam potabilem, de vino aut carnibus sublata erat cura." (Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 5, cap. 6.) See also, for the hard fighting described in the last pages, Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.—*Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 140–142, —*Carta del Ejército*, MS., —Gonzalo de las Casas, *Defensa*, MS.,

Parte 1, cap. 26.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 9, 10, Gomara,—*Crónica*, cap. 107.

<sup>22</sup> The sentiment is expressed with singular energy in the verses of Voltaire :

"Mais renoncer aux dieux que l'on  
croit dans son cœur,  
C'est le crime d'un lâche, et non  
pas une erreur ;  
C'est trahir à la fois, sous un  
masque hypocrite,  
Et le dieu qu'on préfère, et le  
dieu que l'on quitte :  
C'est mentir au Ciel même, à  
l'univers, à soi."

ALZIRE, acte 5, sc. 5.

it was a too implicit reliance on its oracles which had led him to give such easy confidence to the Spaniards. His intercourse with them had, doubtless, not sharpened his desire to embrace their communion; and the calamities of his country he might consider as sent by his gods to punish him for his hospitality to those who had desecrated and destroyed their shrines.<sup>23</sup>

When Father Olmedo, therefore, kneeling at his side, with the uplifted crucifix, affectionately besought him to embrace the sign of man's redemption, he coldly repulsed the priest, exclaiming, "I have but a few moments to live, and will not at this hour desert the faith of my fathers."<sup>24</sup> One thing, however, seemed to press heavily on Montezuma's mind. This was the fate of his children, especially of three daughters, whom he had by his two wives; for there were certain

<sup>23</sup> Camargo, the Tlascalcan convert, says he was told by several of the Conquerors that Montezuma was baptized at his own desire in his last moments, and that Cortés and Alvarado stood sponsors on the occasion. "Muchos afirman de los conquistadores que yo conocí, que estando en el artículo de la muerte, pidió agua de bautismo é que fué batizado y murió Cristiano, aunque en esto hay grandes dudas y diferentes pareceres; mas como digo que de personas fidedignas conquistadores de los primeros desta tierra de quien fuimos informados, supimos que murió batizado y Cristiano, é que fueron sus padrinos del bautismo Fernando Cortés y Don Pedro de Alvarado." (Hist. de Tlascala, MS.) According to Gomara, the Mexican monarch desired to be baptized before the arrival of Narváez. The ceremony was deferred till Easter, that it might be performed with greater effect. But in the hurry and bustle of the subsequent scenes it was forgotten, and he died without the stain of infidelity having been washed away

from him. (Crónica, cap. 107.) Torquemada, not often a Pyrrhonist where the honour of the faith is concerned, rejects these tales as irreconcilable with the subsequent silence of Cortés himself, as well as of Alvarado, who would have been loud to proclaim an event so long in vain desired by them. (Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 70.) The criticism of the father is strongly supported by the fact that neither of the preceding accounts is corroborated by writers of any weight, while they are contradicted by several, by popular tradition, and, it may be added, by one another.

<sup>24</sup> "Respondió, Que por la media hora que le quedaba de vida, no se queria apartar de la religion de sus Padres." (Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 10.) "Ya he dicho," says Diaz, "la tristeza que todos nosotros huvimos por ello, y aun al Frayle de la Merced, que siempre estaua con él, y no le pudo atner á que se bolviessse Cristiano." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 127.

rites of marriage which distinguished the lawful wife from the concubine. Calling Cortés to his bedside, he earnestly commended these children to his care, as "the most precious jewels that he could leave him." He besought the general to interest his master, the emperor, in their behalf, and to see that they should not be left destitute, but be allowed some portion of their rightful inheritance. "Your lord will do this," he concluded, "if it were only for the friendly offices I have rendered the Spaniards, and for the love I have shown them,—though it has brought me to this condition! But for this I bear them no ill-will."<sup>25</sup> Such, according to Cortés himself, were the words of the dying monarch. Not long after, on the 30th of June, 1520,<sup>26</sup> he expired in the arms of some of his own nobles, who still remained faithful in their attendance on his person. "Thus," exclaims a native historian, one of his enemies, a Tlascalán, "thus died the unfortunate Montezuma, who had swayed the sceptre with such consummate policy and wisdom, and who was held in greater reverence and awe than any other prince of his lineage, or any, indeed, that ever sat on a throne in this Western World. With him may be said to have terminated the royal line of the Aztecs, and the glory to have passed away from the empire, which under him had reached the zenith of its prosperity."<sup>27</sup> "The

<sup>25</sup> *Aunque no le pesaba dello*; literally, "although he did not repent of it." But this would be rather too much for human nature to assert; and it is probable the language of the Indian prince underwent some little change as it was sifted through the interpretation of Marina. The Spanish reader will find the original conversation, as reported by Cortés himself, in the remarkable document in the Appendix, Part 2, No. 12. The general adds that he faithfully complied with Montezuma's request, receiving his daughters, after the Conquest, into

his own family, where, agreeably to their royal father's desire, they were baptized, and instructed in the doctrines and usages of the Christian faith. They were afterwards married to Castilian hidalgos, and handsome dowries were assigned them by the government. See note 36 of this chapter.

<sup>26</sup> I adopt Clavigero's chronology, which cannot be far from truth. (Stor. del Messico, tom. iii. p. 131.) And yet there are reasons for supposing he must have died at least a day sooner.

<sup>27</sup> "De suerte que le tiraron una pedrada con una honda y le diéron

tidings of his death," says the old Castilian chronicler, Diaz, "were received with real grief by every cavalier and soldier in the army who had had access to his person; for we all loved him as a father,—and no wonder, seeing how good he was."<sup>28</sup> This simple but emphatic testimony to his desert, at such a time, is in itself the best refutation of the suspicions occasionally entertained of his fidelity to the Christians.<sup>29</sup>

It is not easy to depict the portrait of Montezuma

en la cabeza, de que vino á morir el desdichado Rey, habiendo gobernado este nuevo Mundo con la mayor prudencia y gobierno que se puede imaginar, siendo el mas tenido y reverenciado y adorado Señor que en el mundo ha habido, y en su linaje, como es cosa pública y notoria en toda la maquina deste Nuevo Mundo, donde con la muerte de tan gran Señor se acabaron los Reyes Culhuaques Mejicanos, y todo su poder y mando, estando en la mayor felicidad de su monarquía; y así no hay de que fiar en las cosas desta vida sino en solo Dios." Hist. de Tlascala, MS.

"Y Cortés lloró por él, y todos nuestros Capitanes, y soldados: é hombres hubo entre nosotros de los que le conocíamos, y tratamos, que tan llorado fué, como si fuera nuestro padre, y no nos hemos de maravillar dello, viendo que tan bueno era." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 126.

"He loved the Christians," says Herrera, "as well as could be judged from appearance." (Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 10.) "They say," remarks the general's chaplain, "that Montezuma, though often urged to it, never consented to the death of a Spaniard, nor to the injury of Cortés, whom he loved exceedingly. But there are those who dispute this." (Gomara, Crónica, cap. 107.) Don Thoan Cano assured Oviedo that during all the troubles of the Spaniards with the Mexicans, both in the

absence of Cortés and after his return, the emperor did his best to supply the camp with provisions. (See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.) And, finally, Cortés himself, in an instrument already referred to, dated six years after Montezuma's death, bears emphatic testimony to the good will he had shown the Spaniards, and particularly acquits him of any share in the late rising, which, says the Conqueror, "I had trusted to suppress through his assistance." See Appendix, Part 2, No. 12.—The Spanish historians, in general, notwithstanding an occasional intimation of a doubt as to his good faith towards their countrymen,—make honourable mention of the many excellent qualities of the Indian prince. Solís, however, the most eminent of all, dismisses the account of his death with the remark that "his last hours were spent in breathing vengeance and maledictions against his people; until he surrendered up to Satan—with whom he had frequent communication in his lifetime—the eternal possession of his soul!" (Conquista de México, lib. 4, cap. 15.) Fortunately, the historiographer of the Indians could know as little of Montezuma's fate in the next world as he appears to have known of it in this. Was it bigotry, or a desire to set his own hero's character in a brighter light, which led him thus unworthily to darken that of his Indian rival?

in its true colours, since it has been exhibited to us under two aspects, of the most opposite and contradictory character. In the accounts gathered of him by the Spaniards on coming into the country, he was uniformly represented as bold and warlike, unscrupulous as to the means of gratifying his ambition, hollow and perfidious, the terror of his foes, with a haughty bearing which made him feared even by his own people. They found him, on the contrary, not merely affable and gracious, but disposed to waive all the advantages of his own position, and to place them on a footing with himself; making their wishes his law; gentle even to effeminacy in his deportment, and constant in his friendship while his whole nation was in arms against them. Yet these traits, so contradictory, were truly enough drawn. They are to be explained by the extraordinary circumstances of his position.

When Montezuma ascended the throne, he was scarcely twenty-three years of age. Young, and ambitious of extending his empire, he was continually engaged in war, and is said to have been present himself in nine pitched battles.<sup>30</sup> He was greatly renowned for his martial prowess, for he belonged to the *Quachictin*, the highest military order of his nation, and one into which but few even of its sovereigns had been admitted.<sup>31</sup> In later life, he preferred intrigue to violence, as more consonant to his character and priestly education. In this he was as great an adept as any prince of his time, and, by arts not very honourable to himself, succeeded in filching away much of the territory of his royal kinsman of Tezcuco. Severe in the administration of justice, he made important reforms in the arrangement of the tribunals. He introduced other innovations in the royal household,

<sup>30</sup> "Dicen que venció nueve Batallas, i otros nueve Campos, en desafío vno á vno." Gomara, Crónica, cap. 107.

<sup>31</sup> One other only of his prede-

cessors, Tizoc, is shown by the Aztec paintings to have belonged to this knightly order, according to Clavigero. Stor. del Messico, tom. ii. p. 140.

creating new offices, introducing a lavish magnificence and forms of courtly etiquette unknown to his ruder predecessors. He was, in short, most attentive to all that concerned the exterior and pomp of royalty.<sup>22</sup> Stately and decorous, he was careful of his own dignity, and might be said to be as great an "actor of majesty" among the barbarian potentates of the New World as Louis the Fourteenth was among the polished princes of Europe.

He was deeply tinctured, moreover, with that spirit of bigotry, which threw such a shade over the latter days of the French monarch. He received the Spaniards as the beings predicted by his oracles. The anxious dread with which he had evaded their proffered visit was founded on the same feelings which led him so blindly to resign himself to them on their approach. He felt himself rebuked by their superior genius. He at once conceded all that they demanded,—his treasures, his power, even his person. For their sake, he forsook his wonted occupations, his pleasures, his most familiar habits. He might be said to forego his nature, and, as his subjects asserted, to change his sex and become a woman. If we cannot refuse our contempt for the pusillanimity of the Aztec monarch, it should be mitigated by the consideration that his pusillanimity sprung from his superstition, and that superstition in the savage is the substitute for religious principle in the civilized man.

It is not easy to contemplate the fate of Montezuma without feelings of the strongest compassion;—to see him thus borne along the tide of events beyond his power to avert or control; to see him, like some stately tree, the pride of his own Indian forests, towering aloft in the pomp and majesty of its branches, by its

<sup>22</sup> "Era mas cauteloso, y ardidoso, que valeroso. En las Armas, y modo de su gobierno, fué muy justiciero; en las cosas tocantes á ser estimado y tenido en su Digni-

dad y Majestad Real de condicion muy severo, aunque cuerdo y gracioso." Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich. MS., cap. 88.

very eminence a mark for the thunderbolt, the first victim of the tempest which was to sweep over its native hills! When the wise king of Tezcuco addressed his royal relative at his coronation, he exclaimed, "Happy the empire which is now in the meridian of its prosperity, for the sceptre is given to one whom the Almighty has in his keeping; and the nations shall hold him in reverence!"<sup>33</sup> Alas! the subject of this auspicious invocation lived to see his empire melt away like the winter's wreath; to see a strange race drop, as it were, from the clouds on his land; to find himself a prisoner in the palace of his fathers, the companion of those who were the enemies of his gods and his people; to be insulted, reviled, trodden in the dust, by the meanest of his subjects, by those who, a few months previous, had trembled at his glance; drawing his last breath in the halls of the stranger,—a lonely outcast in the heart of his own capital! He was the sad victim of destiny,—a destiny as dark and irresistible in its march as that which broods over the mythic legends of antiquity!<sup>34</sup>

Montezuma, at the time of his death, was about forty-one years old, of which he reigned eighteen. His person and manners have been already described. He left a numerous progeny by his various wives, most of whom, having lost their consideration after the Conquest, fell into obscurity, as they mingled with the mass of the Indian population.<sup>35</sup> Two of them, however, a son and a daughter, who embraced Christianity,

<sup>33</sup> The whole address is given by Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 68.

<sup>34</sup> "Τίχρη δ' ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα  
μακρόν.  
Τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οὐλοοστρόφος;  
Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι, μνήμονες τ'  
Ἑριννίδες,  
Τούτων ἄρ' Ζεὺς ἐστὶν ἀσθενέσ-  
τερος ;

Οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἐκφύγοις γὰρ τὴν πεπρα-  
μένην."

ÆSCHYL., *Prometh.*, v. 522-528.

<sup>35</sup> Señor de Calderon, the late Spanish minister at Mexico, informs me that he has more than once passed by an Indian dwelling where the Indians in his suite made a reverence, saying it was occupied by a descendant of Montezuma.

became the founders of noble houses in Spain.<sup>36</sup> The government, willing to show its gratitude for the large extent of empire derived from their ancestor, conferred on them ample estates and important hereditary honours; and the counts of Montezuma and Tula, intermarrying with the best blood of Castile, intimated by their names and titles their illustrious descent from the royal dynasty of Mexico.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> This son, baptized by the name of Pedro, was descended from one of the royal concubines. Montezuma had two lawful wives. By the first of these, named Teçalco, he had a son, who perished in the flight from Mexico; and a daughter named Tecuichpo, who embraced Christianity and received the name of Isabella. She was married, when very young, to her cousin Guatemozin, and lived long enough after his death to give her hand to four Castilians, all of honourable family. From two of these, Don Thoan Cano and Don Juan Andrada, descended the illustrious families of the Cano and Andrada Montezuma. From the last came the counts of Miravalle noticed by Humboldt (*Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 73, note.) See Alaman, *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. ii. p. 325.—Montezuma, by his second wife, the princess Acatlan, left two daughters, named, after their conversion, Maria and Leonor. The former died without issue. Doña Leonor married a Spanish cavalier, Cristóval de Valderrama, from whom descended the family of the Sotelos de Montezuma.—The royal genealogy is minutely exhibited in a Memorial setting forth the claims of Montezuma's grandsons to certain property in right of their respective mothers. The document,

which is without date, is among the MSS. of Muñoz.

<sup>37</sup> It is interesting to know that a descendant of the Aztec emperor, Don José Sarmiento Valladares, count of Montezuma, ruled as viceroy, from 1679 to 1701, over the dominions of his barbaric ancestors. (Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 93, note.)\* Solís speaks of this noble house, grandees of Spain, who intermingled their blood with that of the Guzmans and the Mendozas. Clavigero has traced their descent from the emperor's son Iohualicahua, or Don Pedro Montezuma (as he was called after his baptism), down to the close of the eighteenth century. (See Solís, *Conquista*, lib. 4, cap. 15.—Clavigero, *Stor. del Messico*, tom. i. p. 302, tom. iii. p. 132.) The title of count was bestowed on the head of the family by Philip the Second, in 1556. In 1765, under Charles the Third, the count of Montezuma was made a grandee of Spain, and he was in receipt of a yearly pension of 40,000 *pesos*. (Alaman, *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. i. p. 159.) The last of the line, of whom I have been able to obtain any intelligence, died not long since in this country. He was very wealthy, having large estates in Spain,—but was not, as it appears, very wise. When seventy years old or more,

[\* Señor Alaman, in a note on this passage, says it was not the viceroy, but his wife, Doña María Gerónima Montezuma, who was a descendant of the Aztec emperor. She was third countess of Montezuma in her own right, her husband's title being duke of Atlixco.—Ed.]



Montezuma's death was a misfortune to the Spaniards. While he lived, they had a precious pledge in their hands, which, in extremity, they might possibly have turned to account. Now the last link was snapped which connected them with the natives of the country. But, independently of interested feelings, Cortés and his officers were much affected by his death, from personal considerations, and, when they gazed on the cold remains of the ill-starred monarch, they may have felt a natural compunction, as they contrasted his late flourishing condition with that to which his friendship for them had reduced him.

The Spanish commander showed all respect for his memory. His body, arrayed in its royal robes, was laid decently on a bier, and borne on the shoulders of his nobles to his subjects in the city. What honours, if any, indeed, were paid to his remains, is uncertain. A sound of wailing, distinctly heard in the western quarters of the capital, was interpreted by the Spaniards into the moans of a funeral procession, as it bore the body to be laid among those of his ancestors, under the princely shades of Chapoltepec.<sup>38</sup> Others state that it was removed to a burial-place in the city named Copalco, and there burned with the usual solemnities and signs of lamentation by his chiefs, but not without some unworthy insults from the Mexican populace.<sup>39</sup> Whatever be the fact, the people, occupied with the stirring scenes in which they were engaged, were probably not long mindful of the monarch who had

he passed over to Mexico, in the vain hope that the nation, in deference to his descent, might place him on the throne of his Indian ancestors, so recently occupied by the presumptuous Iturbide. But the modern Mexicans, with all their detestation of the old Spaniards, showed no respect for the royal blood of the Aztecs. The unfortunate nobleman retired to

New Orleans, where he soon after put an end to his existence by blowing out his brains,—not for ambition, however, if report be true, but disappointed love!

<sup>38</sup> Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 107.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 7.

taken no share in their late patriotic movements. Nor is it strange that the very memory of his sepulchre should be effaced in the terrible catastrophe which afterwards overwhelmed the capital and swept away every landmark from its surface.

## CHAPTER III.

Council of War.—Spaniards Evacuate the City.—Noche Triste, or "The Melancholy Night."—Terrible Slaughter.—Halt for the Night.—Amount of Losses.

1520.

THERE was no longer any question as to the expediency of evacuating the capital. The only doubt was as to the time of doing so, and the route. The Spanish commander called a council of officers to deliberate on these matters. It was his purpose to retreat on Tlascala, and in that capital to decide, according to circumstances, on his future operations. After some discussion, they agreed on the causeway of Tlacopan as the avenue by which to leave the city. It would, indeed, take them back by a circuitous route, considerably longer than either of those by which they had approached the capital. But, for that reason, it would be less likely to be guarded, as least suspected; and the causeway itself, being shorter than either of the other entrances, would sooner place the army in comparative security on the main land.

There was some difference of opinion in respect to the hour of departure. The daytime, it was argued by some, would be preferable, since it would enable them to see the nature and extent of their danger and to provide against it. Darkness would be much more likely to embarrass their own movements than those of the enemy, who were familiar with the ground. A thousand impediments would occur in the night, which might prevent their acting in concert, or obeying or even ascertaining, the orders of the commander. But, on the other hand, it was urged that the night presented many obvious advantages in dealing with a foe

who rarely carried his hostilities beyond the day. The late active operations of the Spaniards had thrown the Mexicans off their guard, and it was improbable they would anticipate so speedy a departure of their enemies. With celerity and caution they might succeed, therefore, in making their escape from the town, possibly over the causeway, before their retreat should be discovered; and, could they once get beyond that pass of peril, they felt little apprehension for the rest.

These views were fortified, it is said, by the counsels of a soldier named Botello, who professed the mysterious science of judicial astrology. He had gained credit with the army by some predictions which had been verified by the events; those lucky hits which make chance pass for calculation with the credulous multitude.<sup>1</sup> This man recommended to his countrymen by all means to evacuate the place in the night, as the hour most propitious to them, although he should perish in it. The event proved the astrologer better acquainted with his own horoscope than with that of others.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible Botello's predictions had some weight in determining the opinion of Cortés. Superstition was the feature of the age, and the Spanish general, as we have seen, had a full measure of its bigotry. Seasons of gloom, moreover, dispose the mind to a ready acquiescence in the marvellous. It is, however, quite as probable that he made use of the astrologer's opinion, finding it coincided with his own, to influence that of his men and inspire them with higher confidence. At all events, it was decided to abandon the city that very night.

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—The astrologer predicted that Cortés would be reduced to the greatest extremity of distress, and afterwards come to great honour and fortune. (Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 128.) He showed himself as cunning

in his art as the West Indian sibyl who foretold the destiny of the unfortunate Josephine.

<sup>2</sup> "Pues al astrólogo Botello, no le aprouechó su astrología, que también allí murió." Bernal Díaz, *ubi supra*.

The general's first care was to provide for the safe transportation of the treasure. Many of the common soldiers had converted their share of the prize, as we have seen, into gold chains, collars, or other ornaments, which they easily carried about their persons. But the royal fifth, together with that of Cortés himself, and much of the rich booty of the principal cavaliers, had been converted into bars and wedges of solid gold, and deposited in one of the strong apartments of the palace. Cortés delivered the share belonging to the crown to the royal officers, assigning them one of the strongest horses, and a guard of Castilian soldiers, to transport it.<sup>3</sup> Still, much of the treasure, belonging both to the crown and to individuals, was necessarily abandoned, from the want of adequate means of conveyance. The metal lay scattered in shining heaps along the floor, exciting the cupidity of the soldiers. "Take what you will of it," said Cortés to his men. "Better you should have it, than these Mexican bounds."<sup>4</sup> But be careful not to overload yourselves. He travels safest in the dark night who travels lightest." His own more wary followers took heed to his counsel, helping themselves to a few articles of least bulk, though, it might be, of greatest value.<sup>5</sup> But the troops

<sup>3</sup> The disposition of the treasure has been stated with some discrepancy, though all agree as to its ultimate fate. The general himself did not escape the imputation of negligence, and even speculation, most unfounded, from his enemies. The account in the text is substantiated by the evidence, under oath, of the most respectable names in the expedition, as given in the instrument already more than once referred to. "Hizo sacar el oro é joyas de sus Altezas é le dió é entregó á los otros oficiales Alcaldes é Regidores, é les dixo á la rason que así se lo entregó, que todos viesen el mejor modo é manera que habia para lo poder salvar, que él

allí estaba para por su parte hacer lo que fuese posible é poner su persona á qualquier trance é riesgo que sobre lo salvar le viniese. . . . El qual les dió para ello una muy buena yegua, é quatro ó cinco Españoles de mucha confianza, á quien se encargó la dha yegua cargado con el otro oro." Probanza á pedimento de Juan de Lexalde.

<sup>4</sup> "Desde aquí se lo doi, como se ha de quedar aquí perdido entre estos perros." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 128.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Captain Diaz tells us that he contented himself with four *chal-*

of Narvaez, pining for riches of which they had heard so much and hitherto seen so little, showed no such discretion. To them it seemed as if the very mines of Mexico were turned up before them, and, rushing on the treacherous spoil, they greedily loaded themselves with as much of it, not merely as they could accommodate about their persons, but as they could stow away in wallets, boxes, or any other means of conveyance at their disposal.<sup>6</sup>

Cortés next arranged the order of march. The van, composed of two hundred Spanish foot, he placed under the command of the valiant Gonzalo de Sandoval, supported by Diego de Ordaz, Francisco de Lujo, and about twenty other cavaliers. The rear-guard, constituting the strength of the infantry, was intrusted to Pedro de Alvarado and Valasquez de Leon. The general himself took charge of the "battle," or centre, in which went the baggage, some of the heavy guns, most of which, however, remained in the rear, the treasure, and the prisoners. These consisted of a son and two daughters of Montezuma, Cacama, the deposed lord of Tezcuco, and several other nobles, whom Cortés retained as important pledges in his future negotiations with the enemy. The Tlascalans were distributed pretty equally among the three divisions; and Cortés had under his immediate command a hundred picked soldiers, his own veterans most attached to his service, who, with Cristóval de Olid, Francisco de Morla, Alonzo de Avila, and two or three other cavaliers, formed a select corps, to act wherever occasion might require.

The general had already superintended the construction of a portable bridge to be laid over the open

*chivil*,—the green stone so much prized by the natives,—which he cunningly picked out of the royal coffers before Cortés' majordomo had time to secure them. The prize proved of great service, by supplying him the means of

obtaining food and medicine when in great extremity, afterwards, from the people of the country. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., *ubi supra*.

canals in the causeway. This was given in charge to an officer named Magarino, with forty soldiers under his orders, all pledged to defend the passage to the last extremity. The bridge was to be taken up when the entire army had crossed one of the breaches, and transported to the next. There were three of these openings in the causeway, and most fortunate would it have been for the expedition if the foresight of the commander had provided the same number of bridges. But the labour would have been great, and time was short.<sup>7</sup>

At midnight the troops were under arms, in readiness for the march. Mass was performed by Father Olmedo, who invoked the protection of the Almighty through the awful perils of the night. The gates were thrown open, and on the first of July, 1520, the Spaniards for the last time sallied forth from the walls of the ancient fortress, the scene of so much suffering and such indomitable courage.<sup>8</sup>

The night was cloudy, and a drizzling rain, which fell without intermission, added to the obscurity. The great square before the palace was deserted, as, indeed, it had been since the fall of Montezuma. Steadily, and as noiselessly as possible, the Spaniards held their way along the great street of Tlacopan, which so lately had resounded with the tumult of battle. All was now hushed in silence; and they were only reminded of the past by the occasional presence of

<sup>7</sup> Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 109.—*Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 143.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 13, 47.

<sup>8</sup> There is some difficulty in adjusting the precise date of their departure, as, indeed, of most events in the Conquest; attention to chronology being deemed somewhat superfluous by the old chroniclers. Ixtlilxochitl, Gomara, and others fix the date at July 10th. But this is wholly contrary to the letter of Cortés, which states that the

army reached Tlascala on the eighth of July, not the tenth, as Clavigero misquotes him (*Stor. del Messico*, tom. iii. pp. 135, 136, nota); and from the general's accurate account of their progress each day it appears that they left the capital on the last night of June, or rather the morning of July 1st. It was the night, he also adds, following the affair of the bridges in the city. *Comp. Rel. Seg.*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 142-149.

some solitary corpse, or a dark heap of the slain, which too plainly told where the strife had been hottest. As they passed along the lanes and alleys which opened into the great street, or looked down the canals, whose polished surface gleamed with a sort of ebon lustre through the obscurity of night, they easily fancied that they discerned the shadowy forms of their foes lurking in ambush and ready to spring on them. But it was only fancy; and the city slept undisturbed even by the prolonged echoes of the tramp of the horses and the hoarse rumbling of the artillery and baggage-trains. At length, a lighter space beyond the dusky line of buildings showed the van of the army that it was emerging on the open causeway. They might well have congratulated themselves on having thus escaped the dangers of an assault in the city itself, and that a brief time would place them in comparative safety on the opposite shore. But the Mexicans were not all asleep.

As the Spaniards drew near the spot where the street opened on the causeway, and were preparing to lay the portable bridge across the uncovered breach, which now met their eyes, several Indian sentinels, who had been stationed at this, as at the other approaches to the city, took the alarm, and fled, rousing their countrymen by their cries. The priests, keeping their night-watch on the summit of the *teocallis*, instantly caught the tidings and sounded their shells, while the huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones, which, heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital. The Spaniards saw that no time was to be lost. The bridge was brought forward and fitted with all possible expedition. Sandoval was the first to try its strength, and, riding across, was followed by his little body of chivalry, his infantry, and Tlascalcan allies, who formed the first division of the army. Then came Cortés and his squadrons, with the baggage, ammunition-



waggons, and a part of the artillery. But before they had time to defile across the narrow passage, a gathering sound was heard, like that of a mighty forest agitated by the winds. It grew louder and louder, while on the dark waters of the lake was heard a plashing noise, as of many oars. Then came a few stones and arrows striking at random among the hurrying troops. They fell every moment faster and more furious, till they thickened into a terrible tempest, while the very heavens were rent with the yells and war-cries of myriads of combatants, who seemed all at once to be swarming over land and lake!

The Spaniards pushed steadily on through this arrowy sleet, though the barbarians, dashing their canoes against the sides of the causeway, clambered up and broke in upon their ranks. But the Christians, anxious only to make their escape, declined all combat except for self-preservation. The cavaliers, spurring forward their steeds, shook off their assailants and rode over their prostrate bodies, while the men on foot with their good swords or the butts of their pieces drove them headlong again down the sides of the dike.

But the advance of several thousand men, marching, probably, on a front of not more than fifteen or twenty abreast, necessarily required much time, and the leading files had already reached the second breach in the causeway before those in the rear had entirely traversed the first.<sup>9</sup> Here they halted, as they had no means of effecting a passage, smarting all the while under unintermitting volleys from the enemy, who were clustered thick on the waters around this second opening. Sorely distressed, the van-guard sent repeated messages to the rear to demand the portable bridge. At length the last of the army had crossed, and Magarino and

<sup>9</sup> [This second breach, says Ramirez, "the scene of the rout and slaughter of the Spaniards, was in front of *San Hipolito*, where a chapel was built, to commemorate the event, and dedicated to the

*Martyrs*,—though assuredly none of those who had fallen there had any claim to the crown of martyrdom." *Notas y Esclarecimientos*, p. 104.]

his sturdy followers endeavoured to raise the ponderous framework. But it stuck fast in the sides of the dike. In vain they strained every nerve. The weight of so many men and horses, and above all of the heavy artillery, had wedged the timbers so firmly in the stones and earth that it was beyond their power to dislodge them. Still they laboured amidst a torrent of missiles, until, many of them slain, and all wounded, they were obliged to abandon the attempt.

The tidings soon spread from man to man, and no sooner was their dreadful import comprehended than a cry of despair arose, which for a moment drowned all the noise of conflict. All means of retreat were cut off. Scarcely hope was left. The only hope was in such desperate exertions as each could make for himself. Order and subordination were at an end. Intense danger produced intense selfishness. Each thought only of his own life. Pressing forward, he trampled down the weak and the wounded, heedless whether it were friend or foe. The leading files, urged on by the rear, were crowded on the brink of the gulf. Sandoval, Ordaz, and the other cavaliers dashed into the water. Some succeeded in swimming their horses across. Others failed, and some, who reached the opposite bank, being overturned in the ascent, rolled headlong with their steeds into the lake. The infantry followed pellmell, heaped promiscuously on one another, frequently pierced by the shafts or struck down by the war-clubs of the Aztecs; while many an unfortunate victim was dragged half stunned on board their canoes, to be reserved for a protracted but more dreadful death.<sup>10</sup>

The carnage raged fearfully along the length of the causeway. Its shadowy bulk presented a mark of suf-

<sup>10</sup> Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 143.—Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 128.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 12, 47.—Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-

España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 24.—Martyr, De Orbe Novo, dec. 5, cap. 6.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 4.—Probanza en la Villa Segura, MS.

ficient distinctness for the enemy's missiles, which often prostrated their own countrymen in the blind fury of the tempest. Those nearest the dike, running their canoes alongside, with a force that shattered them to pieces, leaped on the land, and grappled with the Christians, until both came rolling down the side of the causeway together. But the Aztec fell among his friends, while his antagonist was borne away in triumph to the sacrifice. The struggle was long and deadly. The Mexicans were recognized by their white cotton tunics, which showed faint through the darkness. Above the combatants rose a wild and discordant clamour, in which horrid shouts of vengeance were mingled with groans of agony, with invocations of the saints and the blessed Virgin, and with the screams of women;<sup>11</sup> for there were several women, both natives and Spaniards, who had accompanied the Christian camp. Among these, one named María de Estrada is particularly noticed for the courage she displayed, battling with broadsword and target like the stanchest of the warriors.<sup>12</sup>

The opening in the causeway, meanwhile, was filled up with the wreck of matter which had been forced into it, ammunition-waggons, heavy guns, bales of rich stuffs scattered over the waters, chests of solid ingots, and bodies of men and horses, till over this dismal ruin a passage was gradually formed, by which those in the rear were enabled to clamber to the other side.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "Pues la grita, y lloros, y lástimas q dezia demandando socorro: Ayudadme, q me ahogo, otros: Socorredme, q me matá, otros demandando ayuda á N. Señora Santa María, y á Señor Santiago." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 128.

<sup>12</sup> "In this combat Maria de Estrada, oblivious of her sex, showed herself most valorous, and armed with sword and shield did marvellous deeds, rushing into the midst of the enemy with a courage

and spirit equal to that of the bravest of men. . . . This lady became the wife of Pedro Sanchez Farfan, and the village of Tetela was granted to them *en encomienda*." Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 128.—"Por la gran priesa que daban de ambas partes de el camino, comenzáron á caer en aquel foso, y cayéron juntos, que de Españoles, que de Indios y

Cortés, it is said, found a place that was fordable, where, halting, with the water up to his saddle-girths, he endeavoured to check the confusion, and lead his followers by a safer path to the opposite bank. But his voice was lost in the wild uproar, and finally, hurrying on with the tide, he pressed forwards with a few trusty cavaliers, who remained near his person, to the van; but not before he had seen his favourite page, Juan de Salazar, struck down, a corpse, by his side. Here he found Sandoval and his companions, halting before the third and last breach, endeavouring to cheer on their followers to surmount it. But their resolution faltered. It was wide and deep; though the passage was not so closely beset by the enemy as the preceding ones. The cavaliers again set the example by plunging into the water. Horse and foot followed as they could, some swimming, others with dying grasp clinging to the manes and tails of the struggling animals. Those fared best, as the general had predicted, who travelled lightest; and many were the unfortunate wretches who, weighed down by the fatal gold which they loved so well, were buried with it in the salt floods of the lake.<sup>14</sup> Cortés, with his gallant comrades, Olid, Morla, Sandoval, and some few others, still kept in the advance, leading his broken remnant off the fatal causeway. The din of battle lessened in the distance; when the rumour reached them that the rear-guard would be wholly overwhelmed without speedy relief. It seemed almost an act of desperation; but the generous hearts of the Spanish cavaliers did not

de caballos, y de cargas, el foso se hinchó hasta arriba, cayendo los unos sobre los otros, y los otros sobre los otros, de manera que todos los del bagage quedaron allí ahogados, y los de la retarguardia pasaron sobre los muertos." Saha-gun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 24.

<sup>14</sup> "É los que habian ido con Narvaez arrojáronse en la sala, é

cargáronse de aquel oro é plata quanto pudieron; pero los menos lo gozaron, porque la carga no los dexaba pelear, é los Indios los tomaban vivos cargados; é á otros llevaban arrastrando, é á otros mataban allí; É así no se salvaron sino los desocupados é que iban en la delantera." Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.

stop to calculate danger when the cry for succour reached them. Turning their horses' bridles, they galloped back to the theatre of action, worked their way through the press, swam the canal, and placed themselves in the thick of the *mêlée* on the opposite bank.<sup>15</sup>

The first gray of the morning was now coming over the waters. It showed the hideous confusion of the scene which had been shrouded in the obscurity of night. The dark masses of combatants, stretching along the dike, were seen struggling for mastery, until the very causeway on which they stood appeared to tremble, and reel to and fro, as if shaken by an earthquake; while the bosom of the lake, as far as the eye could reach, was darkened by canoes crowded with warriors, whose spears and bludgeons, armed with blades of "volcanic glass," gleamed in the morning light.

The cavaliers found Alvarado unhorsed, and defending himself with a poor handful of followers against an overwhelming tide of the enemy. His good steed, which had borne him through many a hard fight, had fallen under him.<sup>16</sup> He was himself wounded in several places, and was striving in vain to rally his scattered column, which was driven to the verge of the canal by the fury of the enemy, then in possession of the whole rear of the causeway, where they were reinforced every hour by fresh combatants from the city. The artillery in the earlier part of the engagement had not been idle, and its iron shower, sweeping along the dike, had mowed down the assailants by hundreds. But nothing could resist their impetuosity. The front ranks, pushed on by those behind, were at length forced up to the pieces, and, pouring over them like a torrent, over-

<sup>15</sup>Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 11.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 128.

<sup>16</sup>"Luego encontraron con Pedro

de Alvarado bien herido con vna lança en la mano á pie, que la yegua alaçana ya se la auian muerto." Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 128.

threw men and guns in one general ruin. The resolute charge of the Spanish cavaliers, who had now arrived, created a temporary check, and gave time for their countrymen to make a feeble rally. But they were speedily borne down by the returning flood. Cortés and his companions were compelled to plunge again into the lake,—though all did not escape. Alvarado stood on the brink for a moment, hesitating what to do. Unhorsed as he was, to throw himself into the water, in the face of the hostile canoes that now swarmed around the opening, afforded but a desperate chance of safety. He had but a second for thought. He was a man of powerful frame, and despair gave him unnatural energy. Setting his long lance firmly on the wreck which strewed the bottom of the lake, he sprung forward with all his might, and cleared the wide gap at a leap! Aztecs and Tlascalans gazed in stupid amazement, exclaiming, as they beheld the incredible feat, "This is truly the *Tonatiuh*,—the child of the Sun!"<sup>17</sup> The breadth of the opening is not given. But it was so great that the valorous Captain Diaz, who well remembered the place, says the leap was impossible to any man.<sup>18</sup> Other contemporaries, however, do not discredit the story.<sup>19</sup> It was, beyond

<sup>17</sup> "Y los amigos vista tan gran hazafia quedaron maravillados, y al instante que esto vieron se arrojaron por el suelo postrados por tierra en señal de hecho tan heroico, espantable y raro, que ellos no habian visto hacer á ningun hombre, y así adoraron al Sol, comiendo puñados de tierra, arrancando yervas del campo, diciendo á grandes voces, verdaderamente que este hombre es *hijo del Sol*." (Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.) This writer consulted the process instituted by Alvarado's heirs, in which they set forth the merits of their ancestor, as attested by the most valorous captains of the Tlascalan nation, present at the Conquest. It may be that the famous

leap was among these "merits" of which the historian speaks. M. de Humboldt, citing Camargo, so considers it. (*Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 75.) This would do more than anything else to establish the fact. But Camargo's language does not seem to me necessarily to warrant the inference.

<sup>18</sup> "Se llama aora la puente del salto de Alvarado : y platicauamos muchos soldados sobre ello, y no hallavamos razon, ni soltura de vn hombre que tal saltasse." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 128.

<sup>19</sup> Gomara, Crónica, cap. 109.—Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, ubi supra.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—Which last author, however, frankly says that

doubt, matter of popular belief at the time; it is to this day familiarly known to every inhabitant of the capital; and the name of the *Salto de Alvarado*, "Alvarado's Leap," given to the spot, still commemorates an exploit which rivalled those of the demi-gods of Grecian fable.<sup>20</sup>

Cortés and his companions now rode forward to the front, where the troops, in a loose, disorderly manner, were marching off the fatal causeway. A few only of the enemy hung on their rear, or annoyed them by occasional flights of arrows from the lake. The atten-

many who had seen the place declared that it seemed to them impossible. "Fué tan estremado de grande el salto, que á muchos hombres que han visto aquello, he oído decir que parece cosa imposible haberlo podido saltar ninguno hombre humano. En fin él lo saltó é ganó por ello la vida, é perdiéronla muchos que atrás quedaban."

<sup>20</sup> The spot is pointed out to every traveller. It is where a ditch, of no great width, is traversed by a small bridge not far from the western extremity of the Alameda. A house, lately erected there, may somewhat interfere with the meditations of the antiquary. (Alaman, *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. i. p. 202.) As the place received its name in Alvarado's time, the story could scarcely have been discountenanced by him. But, since the length of the leap, strange to say, is nowhere given, the reader can have no means of passing his own judgment on its probability. [Unfortunately for the lovers of the marvellous, another version is now given of the account of Alvarado's escape, which deprives him of the glory claimed for him by this astounding feat. In the process against him, which was not brought to light till several years after the present work was published, one of the charges was that

he fled from the field, leaving his soldiers to their fate, and escaping by means of a beam which had survived the demolition of the bridge, and still stretched across the chasm from one side to the other. The chief, in his reply, said that, far from deserting his men, they deserted him, and that he did not fly till he was wounded and his horse killed under him, when he escaped across the breach, was taken up behind a mounted cavalier on the other side, and carried out of the fray. That he should not have alluded to the account given of the manner of his escape, so much less glorious than that usually claimed for him, may lead us to infer that it was too true to be disputed. Such is the judgment of Señor Ramirez, who, in his account of the affair, tells us that, far from being an object of admiration, Alvarado's escape was, in his own time, deemed rather worthy of punishment, as an act of desertion which cost the lives of many brave followers whom he left behind him. (See the *Proceso de Alvarado*, pp. 53, 68, with the caustic remarks of Ramirez, pp. xiv., 288, et. seq.) It is natural that a descendant of the conquered race should hold in peculiar detestation the most cruel persecutor of the Aztecs.]

tion of the Aztecs was diverted by the rich spoil that strewed the battle-ground; fortunately for the Spaniards, who, had their enemy pursued with the same ferocity with which he had fought, would, in their crippled condition, have been cut off, probably, to a man. But little molested, therefore, they were allowed to defile through the adjacent village, or suburbs, it might be called, of Popotla.<sup>21</sup>

The Spanish commander there dismounted from his jaded steed, and, sitting down on the steps of an Indian temple, gazed mournfully on the broken files as they passed before him. What a spectacle did they present! The cavalry, most of them dismounted, were mingled with the infantry, who dragged their feeble limbs along with difficulty; their shattered mail and tattered garments dripping with the salt ooze, showing through their rents many a bruise and ghastly wound; their bright arms soiled, their proud crests and banners gone, the baggage, artillery, all, in short, that constitutes the pride and panoply of glorious war, forever lost. Cortés, as he looked wistfully on their thin and disordered ranks, sought in vain for many a familiar face, and missed more than one dear companion who had stood side by side with him through all the perils of the Conquest. Though accustomed to control his emotions, or, at least, to conceal them, the sight was too much for him. He covered his face with his hands, and the tears, which trickled down, revealed too plainly the anguish of his soul.<sup>22</sup>

He found some consolation, however, in the sight of several of the cavaliers on whom he most relied. Alvarado, Sandoval, Olid, Ordaz, Avila, were yet safe.

<sup>21</sup> "Fué Dios servido de que los Mejicanos se ocupasen en recoger los despojos de los muertos, y las riquezas de oro y piedras que llevaba el bagage, y de sacar los muertos de aquel acequia, y á los caballos y otros bestias. Y por esto no siguiéron el alcance, y los Españoles pudieron ir poco á poco

por su camino sin tener mucha molestia de enemigos." Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 89.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 109.



He had the inexpressible satisfaction, also, of learning the safety of the Indian interpreter, Marina, so dear to him, and so important to the army. She had been committed, with a daughter of a Tlascalan chief, to several of that nation. She was fortunately placed in the van, and her faithful escort had carried her securely through all the dangers of the night. Aguilar, the other interpreter, had also escaped. And it was with no less satisfaction that Cortés learned the safety of the ship-builder, Martin Lopez.<sup>23</sup> The general's solicitude for the fate of this man, so indispensable, as he proved, to the success of his subsequent operations, showed that, amidst all his affliction, his indomitable spirit was looking forward to the hour of vengeance.

Meanwhile, the advancing column had reached the neighbouring city of Tlacopan (Tacuba), once the capital of an independent principality. There it halted in the great street, as if bewildered and altogether uncertain what course to take; like a herd of panic-struck deer, who, flying from the hunters, with the cry of hound and horn still ringing in their ears, look wildly around for some glen or copse in which to plunge for concealment. Cortés, who had hastily mounted and rode on to the front again, saw the danger of remaining in a populous place, where the inhabitants might sorely annoy the troops from the *azoteas*, with little risk to themselves. Pushing forward, therefore, he soon led them into the country. There he endeavoured to reform his disorganized battalions and bring them to something like order.<sup>24</sup>

Hard by, at no great distance on the left, rose an

<sup>23</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 12.

<sup>24</sup> "Tacuba," says that interesting traveller, Latrobe, "lies near the foot of the hills, and is at the present day chiefly noted for the large and noble church which was erected there by Cortés. And hard by you trace the lines of a Spanish encampment. I do not hazard the opinion, but it might appear by

the coincidence, that this was the very position chosen by Cortés for his intrenchment, after the retreat just mentioned, and before he commenced his painful route towards Otumba." (*Rambler in Mexico*, Letter 5.) It is evident, from our text, that Cortés could have thrown up no intrenchment here, at least on his retreat from the capital.

eminence, looking towards a chain of mountains which fences in the Valley on the west. It was called the Hill of Otoncalpolco, and sometimes the Hill of Montezuma.<sup>25</sup> It was crowned with an Indian *teocalli*, with its large outworks of stone covering an ample space, and by its strong position, which commanded the neighbouring plain, promised a good place of refuge for the exhausted troops. But the men, disheartened and stupefied by their late reverses, seemed for the moment incapable of further exertion; and the place was held by a body of armed Indians. Cortés saw the necessity of dislodging them if he would save the remains of his army from entire destruction. The event showed he still held a control over their wills stronger than circumstances themselves. Cheering them on, and supported by his gallant cavaliers, he succeeded in infusing into the most sluggish something of his own intrepid temper, and led them up the ascent in face of the enemy. But the latter made slight resistance, and, after a few feeble volleys of missiles which did little injury, left the ground to the assailants.

It was covered by a building of considerable size, and furnished ample accommodations for the diminished numbers of the Spaniards. They found there some provisions; and more, it is said, were brought to them, in the course of the day, from some friendly Otomi villages in the neighbourhood. There was, also, a quantity of fuel in the courts, destined to the uses of the temple. With this they made fires to dry their drenched garments, and busily employed themselves in dressing one another's wounds, stiff and extremely painful from exposure and long exertion. Thus refreshed, the weary soldiers threw themselves down on the floor and courts of the temple, and soon found the temporary oblivion which Nature seldom denies even in the greatest extremity of suffering.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Lorenzana, *Viage*, p. xiii.

<sup>26</sup> Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 24.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*,

cap. 128.—Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.—Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 89.

There was one eye in that assembly, however, which we may well believe did not so speedily close. For what agitating thoughts must have crowded on the mind of their commander, as he beheld his poor remnant of followers thus huddled together in this miserable bivouac! And this was all that survived of the brilliant array with which but a few weeks since he had entered the capital of Mexico! Where now were his dreams of conquest and empire? And what was he but a luckless adventurer, at whom the finger of scorn would be uplifted as a madman? Which-ever way he turned, the horizon was almost equally gloomy, with scarcely one light spot to cheer him. He had still a weary journey before him, through perilous and unknown paths, with guides of whose fidelity he could not be assured. And how could he rely on his reception at Tlascala, the place of his destination,—the land of his ancient enemies, where, formerly as a foe, and now as a friend, he had brought desolation to every family within its borders?

Yet these agitating and gloomy reflections, which might have crushed a common mind, had no power over that of Cortés; or, rather, they only served to renew his energies and quicken his perceptions, as the war of the elements purifies and gives elasticity to the atmosphere. He looked with an unblenching eye on his past reverses; but, confident in his own resources, he saw a light through the gloom which others could not. Even in the shattered relics which lay around him, resembling in their haggard aspect and wild attire a horde of famished outlaws, he discerned the materials out of which to reconstruct his ruined fortunes. In the very hour of discomfiture and general despondency, there is no doubt that his heroic spirit was meditating the plan of operations which he afterwards pursued with such dauntless constancy.

The loss sustained by the Spaniards on this fatal night, like every other event in the history of the Conquest, is reported with the greatest discrepancy.

If we believe Cortés' own letter, it did not exceed one hundred and fifty Spaniards and two thousand Indians. But the general's bulletins, while they do full justice to the difficulties to be overcome and the importance of the results, are less scrupulous in stating the extent either of his means or of his losses. Thoan Cano, one of the cavaliers present, estimates the slain at eleven hundred and seventy Spaniards and eight thousand allies. But this is a greater number than we have allowed for the whole army. Perhaps we may come nearest the truth by taking the computation of Gomara, who was the chaplain of Cortés, and who had free access, doubtless, not only to the general's papers, but to other authentic sources of information. According to him the number of Christians killed and missing was four hundred and fifty, and that of natives four thousand. This, with the loss sustained in the conflicts of the previous week, may have reduced the former to something more than a third, and the latter to a fourth, or perhaps fifth, of the original force with which they entered the capital.<sup>27</sup> The brunt of the

<sup>27</sup> The table below may give the reader some idea of the discrepancies in numerical estimates, even

among eye-witnesses, and writers who, having access to the actors, are nearly of equal authority :

	Killed and Missing.	
	150 Spaniards,	2000 Indians.
Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 145,	1170	8000
Cano, ap. Oviedo, lib. 33, cap. 54,	200	2000
Probanza, etc.,	200	2000
Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., lib. 33, cap. 13,	150	2000
Camargo,	450	4000
Gomara, cap. 109,	450	4000
Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., cap. 88,	450	4000
Sahagun, lib. 12, cap. 24,	300	2000
Herrera, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 12,	150	4000

Bernal Diaz does not take the trouble to agree with himself. After stating that the rear, on which the loss fell heaviest, consisted of 120 men, he adds, in the same paragraph, that 150 of these were slain, which number swells to 200 in a few lines further!

Falstaff's men in buckram! See Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 128.—Cano's estimate embraces, it is true, those—but their number was comparatively small—who perished subsequently on the march. The same authority states that 270 of the garrison, ignorant of the pro-

action fell on the rear-guard, few of whom escaped. It was formed chiefly of the soldiers of Narvaez, who fell the victims, in some measure, of their cupidity.<sup>28</sup> Forty-six of the cavalry were cut off, which with previous losses reduced the number in this branch of the service to twenty-three, and some of these in very poor condition. The greater part of the treasure, the baggage, the general's papers, including his accounts, and a minute diary of transactions since leaving Cuba,—which, to posterity at least, would have been of more worth than the gold,—had been swallowed up by the waters.<sup>29</sup> The ammunition, the beautiful little train of artillery with which Cortés had entered the city, were all gone. Not a musket even remained, the men having thrown them away, eager to disencumber themselves of all that might retard their escape on that disastrous night. Nothing, in short, of their military apparatus was left, but their swords, their crippled cavalry, and a few damaged cross-bows, to assert the superiority of the European over the barbarian.

The prisoners, including, as already noticed, the children of Montezuma and the cacique of Tezcucó, all perished by the hands of their ignorant countrymen, it is said, in the indiscriminate fury of the assault. There were, also, some persons of consideration among the

posed departure of their countrymen, were perfidiously left in the palace of Axayacatl, where they surrendered on terms, but were subsequently all sacrificed by the Aztecs! (See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.) The improbability of this monstrous story, by which the army, with all its equipage, could leave the citadel without the knowledge of so many of their comrades, —and this be permitted, too, at a juncture which made every man's co-operation so important,—is too obvious to require refutation. Herrera records, what is much more probable, that Cortés gave particular orders to the captain.

Ojeda, to see that none of the sleeping or wounded should, in the hurry of the moment, be overlooked in their quarters. Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 11.

<sup>28</sup> "Pues de los de Narvaez, todos los mas en las puentes quedaron, cargados de oro." Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 128.

<sup>29</sup> According to Díaz, part of the gold intrusted to the *Tlascalan* convoy was preserved. (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 136.) From the document already cited,—Probanza de Villa Segura, MS.,—it appears that it was a Castilian guard who had charge of it.

Spaniards whose names were inscribed on the same bloody roll of slaughter. Such was Francisco de Morla, who fell by the side of Cortés on returning with him to the rescue. But the greatest loss was that of Juan Velasquez de Leon, who, with Alvarado, had command of the rear. It was the post of danger on that night, and he fell, bravely defending it, at an early part of the retreat. He was an excellent officer, possessed of many knightly qualities, though somewhat haughty in his bearing, being one of the best connected cavaliers in the army. The near relation of the governor of Cuba, he looked coldly, at first, on the pretensions of Cortés; but, whether from a conviction that the latter had been wronged, or from personal preference, he afterwards attached himself zealously to his leader's interests. The general requited this with a generous confidence, assigning him, as we have seen, a separate and independent command, where misconduct, or even a mistake, would have been fatal to the expedition. Velasquez proved himself worthy of the trust; and there was no cavalier in the army, with the exception, perhaps, of Sandoval and Alvarado, whose loss would have been so deeply deplored by the commander. Such were the disastrous results of this terrible passage of the causeway; more disastrous than those occasioned by any other reverse which has stained the Spanish arms in the New World; and which have branded the night on which it happened, in the national annals, with the name of the *noche triste*, "the sad or melancholy night."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Gomara, Crónica, cap. 109.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 23, cap. 13.—Probanza en la Villa

Segura, MS.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 123.

## CHAPTER IV.

Retreat of the Spaniards.—Distresses of the Army.—Pyramids of Teotihuacan.—Great Battle of Otumba.

1520.

THE Mexicans, during the day which followed the retreat of the Spaniards, remained, for the most part, quiet in their own capital, where they found occupation in cleansing the streets and causeways from the dead, which lay festering in heaps that might have bred a pestilence. They may have been employed, also, in paying the last honours to such of their warriors as had fallen, solemnizing the funeral rites by the sacrifice of their wretched prisoners, who, as they contemplated their own destiny, may well have envied the fate of their companions who left their bones on the battle-field. It was most fortunate for the Spaniards, in their extremity, that they had this breathing-time allowed them by the enemy. But Cortés knew that he could not calculate on its continuance, and, feeling how important it was to get the start of his vigilant foe, he ordered his troops to be in readiness to resume their march by midnight. Fires were left burning, the better to deceive the enemy; and at the appointed hour the little army, without sound of drum or trumpet, but with renewed spirits, sallied forth from the gates of the *teocalli*, within whose hospitable walls they had found such seasonable succour. The place is now indicated by a Christian church, dedicated to the Virgin, under the title of *Neustra Señora de los Remedios*, whose miraculous image—the very same, *it is said*, brought

over by the followers of Cortés<sup>1</sup>—still extends her beneficent sway over the neighbouring capital; and the traveller who pauses within the precincts of the consecrated fane may feel that he is standing on the spot made memorable by the refuge it afforded to the Conquerors in the hour of their deepest despondency.<sup>2</sup>

It was arranged that the sick and wounded should occupy the centre, transported on litters, or on the backs of the *tamanes*, while those who were strong enough to keep their seats should mount behind the cavalry. The able-bodied soldiers were ordered to the front and rear, while others protected the flanks, thus affording all the security possible to the invalids.

The retreating army held on its way unmolested under cover of the darkness. But, as morning dawned, they beheld parties of the natives moving over the heights, or hanging at a distance, like a cloud of locusts, on their rear. They did not belong to the capital, but were gathered from the neighbouring country, where the tidings of their rout had already penetrated. The charm which had hitherto covered the white men was gone. The dread *Teules* were no longer invincible.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lorenzana, *Viage*, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> The last instance, I believe, of the direct interposition of the Virgin in behalf of the metropolis was in 1833, when she was brought into the city to avert the cholera. She refused to pass the night in town, however, but was found the next morning in her own sanctuary at Los Remedios, showing, by the mud with which she was plentifully bespattered, that she must have performed the distance—several leagues—through the miry ways on foot! See Latrobe, *Rambler in Mexico*, Letter 5.

<sup>3</sup> The epithet by which, according to Diaz, the Castilians were constantly addressed by the natives, and which—whether correctly or not—he interprets into *gods*, or

*divine beings*. (See *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 48, et alibi.) One of the stanzas of Ercilla intimates the existence of a similar delusion among the South American Indians,—and a similar cure of it:

“Por dioses, como dixen, eran  
tenidos  
de los Indios los nuestros; pero  
oliéron  
que de muger y hombre eran  
nacidos,  
y todas sus flaquezas entendiéron:  
viéndolos á miserias sometidos,  
el error ignorante conociéron,  
ardiendo en viva rabia avergon-  
zados  
por verse de mortales conquis-  
tados.”

LA ARAUCANA, Parte I, Canto 2



The Spaniards, under the conduct of their Tlascalan guides, took a circuitous route to the north, passing through Quauhtitlan, and round lake Tzompanco (Zumpango), thus lengthening their march, but keeping at a distance from the capital. From the eminences, as they passed along, the Indians rolled down heavy stones, mingled with volleys of darts and arrows, on the heads of the soldiers. Some were even bold enough to descend into the plain and assault the extremities of the column. But they were soon beaten off by the horse, and compelled to take refuge among the hills, where the ground was too rough for the rider to follow. Indeed, the Spaniards did not care to do so, their object being rather to fly than to fight.

In this way they slowly advanced, halting at intervals to drive off their assailants when they became too importunate, and greatly distressed by their missiles and their desultory attacks. At night, the troops usually found shelter in some town or hamlet, whence the inhabitants, in anticipation of their approach, had been careful to carry off all the provisions. The Spaniards were soon reduced to the greatest straits for subsistence. Their principal food was the wild cherry, which grew in the woods or by the roadside. Fortunate were they if they found a few ears of corn unplucked. More frequently nothing was left but the stalks; and with them, and the like unwholesome fare, they were fain to supply the cravings of appetite. When a horse happened to be killed, it furnished an extraordinary banquet; and Cortés himself records the fact of his having made one of a party who thus sumptuously regaled themselves, devouring the animal even to his hide.\*

\* Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 147.—Hunger furnished them a sauce, says Oviedo, which made their horse-flesh as relishing as the far-famed sausages of Naples, the delicate kid of Avila, or the savory veal of Saragossa! "Con

la carne del caballo tubieron buen pasto, é se consoláron ó mitigáron en parte su hambre, é se lo comiéron sin dexar cuero, ni otra cosa dél sino los huesos, é las viñas, y el pelo; é aun las tripas no les pareció de menos buen gusto que las so-

The wretched soldiers, faint with famine and fatigue, were sometimes seen to drop down lifeless on the road. Others loitered behind, unable to keep up with the march, and fell into the hands of the enemy, who followed in the track of the army like a flock of famished vultures, eager to pounce on the dying and the dead. Others, again, who strayed too far, in their eagerness to procure sustenance, shared the same fate. The number of these, at length, and the consciousness of the cruel lot for which they were reserved, compelled Cortés to introduce stricter discipline, and to enforce it by sterner punishments than he had hitherto done, —though too often ineffectually, such was the indifference of danger, under the overwhelming pressure of present calamity.

In their prolonged distresses, the soldiers ceased to set a value on those very things for which they had once been content to hazard life itself. More than one who had brought his golden treasure safe through the perils of the *noche triste* now abandoned it as an intolerable burden; and the rude Indian peasant gleaned up, with wondering delight, the bright fragments of the spoils of the capital.<sup>5</sup>

Through these weary days Cortés displayed his usual serenity and fortitude. He was ever in the post of danger, freely exposing himself in encounters with the enemy; in one of which he received a severe wound in the head that afterwards gave him much trouble.<sup>6</sup> He fared no better than the humblest soldier, and strove, by his own cheerful countenance and counsels,

breasados de Nápoles, ó los gentiles cabritos de Abila, ó las sabrosas Terneras de Zaragoza, segun la estrema necesidad que llevaban; por que despues que de la gran cibdad de Temixtitlan havian salido, ninguna otra cosa comiéron sino mahiz tostado, é cocido, é yervas del campo, y desto no tanto quanto quisieran ó ovieran menester." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Herrera mentions one soldier who had succeeded in carrying off his gold to the value of 3000 *castellanos* across the causeway, and afterwards flung it away by the advice of Cortés. "The devil take your gold," said the commander bluntly to him, "if it is to cost you your life." Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Gomara, Crónica, cap. 110.

to fortify the courage of those who faltered, assuring them that their sufferings would soon be ended by their arrival in the hospitable "land of bread."<sup>7</sup> His faithful officers co-operated with him in these efforts; and the common file, indeed, especially his own veterans, must be allowed, for the most part, to have shown a full measure of the constancy and power of endurance so characteristic of their nation,—justifying the honest boast of an old chronicler, "that there was no people so capable of supporting hunger as the Spaniards, and none of them who were ever more severely tried than the soldiers of Cortés."<sup>8</sup> A similar fortitude was shown by the Tlascalans, trained in a rough school that made them familiar with hardship and privations. Although they sometimes threw themselves on the ground, in the extremity of famine, imploring their gods not to abandon them, they did their duty as warriors, and, far from manifesting coldness towards the Spaniards as the cause of their distresses, seemed only the more firmly knit to them by the sense of a common suffering.

On the seventh morning, the army had reached the mountain rampart which overlooks the plains of Otompan, or Otumba, as commonly called, from the Indian city—now a village—situated in them. The distance from the capital is hardly nine leagues. But the Spaniards had travelled more than thrice that distance, in their circuitous march round the lakes. This had been performed so slowly that it consumed a week, two nights of which had been passed in the same quarters, from the absolute necessity of rest. It was not, therefore, till the seventh of July that they reached the heights commanding the plains which stretched far away towards the territory of Tlascala, in full view of the venerable pyramids of Teotihuacan,

<sup>7</sup> The meaning of the word *Tlascala*, and so called from the abundance of maize raised in the country. Boturini, *Idea*, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> "Empero la Nacion nuestra

Española sufre mas hambre que otra ninguna, i estos de Cortés mas que toda." Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 110.

two of the most remarkable monuments of the antique American civilization now existing north of the Isthmus. During all the preceding day they had seen parties of the enemy hovering like dark clouds above the highlands, brandishing their weapons, and calling out, in vindictive tones, "Hasten on! You will soon find yourselves where you cannot escape!" words of mysterious import, which they were made fully to comprehend on the following morning.<sup>9</sup>

The monuments of San Juan Teotihuacan are, with the exception of the temple of Cholula, the most ancient remains, probably, on the Mexican soil. They were found by the Aztecs, according to their traditions, on their entrance into the country, when Teotihuacan, *the habitation of the gods*, now a paltry village, was a flourishing city, the rival of Tula, the great Toltec capital.<sup>10</sup> The two principal pyramids were dedicated to *Tonatiuh*, the Sun, and *Mextli*, the Moon. The former, which is considerably the larger, is found by recent measurements to be six hundred and eighty-two feet long at the base, and one hundred and eighty feet high, dimensions not inferior to those of some of the kindred monuments of Egypt.<sup>11</sup> They were divided into four stories, of which three are now discernible, while the vestiges of the intermediate gradations are nearly effaced. In fact, time has dealt so roughly with them, and the materials have been so much displaced by the treacherous vegetation of the tropics, muffling up with its flowery mantle the ruin which it causes,

<sup>9</sup> For the foregoing pages, see Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.,—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 128,—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 13,—Gomara, *Crónica*, ubisupra,—Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 89,—Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 5, cap. 6,—Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 147, 148,—Sahagún, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 25, 26.

<sup>10</sup> "Su nombre, que quiere decir  
VOL. II.

*habitation de los Dioses*, y que ya por estos tiempos era ciudad tan famosa, que no solo competia, pero excedia con muchas ventajas á la corte de Tollan." Veytia, *Hist. antig.*, tom. i. cap. 27.

<sup>11</sup> The pyramid of Mycerinos is 280 feet only at the base, and 162 feet in height. The great pyramid of Cheops is 728 feet at the base, and 448 feet high. See Denon, *Egypt Illustrated* (London, 1825), p. 9.

that it is not easy to discern at once the pyramidal form of the structures.<sup>12</sup> The huge masses bear such resemblance to the North American mounds that some have fancied them to be only natural eminences shaped by the hand of man into a regular form, and ornamented with the temples and terraces the wreck of which still covers their slopes. But others, seeing no example of a similar elevation in the wide plain in which they stand, infer, with more probability, that they are wholly of an artificial construction.<sup>13</sup>

The interior is composed of clay mixed with pebbles, incrustated on the surface with the light porous stone, *tetzontli*, so abundant in the neighbouring quarries. Over this was a thick coating of stucco, resembling, in its reddish colour, that found in the ruins of Palenque. According to tradition, the pyramids are hollow; but hitherto the attempt to discover the cavity in that dedicated to the Sun has been unsuccessful. In the smaller mound an aperture has been found on the southern side, at two-thirds of the elevation. It is formed by a narrow gallery, which, after penetrating to the distance of several yards, terminates in two pits or wells. The largest of these is about fifteen feet deep,<sup>14</sup> and the sides are faced with unbaked bricks; but to what purpose it was devoted, nothing is left to show. It may have been to hold the ashes of some powerful chief, like the solitary apartment discovered in the great Egyptian pyramid. That these monuments were dedicated to religious uses, there is no doubt;

<sup>12</sup> "It requires a particular position," says Mr. Tudor, "united with some little faith, to discover the pyramidal form at all." (*Tour in North America*, vol. ii., p. 277.) Yet Mr. Bullock says, "The general figure of the square is as perfect as the great pyramid of Egypt." (*Six Months in Mexico*, vol. ii., chap. 26.) Eye-witnesses both! The historian must often content himself with repeating, in the words of the old French lay,—

"*Si com je l'ai trouvé écrite,  
Vos conterai la vérité.*"

<sup>13</sup> This is M. de Humboldt's opinion. (See his *Essai politique*, tom. ii., pp. 66-70.) He has also discussed these interesting monuments in his *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 25, et seq.

<sup>14</sup> Latrobe gives the description of this cavity, into which he and his fellow-travellers penetrated. *Rambler in Mexico*, Letter 7.

and it would only be conformable to the practice of antiquity in the Eastern continent that they should have served for tombs as well as temples.<sup>15</sup>

Distinct traces of the latter destination are said to be visible on the summit of the smaller pyramid, consisting of the remains of stone walls showing a building of considerable size and strength.<sup>16</sup> There are no remains on the top of the pyramid of the Sun. But the traveller who will take the trouble to ascend its bald summit will be amply compensated by the glorious view it will open to him ;—towards the south-east, the hills of Tlascala, surrounded by their green plantations and cultivated corn-fields, in the midst of which stands the little village, once the proud capital of the republic. Somewhat farther to the south, the eye passes across the beautiful plains lying around the city of Puebla de los Angeles, founded by the old Spaniards, and still rivalling, in the splendour of its churches, the most brilliant capitals of Europe ; and far in the west he may behold the Valley of Mexico, spread out like a map, with its diminished lakes, its princely capital rising in still greater glory from its ruins, and its rugged hills gathering darkly around it, as in the days of Montezuma.

The summit of this larger mound is said to have been crowned by a temple, in which was a colossal statue of its presiding deity, the Sun, made of one entire block of stone, and facing the east. Its breast was protected by a plate of burnished gold and silver, on which the first rays of the rising luminary rested.<sup>17</sup> An antiquary, in the early part of the last century, speaks of having seen some fragments of the statue.

<sup>15</sup> "Et tot templa defun Romæ,  
quot in urbe sepulcra  
Heroum numerare licet : quos  
fabula manes  
Nobilitat, noster populus vene-  
ratus adorat."

PRUDENTIUS, *Contra Sym.*, lib. 1.

<sup>16</sup> The dimensions are given by Bullock (*Six Months in Mexico*, vol. ii., chap. 26), who has sometimes seen what has eluded the optics of other travellers.

<sup>17</sup> Such is the account given by the cavalier Boturini. *Idea*, pp. 42, 43.

It was still standing, according to report, on the invasion of the Spaniards, and was demolished by the indefatigable Bishop Zumárraga, whose hand fell more heavily than that of Time itself on the Aztec monuments.<sup>18</sup>

Around the principal pyramids are a great number of smaller ones, rarely exceeding thirty feet in height, which, according to tradition, were dedicated to the stars and served as sepulchres for the great men of the nation. They are arranged symmetrically in avenues terminating at the sides of the great pyramids, which face the cardinal points. The plain on which they stand was called *Micoatl*, or "Path of the Dead." The labourer, as he turns up the ground, still finds there numerous arrow-heads and blades of obsidian, attesting the warlike character of its primitive population.<sup>19</sup>

What thoughts must crowd on the mind of the traveller as he wanders amidst these memorials of the past; as he treads over the ashes of the generations who reared these colossal fabrics, which take us from the present into the very depths of time! But who were their builders? Was it the shadowy Olmecs, whose history, like that of the ancient Titans, is lost in the mists of fable? or, as commonly reported, the peaceful and industrious Toltecs, of whom all that we can glean rests on traditions hardly more secure? What has become of the races who built them? Did they remain on the soil, and mingle and become incorporated with the fierce Aztecs who succeeded them? Or did they pass on to the South, and find a wider field for the expansion of their civilization, as shown by the higher character of the architectural remains in the distant

<sup>18</sup> Both Ixtlilxochitl and Boturini, who visited these monuments, one early in the seventeenth, the other in the first part of the eighteenth century, testify to their having seen the remains of this statue. They had entirely disappeared by 1757, when Veytia examined the

pyramid. Hist. antig., tom. i., cap. 26.

<sup>19</sup> "Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro, Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila," etc.

GEORG., lib. i.

regions of Central America and Yucatan? It is all a mystery,—over which time has thrown an impenetrable veil, that no mortal hand may raise. A nation has passed away,—powerful, populous, and well advanced in refinement, as attested by their monuments,—but it has perished without a name. It has died and made no sign!

Such speculations, however, do not seem to have disturbed the minds of the Conquerors, who have not left a single line respecting these time-honoured structures, though they passed in full view of them,—perhaps under their very shadows. In the sufferings of the present they had little leisure to bestow on the past. Indeed, the new and perilous position in which at this very spot they found themselves must naturally have excluded every other thought from their bosoms but that of self-preservation.

As the army was climbing the mountain steeps which shut in the Valley of Otompan, the vedettes came in with the intelligence that a powerful body was encamped on the other side, apparently awaiting their approach. The intelligence was soon confirmed by their own eyes, as they turned the crest of the sierra, and saw spread out, below, a mighty host, filling up the whole depth of the valley, and giving to it the appearance, from the white cotton mail of the warriors, of being covered with snow.<sup>20</sup> It consisted of levies from the surrounding country, and especially the populous territory of Tezcuco, drawn together at the instance of Cuiclahua, Montezuma's successor, and now concentrated on this point to dispute the passage of the Spaniards. Every chief of note had taken the field with his whole array gathered under his standard, proudly displaying all the pomp and rude splendour of his military equipment. As far as the eye could reach, were to be seen shields and waving banners, fantastic helmets, forests of shining spears, the bright feather-

<sup>20</sup> "Y como iban vestidos de blanco, parecia el campo nevado." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 13.



mail of the chief, and the coarse cotton panoply of his follower, all mingled together in wild confusion and tossing to and fro like the billows of a troubled ocean.<sup>21</sup> It was a sight to fill the stoutest heart among the Christians with dismay, heightened by the previous expectation of soon reaching the friendly land which was to terminate their wearisome pilgrimage. Even Cortés, as he contrasted the tremendous array before him with his own diminished squadrons, wasted by disease and enfeebled by hunger and fatigue, could not escape the conviction that his last hour had arrived.<sup>22</sup>

But his was not the heart to despond; and he gathered strength from the very extremity of his situation. He had no room for hesitation; for there was no alternative left to him. To escape was impossible. He could not retreat on the capital, from which he had been expelled. He must advance,—cut through the enemy, or perish. He hastily made his dispositions for the fight. He gave his force as broad a front as possible, protecting it on each flank by his little body of horse, now reduced to twenty. Fortunately, he had not allowed the invalids, for the last two days, to mount behind the riders, from a desire to spare the horses, so that these were now in tolerable condition; and, indeed, the whole army had been refreshed by halting, as we have seen, two nights and a day in the same place, a delay, however, which had allowed the enemy time to assemble in such force to dispute its progress.

Cortés instructed his cavaliers not to part with their lances, and to direct them at the face. The infantry were to thrust, not strike, with their swords; passing

<sup>21</sup> "Vistosa confusion," says Solís, "de armas y penachos, en que tenían su hermosura los horrores." (Conquista, lib. 4, cap. 20.) His painting shows the hand of a great artist,—which he certainly was. But he should not have put fire-

arms into the hands of his countrymen on this occasion.

<sup>22</sup> "Y cierto creímos ser aquel el último de nuestros días." Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 148.

them at once through the bodies of their enemies. They were, above all, to aim at the leaders, as the general well knew how much depends on the life of the commander in the wars of barbarians, whose want of subordination makes them impatient of any control but that to which they are accustomed.

He then addressed to his troops a few words of encouragement, as customary with him on the eve of an engagement. He reminded them of the victories they had won with odds nearly as discouraging as the present; thus establishing the superiority of science and discipline over numbers. Numbers, indeed, were of no account, where the arm of the Almighty was on their side. And he bade them have full confidence that He who had carried them safely through so many perils would not now abandon them and his own good cause to perish by the hand of the infidel. His address was brief, for he read in their looks that settled resolve which rendered words unnecessary. The circumstances of their position spoke more forcibly to the heart of every soldier than any eloquence could have done, filling it with that feeling of desperation which makes the weak arm strong and turns the coward into a hero. After they had earnestly commended themselves, therefore, to the protection of God, the Virgin, and St. James, Cortés led his battalions straight against the enemy.<sup>23</sup>

It was a solemn moment, that in which the devoted little band, with steadfast countenances and their usual intrepid step, descended on the plain, to be swallowed up, as it were, in the vast ocean of their enemies. The latter rushed on with impetuosity to meet them, making the mountains ring to their discordant yells and battle-

<sup>23</sup> Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 14.—Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 28.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 27.—Cortés might have addressed his

troops, as Napoleon did his in the famous battle with the Mamelukes: "From yonder pyramids forty centuries look down upon you." But the situation of the Spaniards was altogether too serious for theatrical display.

cries, and sending forth volleys of stones and arrows which for a moment shut out the light of day. But, when the leading files of the two armies closed, the superiority of the Christians was felt, as their antagonists, falling back before the charges of cavalry, were thrown into confusion by their own numbers who pressed on them from behind. The Spanish infantry followed up the blow, and a wide lane was opened in the ranks of the enemy, who, receding on all sides, seemed willing to allow a free passage for their opponents. But it was to return on them with accumulated force, as rallying they poured upon the Christians, enveloping the little army on all sides, which, with its bristling array of long swords and javelins, stood firm,—in the words of a contemporary,—like an islet against which the breakers, roaring and surging, spend their fury in vain.<sup>24</sup> The struggle was desperate of man against man. The Tlascalan seemed to renew his strength, as he fought almost in view of his own native hills; as did the Spaniard, with the horrible doom of the captive before his eyes. Well did the cavaliers do their duty on that day; charging, in little bodies of four or five abreast, deep into the enemy's ranks, riding over the broken files, and by this temporary advantage giving strength and courage to the infantry. Not a lance was there which did not reek with the blood of the infidel. Among the rest, the young captain Sandoval is particularly commemorated for his daring prowess. Managing his fiery steed with easy horsemanship, he darted, when least expected, into the thickest of the *mêlée*, overturning the staunchest warriors, and rejoicing in danger, as if it were his natural element.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> It is Sahagun's simile: "Estaban los Españoles como una Isleta en el mar, combatida de las olas por todas partes." (Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 27.) The venerable missionary gathered the particulars of the action, as he

informs us, from several who were present in it.

<sup>25</sup> The epic bard Ercilla's spirited portrait of the young warrior Tucapel may be applied without violence to Sandoval, as described by the Castilian chroniclers:

But these gallant displays of heroism served only to ingulf the Spaniards deeper and deeper in the mass of the enemy, with scarcely any more chance of cutting their way through his dense and interminable battalions than of hewing a passage with their swords through the mountains. Many of the Tlascalans and some of the Spaniards had fallen, and not one but had been wounded. Cortés himself had received a second cut on the head, and his horse was so much injured that he was compelled to dismount, and take one from the baggage train, a strong-boned animal, who carried him well through the turmoil of the day.<sup>26</sup> The contest had now lasted several hours. The sun rode high in the heavens, and shed an intolerable fervour over the plain. The Christians, weakened by previous sufferings, and faint with loss of blood, began to relax in their desperate exertions. Their enemies, constantly supported by fresh relays from the rear, were still in good heart, and, quick to perceive their advantage, pressed with redoubled force on the Spaniards. The horse fell back, crowded on the foot; and the latter, in vain seeking a passage amidst the dusky throngs of the enemy, who now closed up the rear, were thrown into some disorder. The tide of battle was setting rapidly against the Christians. The fate of the day would soon be decided; and all that now remained for them seemed to be to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

At this critical moment, Cortés, whose restless eye had been roving round the field in quest of any object that might offer him the means of arresting the coming

"Cubierto Tucapél de fina malla  
saltó como un ligero y suelto  
pardo  
en medio de la tímida canalla,  
haciendo plaza el bárbaro gal-  
lardo:  
con silvos grita en desigual  
batalla:  
con piedra, palo, flecha, lanza y  
dardo

le persigue la gente de manera  
como si fuera toro, ó brava fiera."  
LA ARAUCANA, Parte 1, canto 8.

<sup>26</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 13.—"Este caballo harriero," says Camargo, "le sirvió en la conquista de Méjico, y en la última guerra que se dió se le matáron." Hist. de Tlascala, MS.

ruin; rising in his stirrups, descried at a distance, in the midst of the throng, the chief who from his dress and military cortége he knew must be the commander of the barbarian forces. He was covered with a rich surcoat of feather-work; and a panache of beautiful plumes, gorgeously set in gold and precious stones, floated above his head. Rising above this, and attached to his back, between the shoulders, was a short staff bearing a golden net for a banner,—the singular, customary, symbol of authority for an Aztec commander. The cacique, whose name was Cihuaca, was borne on a litter, and a body of young warriors, whose gay and ornamented dresses showed them to be the flower of the Indian nobles, stood round as a guard of his person and the sacred emblem.

The eagle eye of Cortés no sooner fell on this personage than it lighted up with triumph. Turning quickly round to the cavaliers at his side, among whom were Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, and Avila, he pointed out the chief, exclaiming, "There is our mark! Follow and support me!" Then, crying his war-cry, and striking his iron heel into his weary steed, he plunged headlong into the thickest of the press. His enemies fell back, taken by surprise and daunted by the ferocity of the attack. Those who did not were pierced through with his lance or borne down by the weight of his charger. The cavaliers followed close in the rear. On they swept with the fury of a thunderbolt, cleaving the solid ranks asunder, strewing their path with the dying and the dead, and bounding over every obstacle in their way. In a few minutes they were in the presence of the Indian commander, and Cortés, overturning his supporters, sprang forward with the strength of a lion, and, striking him through with his lance, hurled him to the ground. A young cavalier, Juan de Salamanca, who had kept close by his general's side, quickly dismounted and despatched the fallen chief. Then, tearing away his banner, he presented it to Cortés, as a trophy to which he had the

best claim.<sup>27</sup> It was all the work of a moment. The guard, overpowered by the suddenness of the onset, made little resistance, but, flying, communicated their own panic to their comrades. The tidings of the loss soon spread over the field. The Indians, filled with consternation, now thought only of escape. In their blind terror, their numbers augmented their confusion. They trampled on one another, fancying it was the enemy in their rear.<sup>28</sup>

The Spaniards and Tlascalans were not slow to avail themselves of the marvellous change in their affairs. Their fatigue, their wounds, hunger, thirst, all were forgotten in the eagerness for vengeance; and they followed up the flying foe, dealing death at every stroke, and taking ample retribution for all they had suffered in the bloody marshes of Mexico.<sup>29</sup> Long did they pursue, till, the enemy having abandoned the field, they returned, sated with slaughter, to glean the booty which he had left. It was great, for the ground was covered with the bodies of chiefs, at whom the Spaniards, in obedience to the general's instructions, had particularly aimed; and their dresses displayed all

<sup>27</sup> The brave cavalier was afterwards permitted by the emperor Charles V. to assume this trophy on his own escutcheon, in commemoration of his exploit. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 128.

<sup>28</sup> The historians all concur in celebrating this glorious achievement of Cortés; who, concludes Gomara, "by his single arm saved the whole army from destruction." See *Crónica*, cap. 110.—Also Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 27.—Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 128.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 13.—Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 89.—The brief and extremely modest notice of the affair in the

general's own letter forms a beautiful contrast to the style of panegyric by others: "In this arduous contest we consumed a great part of the day, until it pleased God that a person was slain in their ranks of such consequence that his death put an end to the battle." Rel. Seg., ap. Lorenzana, p. 148.

<sup>29</sup> "Pues á nosotros," says the doughty Captain Diaz, "no nos dolian las heridas, ni teniamos hambre, ni sed, sino que parecia que no auíamos auido, ni pasado ningun mal trabajo. Seguimos la vitoria matando, é hiriendo. Pues nuestros amigos los de Tlascala estaban hechos vnos leones, y con sus espadas, y montantes, y otras armas que allí apañaron, hazianlo muy bié y esfordadamente." *Hist. de la Conquista*, loc. cit.

the barbaric pomp of ornament in which the Indian warrior delighted.<sup>30</sup> When his men had thus indemnified themselves, in some degree, for their late reverses, Cortés called them again under their banners; and, after offering up a grateful acknowledgment to the Lord of Hosts for their miraculous preservation,<sup>31</sup> they renewed their march across the now deserted valley. The sun was declining in the heavens, but, before the shades of evening had gathered around, they reached an Indian temple on an eminence, which afforded a strong and commodious position for the night.

Such was the famous battle of Otompan,—or Otumba, as commonly called, from the Spanish corruption of the name. It was fought on the eighth of July, 1520. The whole amount of the Indian force is reckoned by Castilian writers at two hundred thousand! that of the slain at twenty thousand! Those who admit the first part of the estimate will find no difficulty in receiving the last.<sup>32</sup> It is about as difficult to form an accurate calculation of the numbers of a disorderly savage multitude as of the pebbles on the beach or the scattered leaves in autumn. Yet it was, undoubtedly, one of the most remarkable victories ever achieved in the New World. And this, not merely on account of the disparity of the forces, but of their unequal condition. For the Indians were in all their strength, while the Christians were wasted by disease,

<sup>30</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, ubi supra.

<sup>31</sup> The belligerent apostle St. James, riding, as usual, his milk-white courser, came to the rescue on this occasion; an event commemorated by the dedication of a hermitage to him, in the neighbourhood. (Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*.) Diaz, a skeptic on former occasions, admits his indubitable appearance on this. (*Hist. de la Conquista*, ubi supra.) According to the Texcucan chronicler, he was supported

by the Virgin and St. Peter. (*Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 89.) Voltaire sensibly remarks, "Ceux qui ont fait les relations de ces étranges événements les ont voulu relever par des miracles, qui ne servent en effet qu'à les rabaisser. Le vrai miracle fut la conduite de Cortés." Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. 147.

<sup>32</sup> See Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 13.—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 110.

famine, and long-protracted sufferings; without cannon or fire-arms, and deficient in the military apparatus which had so often struck terror into their barbarian foe,—deficient even in the terrors of a victorious name. But they had discipline on their side, desperate resolve, and implicit confidence in their commander. That they should have triumphed against such odds furnishes an inference of the same kind as that established by the victories of the European over the semi-civilized hordes of Asia.

Yet even here all must not be referred to superior discipline and tactics. For the battle would certainly have been lost had it not been for the fortunate death of the Indian general. And, although the selection of the victim may be called the result of calculation, yet it was by the most precarious chance that he was thrown in the way of the Spaniards. It is, indeed, one among many examples of the influence of fortune in determining the fate of military operations. The star of Cortés was in the ascendant. Had it been otherwise, not a Spaniard would have survived that lay to tell the bloody tale of the battle of Otumba.



## CHAPTER V.

Arrival in Tlascala.—Friendly Reception.—Discontents of the Army.—  
Jealousy of the Tlascalans.—Embassy from Mexico.

1520.

ON the following morning the army broke up its encampment at an early hour. The enemy does not seem to have made an attempt to rally. Clouds of skirmishers, however, were seen during the morning, keeping at a respectful distance, though occasionally venturing near enough to salute the Spaniards with a volley of missiles.

On a rising ground they discovered a fountain, a blessing not too often met with in these arid regions, and gratefully commemorated by the Christians for the refreshment it afforded by its cool and abundant waters.<sup>1</sup> A little farther on they descried the rude works which served as the bulwark and boundary of the Tlascalan territory. At the sight, the allies sent up a joyous shout of congratulation, in which the Spaniards heartily joined, as they felt they were soon to be on friendly and hospitable ground.

But these feelings were speedily followed by others of a different nature; and, as they drew nearer the territory, their minds were disturbed with the most painful apprehensions as to their reception by the

<sup>1</sup> Is it not the same fountain of which Toribio makes honourable mention in his topographical account of the country? "Nace en Tlaxcala una fuente grande á la parte del Norte, cinco leguas de la principal ciudad; nace en un pueblo que se llama Azumba, que

en su lengua quiere decir *cabeza*, y así es, porque esta fuente es cabeza y principio del mayor río de los que entran en la mar del Sur, el cual entra en la mar por Zacatula." Hist. de los Indios, MS., Parte 3, cap. 16.

people among whom they were bringing desolation and mourning, and who might so easily, if ill disposed, take advantage of their present crippled condition. "Thoughts like these," says Cortés, "weighed as heavily on my spirit as any which I ever experienced in going to battle with the Aztecs."<sup>2</sup> Still he put, as usual, a good face on the matter, and encouraged his men to confide in their allies, whose past conduct had afforded every ground for trusting to their fidelity in future. He cautioned them, however, as their own strength was so much impaired, to be most careful to give no umbrage or ground for jealousy to their high-spirited allies. "Be but on your guard," continued the intrepid general, "and we have still stout hearts and strong hands to carry us through the midst of them!"<sup>3</sup> With these anxious surmises, bidding adieu to the Aztec domain, the Christian army crossed the frontier, and once more trod the soil of the Republic.

The first place at which they halted was the town of Huejotlipan, a place of about twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> They were kindly greeted by the people, who came out to receive them, inviting the troops to their habitations, and administering all the relief of their simple hospitality. Yet this was not so disinterested, according to some of the Spaniards, as to prevent their expecting in requital a share of the plunder taken in the late action.<sup>5</sup> Here the weary forces remained two or three days, when, the news of their arrival having reached the capital, not more than four or five

<sup>2</sup> "El qual pensamiento, y sospecha nos puso en tanta afliccion, quanta trahiamos viniendo peleando con los de Culúa." *Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. *Lorenzana*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> "Y mas dixo, que tenia esperanza en Dios que los hallariamos buenos, y leales; é que si otra cosa fuesse, lo que Dios no permita, que nos han de tornar á andar los puños con coraçones fuertes, y braços vigorosos, y que para esso fuessemos muy apercebidos." *Bernal*

*Diaz*, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Called Gualipan by Cortés. (*Rel. Seg.*, ap. *Lorenzana*, p. 149.) An Aztec would have found it hard to trace the route of his enemies by their itineraries.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ubi supra.—Thoan Cano, however, one of the army, denies this, and asserts that the natives received them like their children, and would take no recompense. (See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.)

leagues distant, the old chief Maxixca, their efficient friend on their former visit, and Xicotencatl, the young warrior who, it will be remembered, had commanded the troops of his nation in their bloody encounters with the Spaniards, came with a numerous concourse of the citizens to welcome the fugitives to Tlascala. Maxixca, cordially embracing the Spanish commander, testified the deepest sympathy for his misfortunes. That the white men could so long have withstood the confederated power of the Aztecs was proof enough of their marvellous prowess. "We have made common cause together," said the lord of Tlascala, "and we have common injuries to avenge; and, come weal or come woe, be assured we will prove true and loyal friends and stand by you to the death."<sup>6</sup>

This cordial assurance and sympathy, from one who exercised a control over the public counsels beyond any other ruler, effectually dispelled the doubts that lingered in the mind of Cortés. He readily accepted his invitation to continue his march at once to the capital, where he would find so much better accommodations for his army than in a small town on the frontier. The sick and wounded, placed in hammocks, were borne on the shoulders of the friendly natives; and, as the troops drew near the city, the inhabitants came flocking out in crowds to meet them, rending the air with joyous acclamations and wild bursts of their rude Indian minstrelsy. Amidst the general jubilee, however, were heard sounds of wailing and sad lament, as some unhappy relative or friend, looking earnestly into the diminished files of their countrymen, sought in vain for some dear and familiar countenance, and, as they turned disappointed away, gave utterance to their sorrow in tones that touched the heart of every soldier in the army. With these mingled accompaniments of joy and woe,—the motley web of human life,—the

<sup>6</sup> "Y que tubiesse por cierto, que me serian muy ciertos, y verdaderos

Amigos, hasta la muerte." Ibid., p. 150.

way-worn columns of Cortés at length re-entered the republican capital.<sup>7</sup>

The general and his suite were lodged in the rude but spacious palace of Maxixca. The rest of the army took up their quarters in the district over which the Tlascalan lord presided. Here they continued several weeks, until, by the attentions of the hospitable citizens, and such medical treatment as their humble science could supply, the wounds of the soldiers were healed, and they recovered from the debility to which they had been reduced by their long and unparalleled sufferings. Cortés was one of those who suffered severely. He lost the use of two of the fingers of his left hand.<sup>8</sup> He had received, besides, two injuries on the head; one of which was so much exasperated by his subsequent fatigues and excitement of mind, that it assumed an alarming appearance. A part of the bone was obliged to be removed.<sup>9</sup> A fever ensued, and for several days the hero who had braved danger and death in their most terrible forms lay stretched on his bed, as helpless as an infant. His excellent constitution, however, got the better of disease, and he was at length once more enabled to resume his customary

<sup>7</sup> Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra. —“Sobreviniéron las mugeres Tlascaltecas, y todas puestas de luto, y llorando á donde estaban los Españoles, las unas preguntaban por sus maridos, las otras por sus hijos y hermanos, las otras por sus parientes que habian ido con los Españoles, y quedaban todos allí muertos: no es menos, sino que de esto llanto causó gran sentimiento en el corazon del Capitan, y de todos los Españoles, y él procuró lo mejor que pudo consolarles por medio de sus intérpretes.” Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 28.

<sup>8</sup> “Yo assimismo quedé manco de dos dedos de la mano izquierda”—is Cortés's own expression in his

VOL. II.

letter to the emperor. (Rel. Seg. ap. Lorenzana, p. 152.) Don Thoa Cano, however, whose sympathies—from his Indian alliance, perhaps—seem to have been quite as much with the Aztecs as with his own countrymen, assured Oviedo, who was lamenting the general's loss, that he might spare his regrets, since Cortés had as many fingers on his hand at that hour as when he came from Castile. (See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.) May not the word *manco*, in his letter, be rendered by “maimed”?

<sup>9</sup> “Hiriéron á Cortés con Honda tan mal, que se le pasmó la Cabeça, ó porque no le curáron bien, sacándole Cascos, ó por el demasiado trabajo que pasó.” Gomara, Crónica, cap. 110.

activity. The Spaniards, with politic generosity, requited the hospitality of their hosts by sharing with them the spoils of their recent victory, and Cortés especially rejoiced the heart of Maxixca by presenting him with the military trophy which he had won from the Indian commander.<sup>10</sup>

But while the Spaniards were thus recruiting their health and spirits under the friendly treatment of their allies, and recovering the confidence and tranquillity of mind which had sunk under their hard reverses, they received tidings, from time to time, which showed that their late disaster had not been confined to the Mexican capital. On his descent from Mexico to encounter Narvaez, Cortés had brought with him a quantity of gold, which he left for safe keeping at Tlascala. To this was added a considerable sum collected by the unfortunate Velasquez de Leon in his expedition to the coast, as well as contributions from other sources. From the unquiet state of the capital, the general thought it best, on his return there, still to leave the treasure under the care of a number of invalid soldiers, who, when in marching condition, were to rejoin him in Mexico. A party from Vera Cruz, consisting of five horsemen and forty foot, had since arrived at Tlascala, and, taking charge of the invalids and treasure, undertook to escort them to the capital. He now learned that they had been intercepted on the route and all cut off, with the entire loss of the treasure. Twelve other soldiers, marching in the same direction, had been massacred in the neighbouring province of Tepeaca; and accounts continually arrived of some unfortunate Castilian, who, presuming on the respect hitherto shown to his countrymen, and ignorant of the disasters in the capital, had fallen a victim to the fury of the enemy.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 13.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, ubi supra.

<sup>11</sup> *Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Loren-

zana, p. 150.—Oviedo, *Hist. de la Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 15.—Herrera gives the following inscription, cut on the bark of a tree by some

These dismal tidings filled the mind of Cortés with gloomy apprehensions for the fate of the settlement at Villa Rica,—the last stay of their hopes. He despatched a trusty messenger at once to that place, and had the inexpressible satisfaction to receive a letter in return from the commander of the garrison, acquainting him with the safety of the colony and its friendly relations with the neighbouring Totonacs. It was the best guarantee of the fidelity of the latter, that they had offended the Mexicans too deeply to be forgiven.

While the affairs of Cortés wore so gloomy an aspect without, he had to experience an annoyance scarcely less serious from the discontents of his followers. Many of them had fancied that their late appalling reverses would put an end to the expedition, or, at least, postpone all thoughts of resuming it for the present. But they knew little of Cortés, who reasoned thus. Even while tossing on his bed of sickness, he was ripening in his mind fresh schemes for retrieving his honour, and for recovering the empire which had been lost more by another's rashness than his own. This was apparent, as he became convalescent, from the new regulations he made respecting the army, as well as from the orders sent to Vera Cruz for fresh reinforcements.

The knowledge of all this occasioned much disquietude to the disaffected soldiers. They were, for the most part, the ancient followers of Narvaez, on whom, as we have seen, the brunt of the war had fallen the heaviest. Many of them possessed property in the Islands, and had embarked on this expedition chiefly from the desire of increasing it. But they had gathered neither gold nor glory in Mexico. Their present service filled them only with disgust; and the few, comparatively, who had been so fortunate as to

of these unfortunate Spaniards:  
"By this road passed Juan Juste  
and his wretched companions, who  
were so much pinched by hunger  
that they were obliged to give a

solid bar of gold, weighing eight  
hundred ducats, for a few cakes of  
maize bread." Hist. general, dec. 2,  
lib. 10, cap. 13.

survive, languished to return to their rich mines and pleasant farms in Cuba, bitterly cursing the day when they had left them.

Finding their complaints little heeded by the general, they prepared a written remonstrance, in which they made their demand more formally. They represented the rashness of persisting in the enterprise in his present impoverished state, without arms or ammunition, almost without men; and this, too, against a powerful enemy, who had been more than a match for him with all the strength of his late resources. It was madness to think of it. The attempt would bring them all to the sacrifice-block. Their only course was to continue their march to Vera Cruz. Every hour of delay might be fatal. The garrison in that place might be overwhelmed from want of strength to defend itself; and thus their last hope would be annihilated. But, once there, they might wait in comparative security for such reinforcements as would join them from abroad; while in case of failure they could the more easily make their escape. They concluded with insisting on being permitted to return at once to the port of Villa Rica. This petition, or rather remonstrance, was signed by all the disaffected soldiers, and after being formally attested by the royal notary, was presented to Cortés.<sup>12</sup>

It was a trying circumstance for him. What touched him most nearly was to find the name of his friend the secretary Duero, to whose good offices he had chiefly owed his command, at the head of the paper. He was not, however, to be shaken from his purpose for a moment; and, while all outward resources seemed to be fading away, and his own friends faltered, or failed him, he was still true to himself. He knew that to retreat to Vera Cruz would be to abandon the enter-

<sup>12</sup> (One is reminded of the similar remonstrance made by Alexander's soldiers to him on reaching the Hyrteaspia, — but attended with more success; as, indeed, was reasonable. For Alexander con-

tinued to advance from the ambition of indefinite conquest, while Cortés was only bent on carrying out his original enterprise. What was madness in the one was heroism in the other.

prise. Once there, his army would soon find a pretext and a way for breaking up and returning to the Islands. All his ambitious schemes would be blasted. The great prize, already once in his grasp, would then be lost for ever. He would be a ruined man.

In his celebrated letter to Charles the Fifth, he says that, in reflecting on his position, he felt the truth of the old adage, "that fortune favours the brave. The Spaniards were the followers of the Cross; and, trusting in the infinite goodness and mercy of God, he could not believe that He would suffer them and his own good cause thus to perish among the heathen."<sup>13</sup> He was resolved, therefore, not to descend to the coast, but at all hazards to retrace his steps and beard the enemy again in his capital."

It was in the same resolute tone that he answered his discontented followers.<sup>14</sup> He urged every argument which could touch their pride or honour as cavaliers. He appealed to that ancient Castilian valour which had never been known to falter before an enemy; besought them not to discredit the great deeds which had made their name ring throughout Europe; not to leave the enterprise half achieved, for others more daring and adventurous to finish. How could they with any honour, he asked, desert their allies whom they had involved in the war, and leave them unprotected to the vengeance of the Aztecs? To retreat but a single step towards Villa Rica would be to proclaim their own weakness. It would dishearten their friends and give confidence to their foes. He implored them to resume the confidence in him which they had ever showed, and to reflect that, if they had recently met

<sup>13</sup> "Acordándome, que siempre á los osados ayuda la fortuna, y que eramos Christianos y confiando en la grandísima Bondad y Misericordia de Dios, que no permitiría, que del todo periciessemos, y se perdiese tanta, y tan noble Tierra." Rel. Seg., ap. Lorenzana, p. 152.

<sup>14</sup> This reply, exclaims Oviedo,

showed a man of unconquerable spirit and high destinies: "Páreceme que la respuesta que á esto les dió Hernando Cortés, é lo que hizo en ello, fué vna cosa de ánimo invencible, é de varon de mucha suerte é valor." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 15.



with reverses, he had up to that point accomplished all, and more than all, that he had promised. It would be easy now to retrieve their losses, if they would have patience and abide in this friendly land until the reinforcements, which would be ready to come in at his call, should enable them to act on the offensive. If, however, there were any so insensible to the motives which touch a brave man's heart, as to prefer ease at home to the glory of this great achievement, he would not stand in their way. Let them go, in God's name. Let them leave their general in his extremity. He should feel stronger in the service of a few brave spirits than if surrounded by a host of the false or the faint-hearted.<sup>15</sup>

The disaffected party, as already noticed, was chiefly drawn from the troops of Narvaez. When the general's own veterans heard this appeal,<sup>16</sup> their blood warmed with indignation at the thoughts of abandoning him or the cause at such a crisis. They pledged themselves to stand by him to the last; and the malcontents, silenced, if not convinced, by this generous expression of sentiment from their comrades, consented to postpone their departure for the present, under the assurance that no obstacle would be thrown in their way when a more favourable season should present itself.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "É no me hable ninguno en otra cosa; y él que desta opinion no estubiere váyase en buen hora, que mas holgaré de quedar con los pocos y osados, que en compañía de muchos, ni de ninguno cobarde, ni desacordado de su propia honra." Hist. de las Ind., MS., loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Oviedo has expanded the harangue of Cortés into several pages, in the course of which the orator quotes Xenophon, and borrows largely from the old Jewish history, a style of eloquence savouring much more of the closet than the camp. Cortés was no pedant, and his soldiers were no scholars.

<sup>17</sup> For the account of this turbulent transaction, see Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 129,—Rel. Seg. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 152.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 15,—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 112, 113,—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 14.—Diaz is exceedingly wroth with the chaplain Gomara for not discriminating between the old soldiers and the levies of Narvaez, whom he involves equally in the sin of rebellion. The captain's own version seems a fair one, and I have followed it, therefore, in the text.

Scarcely was this difficulty adjusted, when Cortés was menaced with one more serious, in the jealousy springing up between his soldiers and their Indian allies. Notwithstanding the demonstrations of regard by Maxixca and his immediate followers, there were others of the nation who looked with an evil eye on their guests, for the calamities in which they had involved them; and they tauntingly asked if, in addition to this, they were now to be burdened by the presence and maintenance of the strangers. These sallies of discontent were not so secret as altogether to escape the ears of the Spaniards, in whom they occasioned no little disquietude. They proceeded for the most part, it is true, from persons of little consideration, since the four great chiefs of the republic appear to have been steadily secured to the interests of Cortés. But they derived some importance from the countenance of the warlike Xicotencatl, in whose bosom still lingered the embers of that implacable hostility which he had displayed so courageously on the field of battle; and sparkles of this fiery temper occasionally gleamed forth in the intimate intercourse into which he was now reluctantly brought with his ancient opponents.

Cortés, who saw with alarm the growing feeling of estrangement which must sap the very foundations on which he was to rest the lever for future operations, employed every argument which suggested itself, to restore the confidence of his own men. He reminded them of the good services they had uniformly received from the great body of the nation. They had a sufficient pledge of the future constancy of the Tlascalans in their long-cherished hatred of the Aztecs, which the recent disasters they had suffered from the same quarter could serve only to sharpen. And he urged, with much force, that if any evil designs had been meditated by them against the Spaniards the Tlascalans would, doubtless, have taken advantage of their late disabled condition, and not waited till

they had recovered their strength and means of resistance.<sup>18</sup>

While Cortés was thus endeavouring, with somewhat doubtful success, to stifle his own apprehensions, as well as those in the bosoms of his followers, an event occurred which happily brought the affair to an issue, and permanently settled the relations in which the two parties were to stand to each other. This will make it necessary to notice some events which had occurred in Mexico since the expulsion of the Spaniards.

On Montezuma's death, his brother, Cuitlahua, lord of Iztapalapan, conformably to the usage regulating the descent of the Aztec crown, was chosen to succeed him. He was an active prince, of large experience in military affairs, and, by the strength of his character, was well fitted to sustain the tottering fortunes of the monarchy. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of liberal, and what may be called enlightened, taste, to judge from the beautiful gardens which he had filled with rare exotics and which so much attracted the admiration of the Spaniards in the city of Iztapalapan. Unlike his predecessor, he held the white men in detestation, and had, probably, the satisfaction of celebrating his own coronation by the sacrifice of many of them. From the moment of his release from the Spanish quarters, where he had been detained by Cortés, he entered into the patriotic movements of his people. It was he who conducted the assaults both in the streets of the city and on the "Melancholy Night;" and it was at his instigation that the powerful force had been assembled to dispute the passage of the Spaniards in the Vale of Otumba.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 15.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 14.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 47.—*Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 166.—

Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 27, 29.—Or, rather, it was, "at the instigation of the great Devil, the captain of all the devils, called Satan, who regulated everything in New Spain by his free will and pleasure, before the coming of the Spaniards," ac-

Since the evacuation of the capital, he had been busily occupied in repairing the mischief it had received,—restoring the buildings and the bridges and putting it in the best posture of defence. He had endeavoured to improve the discipline and arms of his troops. He introduced the long spear among them, and, by attaching the sword-blades taken from the Christians to long poles, contrived a weapon that should be formidable against the cavalry. He summoned his vassals, far and near, to hold themselves in readiness to march to the relief of the capital, if necessary, and, the better to secure their good will, relieved them from some of the burdens usually laid on them. But he was now to experience the instability of a government which rested not on love, but on fear. The vassals in the neighbourhood of the Valley remained true to their allegiance; but others held themselves aloof, uncertain what course to adopt; while others, again, in the more distant provinces, refused obedience altogether, considering this a favourable moment for throwing off the yoke which had so long galled them.<sup>20</sup>

In this emergency, the government sent a deputation to its ancient enemies the Tlascalans. It consisted of six Aztec nobles, bearing a present of cotton cloth, salt, and other articles rarely seen, of late years, in the republic. The lords of the state, astonished at this unprecedented act of condescension in their ancient foe, called the council or senate of the great chiefs together, to give the envoys audience.

Before this body the Aztecs stated the purpose of their mission. They invited the Tlascalans to bury all past grievances in oblivion, and to enter into a treaty with them. All the nations of Anahuac should make common cause in defence of their country against the

cording to Father Sahagun, who begins his chapter with this eloquent exordium.

<sup>20</sup> Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS.,

cap. 88.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 29.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 19.

white men. The Tlascalans would bring down on their own heads the wrath of the gods, if they longer harboured the strangers who had violated and destroyed their temples. If they counted on the support and friendship of their guests, let them take warning from the fate of Mexico, which had received them kindly within its walls, and which, in return, they had filled with blood and ashes. They conjured them, by their reverence for their common religion, not to suffer the white men, disabled as they now were, to escape from their hands, but to sacrifice them at once to the gods, whose temples they had profaned. In that event, they proffered them their alliance, and the renewal of that friendly traffic which would restore to the republic the possession of the comforts and luxuries of which it had been so long deprived.

The proposals of the ambassadors produced different effects on their audience. Xicotencatl was for embracing them at once. Far better was it, he said, to unite with their kindred, with those who held their own language, their faith and usages, than to throw themselves into the arms of the fierce strangers, who, however they might talk of religion, worshipped no god but gold. This opinion was followed by that of the younger warriors, who readily caught the fire of his enthusiasm. But the elder chiefs, especially his blind old father, one of the four rulers of the state, who seem to have been all heartily in the interest of the Spaniards, and one of them, Maxixca, their staunch friend, strongly expressed their aversion to the proposed alliance with the Aztecs. They were always the same, said the latter,—fair in speech, and false in heart. They now proffered friendship to the Tlascalans. But it was fear which drove them to it, and, when that fear was removed, they would return to their old hostility. Who was it, but these insidious foes, that had so long deprived the country of the very necessities of life, of which they were now so lavish in their offers? Was it not owing to the white men that the nation at length

possessed them? Yet they were called on to sacrifice the white men to the gods!—the warriors who, after fighting the battles of the Tlascalans, now threw themselves on their hospitality. But the gods abhorred perfidy. And were not their guests the very beings whose coming had been so long predicted by the oracles? “Let us avail ourselves of it,” he concluded, “and unite and make common cause with them, until we have humbled our haughty enemy.”

This discourse provoked a sharp rejoinder from Xicotencatl, till the passion of the elder chieftain got the better of his patience, and, substituting force for argument, he thrust his younger antagonist, with some violence, from the council-chamber. A proceeding so contrary to the usual decorum of Indian debate astonished the assembly. But, far from bringing censure on its author, it effectually silenced opposition. Even the hot-headed followers of Xicotencatl shrunk from supporting a leader who had incurred such a mark of contemptuous displeasure from the ruler whom they most venerated. His own father openly condemned him; and the patriotic young warrior, gifted with a truer foresight into futurity than his countrymen, was left without support in the council, as he had formerly been on the field of battle. The proffered alliance of the Mexicans was unanimously rejected; and the envoys, fearing that even the sacred character with which they were invested might not protect them from violence, made their escape secretly from the capital.<sup>21</sup>

The result of the conference was of the last importance to the Spaniards, who, in their present crippled condition, especially if taken unawares, would have been, probably, at the mercy of the Tlascalans. At all events, the union of these latter with the Aztecs

<sup>21</sup> The proceedings in the Tlascalcan senate are reported in more or less detail, but substantially alike, by Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascalca*, MS.,—Sahagun, *Hist. de*

*Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 29,—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 12, cap. 14.—See, also, Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 129,—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 111.

would have settled the fate of the expedition; since, in the poverty of his own resources, it was only by adroitly playing off one part of the Indian population against the other that Cortés could ultimately hope for success.

## CHAPTER VI.

War with the surrounding Tribes.—Successes of the Spaniards.—Death of Maxixca.—Arrival of Reinforcements.—Return in triumph to Tlascala.

1520.

THE Spanish commander, reassured by the result of the deliberations in the Tlascalan senate, now resolved on active operations, as the best means of dissipating the spirit of faction and discontent inevitably fostered by a life of idleness. He proposed to exercise his troops, at first, against some of the neighbouring tribes who had laid violent hands on such of the Spaniards as, confiding in their friendly spirit, had passed through their territories. Among these were the Tepeacans, a people often engaged in hostility with the Tlascalans, and who, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, had lately massacred twelve Spaniards in their march to the capital. An expedition against them would receive the ready support of his allies, and would assert the dignity of the Spanish name, much dimmed in the estimation of the natives by the late disasters.

The Tepeacans were a powerful tribe of the same primitive stock as the Aztecs, to whom they acknowledged allegiance. They had transferred this to the Spaniards, on their first march into the country, intimidated by the bloody defeats of their Tlascalan neighbours. But, since the troubles in the capital, they had again submitted to the Aztec sceptre. Their capital, now a petty village, was a flourishing city at the time of the Conquest, situated in the fruitful plains that stretch far away towards the base of Orizaba.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Indian name of the capital, —the same as that of the province, —*Tepejacac*. was corrupted by the Spaniards into *Tepeaca*. It must be admitted to have gained by the corruption.



The province contained, moreover, several towns of considerable size, filled with a bold and warlike population.

As these Indians had once acknowledged the authority of Castile, Cortés and his officers regarded their present conduct in the light of rebellion, and, in a council of war, it was decided that those engaged in the late massacre had fairly incurred the doom of slavery.<sup>2</sup> Before proceeding against them, however, the general sent a summons requiring their submission, and offering full pardon for the past, but, in case of refusal, menacing them with the severest retribution. To this the Indians, now in arms, returned a contemptuous answer, challenging the Spaniards to meet them in fight, as they were in want of victims for their sacrifices.

Cortés, without further delay, put himself at the head of his small corps of Spaniards and a large reinforcement of Tlascalcan warriors. They were led by the younger Xicotencatl, who now appeared willing to bury his recent animosity, and desirous to take a lesson in war under the chief who had so often foiled him in the field.<sup>3</sup>

The Tepeacans received their enemy on their borders. A bloody battle followed, in which the Spanish horse were somewhat embarrassed by the tall maize that covered part of the plain. They were successful in the end, and the Tepeacans, after holding their ground like good warriors, were at length routed with great slaughter. A second engagement, which took place a few days after, was followed by like decisive results; and the victorious Spaniards, with their allies, marching

<sup>2</sup> "Y como aquello vió Cortés, comunicólo con todos nuestros Capitanes, y soldados: y fué acordado, que se hiziesse vn auto por ante Escriuano, que diesse fe de todo lo passado, y que se diessen por esclauos." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 130.

<sup>3</sup> The chroniclers estimate his army at 50,000 warriors; one-half, according to Toribio, of the disposable military force of the republic. "De la cual (Tlascala), como ya tengo dicho, solian salir cien mil hombres de pelea." Hist. de los Indios, MS., Parte 3, cap. 16.

straightway on the city of Tepeaca, entered it in triumph.<sup>4</sup> No further resistance was attempted by the enemy, and the whole province, to avoid further calamities, eagerly tendered its submission. Cortés, however, inflicted the meditated chastisement on the places implicated in the massacre. The inhabitants were branded with a hot iron as slaves, and, after the royal fifth had been reserved, were distributed between his own men and the allies.<sup>5</sup> The Spaniards were familiar with the system of *repartimientos* established in the Islands; but this was the first example of slavery in New Spain.\* It was justified, in the opinion of the general and his military casuists, by the aggravated offences of the party. The sentence, however, was not countenanced by the crown,<sup>6</sup> which, as the colonial legislation abundantly shows, was ever at issue with the craving and mercenary spirit of the colonist.

Satisfied with this display of his vengeance, Cortés now established his head-quarters at Tepeaca, which, situated in a cultivated country, afforded easy means for maintaining an army, while its position on the Mexican frontier made it a good *point d'appui* for future operations.

<sup>4</sup> "That night," says the credulous Herrera, speaking of the carouse that followed one of their victories, "the Indian allies had a grand supper of legs and arms; for, besides an incredible number of roasts on wooden spits, they had fifty thousand pots of stewed human flesh" (Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 15.) Such a banquet

would not have smelt savory in the nostrils of Cortés.

<sup>5</sup> "Y allí hizieron hazer el hieirro con que se auian de herrar los que se tomanan por esclauos, que era una G., que quiere decir *guerra*." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 130.

<sup>6</sup> Solís, Conquista, lib. 5, cap. 3.

---

\* [It may have been the first instance of natives being reduced to slavery by the Spaniards, but female slaves at least had been given to them on several previous occasions by the Mexican chiefs. The present case has also no connection with the system of *repartimientos*, by which, after the conquest was effected, the soil and its inhabitants were divided among the new possessors. In the case of the Tepeacans, no attempt was made to enslave the adult males, whose services were not needed and who would have brought only embarrassment to their captors. See Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 135.—Ed.]

The Aztec government, since it had learned the issue of its negotiations at Tlascala, had been diligent in fortifying its frontier in that quarter. The garrisons usually maintained there were strengthened, and large bodies of men were marched in the same direction, with orders to occupy the strong positions on the borders. The conduct of these troops was in their usual style of arrogance and extortion, and greatly disgusted the inhabitants of the country.

Among the places thus garrisoned by the Aztecs was Quauhquechollan,<sup>7</sup> a city containing thirty thousand inhabitants, according to the historians, and lying to the south-west twelve leagues or more from the Spanish quarters. It stood at the extremity of a deep valley, resting against a bold range of hills, or rather mountains, and flanked by two rivers with exceedingly high and precipitous banks. The only avenue by which the town could be easily approached was protected by a stone wall more than twenty feet high and of great thickness.<sup>8</sup> Into this place, thus strongly defended by art as well as by nature, the Aztec emperor had thrown a garrison of several thousand warriors, while a much more formidable force occupied the heights commanding the city.

The cacique of this strong post, impatient of the Mexican yoke, sent to Cortés, inviting him to march to his relief, and promising a co-operation of the citizens in an assault on the Aztec quarters. The general eagerly embraced the proposal, and detached Cristóval de Olid, with two hundred Spaniards and a strong body of Tlascalans, to support the friendly cacique.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Called by the Spaniards *Huacachula*, and spelt with every conceivable diversity by the old writers, who may be excused for stumbling over such a confusion of consonants.

<sup>8</sup> "Y toda la Ciudad está cercada de muy fuerte Muro de cal y canto, tan alto, como quatro estados por de fuera de la Ciudad: é por de

dentro está casi igual con el suelo. Y por toda la Muralla va su petril tan alto, como medio estado, para pelear, tiene quatro entradas, tan anchas, como uno puede entrar á Caballo." Rel. Seg., p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> This cavalier's name is usually spelt Olid by the chroniclers. In a copy of his own signature I find it written Oli.

On the way, Olid was joined by many volunteers from the Indian city and from the neighbouring capital of Cholula, all equally pressing their services. The number and eagerness of these auxiliaries excited suspicions in the bosom of the cavalier. They were strengthened by the surmises of the soldiers of Narvaez, whose imaginations were still haunted, it seems, by the horrors of the *noche triste*, and who saw in the friendly alacrity of their new allies evidence of an insidious understanding with the Aztecs. Olid, catching this distrust, made a countermarch on Cholula, where he seized the suspected chiefs, who had been most forward in offering their services, and sent them under a strong guard to Cortés.

The general, after a careful examination, was satisfied of the integrity of the suspected parties. He, expressing his deep regret at the treatment they had received, made them such amends as he could by liberal presents, and, as he now saw the impropriety of committing an affair of such importance to other hands, put himself at the head of his remaining force and effected a junction with his officer in Cholula.

He had arranged with the cacique of the city against which he was marching, that on the appearance of the Spaniards the inhabitants should rise on the garrison. Everything succeeded as he had planned. No sooner had the Christian battalions defiled on the plain before the town, than the inhabitants attacked the garrison with the utmost fury. The latter, abandoning the outer defences of the place, retreated to their own quarters in the principal *teocalli*, where they maintained a hard struggle with their adversaries. In the heat of it, Cortés, at the head of his little body of horse, rode into the place, and directed the assault in person. The Aztecs made a fierce defence. But, fresh troops constantly arriving to support the assailants, the works were stormed, and every one of the garrison was put to the sword.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> "I should have been very glad to have taken some alive," says

The Mexican forces, meanwhile, stationed on the neighbouring eminences, had marched down to the support of their countrymen in the town, and formed in order of battle in the suburbs, where they were encountered by the Tlascalan levies. "They mustered," says Cortés, speaking of the enemy, "at least thirty thousand men; and it was a brave sight for the eye to look on,—such a beautiful array of warriors glistening with gold and jewels and variegated featherwork."<sup>11</sup> The action was well contested between the two Indian armies. The suburbs were set on fire, and, in the midst of the flames, Cortés and his squadrons, rushing on the enemy, at length broke their array, and compelled them to fall back in disorder into the narrow gorge of the mountain, from which they had lately descended. The pass was rough and precipitous. Spaniards and Tlascalans followed close in the rear, and the light troops, scaling the high wall of the valley, poured down on the enemy's flanks. The heat was intense, and both parties were so much exhausted by their efforts that it was with difficulty, says the chronicler, that the one could pursue, or the other fly.<sup>12</sup> They were not too weary, however, to slay. The Mexicans were routed with terrible slaughter. They found no pity from their Indian foes, who had a long account of injuries to settle with them. Some few sought refuge by flying higher up into the fastnesses of the sierra. They were followed by their indefatigable enemy, until, on the bald summit of the ridge, they reached the

Cortés, "who could have informed me of what was going on in the great city, and who had been lord there since the death of Montezuma. But I succeeded in saving only one; and he was more dead than alive." *Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 159.

<sup>11</sup> "Y á ver que cosa era aquella, los quales eran mas de treinta mil Hombres, y la mas lúcida Gente, que hemos visto, porque trahian

muchas Joyas de Oro, y Plata, y Plumajes." *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>12</sup> "Alcanzando muchos por una Cuesta arriba muy agra; y tal, que quando acabámos de encumbrar la Sierra, ni los Enemigos, ni nosotros podíamos ir atras, ni adelante: 6 así caíeron muchos de ellos muertos, y ahogados de la calor, sin herida ninguna." *Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 160.

Mexican encampment. It covered a wide tract of ground. Various utensils, ornamented dresses, and articles of luxury, were scattered round, and the number of slaves in attendance showed the barbaric pomp with which the nobles of Mexico went to their campaigns.<sup>13</sup> It was a rich booty for the victors, who spread over the deserted camp, and loaded themselves with the spoil, until the gathering darkness warned them to descend.<sup>14</sup>

Cortés followed up the blow by assaulting the strong town of Itzocan, held also by a Mexican garrison, and situated in the depths of a green valley watered by artificial canals and smiling in all the rich abundance of this fruitful region of the plateau.<sup>15</sup> The place, though stoutly defended, was stormed and carried; the Aztecs were driven across a river which ran below the town, and, although the light bridges that traversed it were broken down in the flight, whether by design or accident, the Spaniards, fording and swimming the stream as they could, found their way to the opposite bank, following up the chase with the eagerness of

<sup>13</sup> "Porque demas de la Gente de Guerra, tenian mucho aparato de Servidores, y fornecimiento para su Real." *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>14</sup> The story of the capture of this strong post is told very differently by Captain Diaz. According to him, Olid, when he had fallen back on Cholula, in consequence of the refusal of his men to advance, under the strong suspicion which they entertained of some foul practice from their allies, received such a stinging rebuke from Cortés that he compelled his troops to resume their march, and, attacking the enemy "with the fury of a tiger," totally routed them. (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 132.) But this version of the affair is not endorsed, so far as I am aware, by any contemporary. Cortés is so compendious in his report that it is often necessary to supply the omissions

with the details of other writers. But, where he is positive in his statements,—unless there be some reason to suspect a bias,—his practice of writing on the spot, and the peculiar facilities for information afforded by his position, make him decidedly the best authority.

<sup>15</sup> Cortés, with an eye less sensible to the picturesque than his great predecessor in the track of discovery, Columbus, was full as quick in detecting the capabilities of the soil. "Tiene un Valle redondo muy fertil de Frutas, y Algodon, que en ninguna parte de los Puertos arriba se hace por la gran frialdad; y allí es Tierra caliente, y cáusalo, que está muy abrigada de Sierras; tolo este Valle se riega por muy buenas Azequias, que tienen muy bien sacadas, y concertadas." *Rel. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 164, 165.

bloodhounds. Here, too, the booty was great; and the Indian auxiliaries flocked by thousands to the banners of the chief who so surely led them on to victory and plunder.<sup>16</sup>

Soon afterwards, Cortés returned to his headquarters at Tepeaca. Thence he detached his officers on expeditions which were usually successful. Sandoval, in particular, marched against a large body of the enemy lying between the camp and Vera Cruz, defeated them in two decisive battles, and thus restored the communications with the port.

The result of these operations was the reduction of that populous and cultivated territory which lies between the great *volcan*, on the west, and the mighty skirts of Orizaba, on the east. Many places, also, in the neighbouring province of Mixtecapan acknowledged the authority of the Spaniards, and others from the remote region of Oaxaca sent to claim their protection. The conduct of Cortés towards his allies had gained him great credit for disinterestedness and equity. The Indian cities in the adjacent territory appealed to him, as their umpire, in their differences with one another, and cases of disputed succession in their governments were referred to his arbitration. By his discreet and moderate policy he insensibly acquired an ascendancy over their counsels which had been denied to the ferocious Aztec. His authority extended wider and wider every day; and a new empire grew up in the very heart of the land, forming a counterpoise to the colossal power which had so long overshadowed it.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> So numerous, according to Cortés, that they covered hill and dale, as far as the eye could reach, mustering more than a hundred and twenty thousand strong! (Ibid., p. 162.) When the Conquerors attempt anything like a precise numeration, it will be as safe to substitute "a multitude," "a great force," etc., trusting the

amount to the reader's own imagination.

<sup>17</sup> For the hostilities with the Indian tribes, noticed in the preceding pages, see, in addition to the Letter of Cortés, so often cited, Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 15.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 15, 16,—Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*,

Cortés now felt himself strong enough to put in execution the plans for recovering the capital, over which he had been brooding ever since the hour of his expulsion. He had greatly undervalued the resources of the Aztec monarchy. He was now aware, from bitter experience, that, to vanquish it, his own forces, and all he could hope to muster, would be incompetent, without a very extensive support from the Indians themselves. A large army would, moreover, require large supplies for its maintenance, and these could not be regularly obtained, during a protracted siege, without the friendly co-operation of the natives. On such support he might now safely calculate from Tlascala and the other Indian territories, whose warriors were so eager to serve under his banners. His past acquaintance with them had instructed him in their national character and system of war; while the natives who had fought under his command, if they had caught little of the Spanish tactics, had learned to act in concert with the white men and to obey him implicitly as their commander. This was a considerable improvement in such wild and disorderly levies, and greatly augmented the strength derived from numbers.

Experience showed that in a future conflict with the capital it would not do to trust to the causeways, but that, to succeed, he must command the lake. He proposed, therefore, to build a number of vessels like those constructed under his orders in Montezuma's time and afterwards destroyed by the inhabitants. For this he had still the services of the same experienced ship-builder, Martin Lopez, who, as we have seen, had fortunately escaped the slaughter of the "Melancholy Night." Cortés now sent this man to Tlascala, with orders to build thirteen brigantines, which might be taken to pieces and carried on the shoulders of the

MS., cap. 90;—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 130, 132, 134.  
—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 114–117, —P. Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 5, cap. 6.—Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.



Indians to be launched on the waters of Lake Tezcuco. The sails, rigging, and iron-work were to be brought from Vera Cruz, where they had been stored since their removal from the dismantled ships. It was a bold conception, that of constructing a fleet to be transported across forest and mountain before it was launched on its destined waters! But it suited the daring genius of Cortés, who, with the co-operation of his stanch Tlascalan confederates, did not doubt his ability to carry it into execution.

It was with no little regret that the general learned at this time the death of his good friend Maxixca, the old lord of Tlascala, who had stood by him so steadily in the hour of adversity. He had fallen a victim to that terrible epidemic, the smallpox, which was now sweeping over the land like fire over the prairies, smiting down prince and peasant, and adding another to the long train of woes that followed the march of the white men. It was imported into the country, it is said, by a negro slave in the fleet of Narvaez.<sup>18</sup> It first broke out in Cempoalla. The poor natives, ignorant of the best mode of treating the loathsome disorder, sought relief in their usual practice of bathing in cold water, which greatly aggravated their trouble. From Cempoalla it spread rapidly over the neighbouring country, and, penetrating through Tlascala, reached the Aztec capital, where Montezuma's successor, Cuitlahua, fell one of its first victims. Thence it swept down towards the borders of the Pacific, leaving its path strewn with the dead bodies of the natives, who, in the strong language of a contemporary, perished in heaps like cattle stricken with the murrain.<sup>19</sup> It does not

<sup>18</sup> "La primera fué de viruela, y comenzó de esta manera. Siendo Capitan y Governador Hernando Cortés al tiempo que el Capitan Pánfilo de Narvaez desembarcó en esta tierra, en uno de sus navíos vino un negro herido de viruelas, la cual enfermedad nunca en esta

tierra se habia visto, y esta sazón estaba esta nueva España en estremo muy llena de gente." Toribio, Hist. de los Indios, MS., Parte 1, cap. 1.

<sup>19</sup> "Morian como chinchas á montones." (Toribio, Hist. de los Indios, ubi supra.) "So great was

seem to have been fatal to the Spaniards, many of whom, probably, had already had the disorder, and who were, at all events, acquainted with the proper method of treating it.

The death of Maxixca was deeply regretted by the troops, who lost in him a true and most efficient ally. With his last breath he commended them to his son and successor, as the great beings whose coming into the country had been so long predicted by the oracles.<sup>20</sup> He expressed a desire to die in the profession of the Christian faith. Cortés no sooner learned his condition than he despatched Father Olmedo to Tlascala. The friar found that Maxixca had already caused a crucifix to be placed before his sick couch, as the object of his adoration. After explaining, as intelligibly as he could, the truths of revelation, he baptized the dying chieftain; and the Spaniards had the satisfaction to believe that the soul of their benefactor was exempted from the doom of eternal perdition that hung over the unfortunate Indian who perished in his unbelief.<sup>21</sup>

Their late brilliant successes seem to have reconciled most of the disaffected soldiers to the prosecution of the war. There were still a few among them, the secretary Duero, Bermudez the treasurer, and others high in office, or wealthy hidalgos, who looked with disgust on another campaign, and now loudly reiterated their demand of a free passage to Cuba. To this Cortés, satisfied with the support on which he could safely count, made no further objection. Having once given his consent, he did all in his power to facilitate their departure and provide for their comfort. He ordered the best ship at Vera Cruz to be placed at

the number of those who died of this disease that there was no possibility of burying them, and in Mexico the dead were thrown into the canals, then filled with water, until the air was poisoned with the stench of putrid bodies." Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*,

lib. 8, cap. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 136.

<sup>21</sup> *Hist. de la Conquista*, ubi supra.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 12.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 39.

their disposal, to be well supplied with provisions and everything necessary for the voyage, and sent Alvarado to the coast to superintend the embarkation. He took the most courteous leave of them, with assurances of his own unalterable regard. But, as the event proved, those who could part from him at this crisis, had little sympathy with his fortunes; and we find Duero not long afterwards in Spain, supporting the claims of Velasquez before the emperor, in opposition to those of his former friend and commander.

The loss of these few men was amply compensated by the arrival of others, whom Fortune—to use no higher term—most unexpectedly threw in his way. The first of these came in a small vessel sent from Cuba by the governor, Velasquez, with stores for the colony at Vera Cruz. He was not aware of the late transactions in the country, and of the discomfiture of his officer. In the vessel came despatches, it is said, from Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, instructing Narvaez to send Cortés, if he had not already done so, for trial to Spain.<sup>22</sup> The alcalde of Vera Cruz, agreeably to the general's instructions, allowed the captain of the bark to land, who had no doubt that the country was in the hands of Narvaez. He was undeceived by being seized, together with his men, so soon as they had set foot on shore. The vessel was then secured; and the commander and his crew, finding out their error, were persuaded without much difficulty to join their countrymen in Tlascala.

A second vessel, sent soon after by Velasquez, shared the same fate, and those on board consented, also, to take their chance in the expedition under Cortés.

About the same time, Garay, the governor of Jamaica, fitted out three ships with an armed force to plant a colony on the Panuco, a river which pours into the Gulf a few degrees north of Villa Rica. Garay persisted in establishing this settlement, in contempt

of the claims of Cortés, who had already entered into a friendly communication with the inhabitants of that region. But the crews experienced such a rough reception from the natives on landing, and lost so many men, that they were glad to take to their vessels again. One of these foundered in a storm. The others put into the port of Vera Cruz to restore the men, much weakened by hunger and disease. Here they were kindly received, their wants supplied, their wounds healed; when they were induced, by the liberal promises of Cortés, to abandon the disastrous service of their employer and enlist under his own prosperous banner. The reinforcements obtained from these sources amounted to full a hundred and fifty men, well provided with arms and ammunition, together with twenty horses. By this strange concurrence of circumstances, Cortés saw himself in possession of the supplies he most needed; that, too, from the hands of his enemies, whose costly preparations were thus turned to the benefit of the very man whom they were designed to ruin.

His good fortune did not stop here. A ship from the Canaries touched at Cuba, freighted with arms and military stores for the adventurers in the New World. Their commander heard there of the recent discoveries in Mexico, and, thinking it would afford a favourable market for him, directed his course to Vera Cruz. He was not mistaken. The alcalde, by the general's orders, purchased both ship and cargo; and the crews, catching the spirit of adventure, followed their countrymen into the interior. There seemed to be a magic in the name of Cortés, which drew all who came within hearing of it under his standard.<sup>23</sup>

Having now completed the arrangements for settling his new conquests, there seemed to be no further reason for postponing his departure to Tlascala. He

<sup>23</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 131, 133, 136.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, ubi supra—

*Reg. Seg. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 154, 167.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 16.

was first solicited by the citizens of Tepeaca to leave a garrison with them, to protect them from the vengeance of the Aztecs. Cortés acceded to the request, and, considering the central position of the town favourable for maintaining his conquests, resolved to plant a colony there. For this object he selected sixty of his soldiers, most of whom were disabled by wounds or infirmity. He appointed the *alcaldes*, *regidores*, and other functionaries of a civic magistracy. The place he called *Segura de la Frontera*, or Security of the Frontier.<sup>24</sup> It received valuable privileges as a city, a few years later, from the emperor Charles the Fifth,<sup>25</sup> and rose to some consideration in the age of the Conquest. But its consequence soon after declined. Even its Castilian name, with the same caprice which has decided the fate of more than one name in our own country, was gradually supplanted by its ancient one, and the little village of Tepeaca is all that now commemorates the once flourishing Indian capital, and the second Spanish colony in Mexico.

While at Segura, Cortés wrote that celebrated letter to the emperor—the second in the series—so often cited in the preceding pages. It takes up the narrative with the departure from Vera Cruz, and exhibits in a brief and comprehensive form the occurrences up to the time at which we are now arrived. In the concluding page, the general, after noticing the embarrassments under which he labours, says, in his usual manly spirit, that he holds danger and fatigue light in comparison with the attainment of his object, and that he is confident a short time will restore the Spaniards to their former position and repair all their losses.<sup>26</sup>

He notices the resemblance of Mexico, in many of its features and productions, to the mother country,

<sup>24</sup> Reg. Sel. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Clavigero, Stor. del Messico, tom. iii. p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> E creo, como ya á Vuestra

Magestad he dicho, que en muy breve tomará al estado, en que antes yo la tenia, é se restaurarán las pérdidas pasadas." Rel. Seg., ap. Lorenzana, p. 167.

and requests that it may henceforth be called "New Spain of the Ocean Sea."<sup>27</sup> He finally requests that a commission may be sent out, at once, to investigate his conduct and to verify the accuracy of his statements.

This letter, which was printed at Seville the year after its reception, has been since reprinted, and translated, more than once.<sup>28</sup> It excited a great sensation at the court, and among the friends of science generally. The previous discoveries in the New World had disappointed the expectations which had been formed after the solution of the grand problem of its existence. They had brought to light only rude tribes, which, however gentle and inoffensive in their manners, were still in the primitive stages of barbarism. Here was an authentic account of a vast nation, potent and populous, exhibiting an elaborate social polity, well advanced in the arts of civilization, occupying a soil that teemed with mineral treasures and with a boundless variety of vegetable products, stores of wealth, both natural and artificial, that seemed, for the first time, to realize the golden dreams in which the great discoverer of the New World had so fondly, and in his own day so fallaciously, indulged. Well might the scholar of that age exult in the revelation of these wonders, which so many had long, but in vain, desired to see.<sup>29</sup>

With this letter went another to the emperor, signed,

<sup>27</sup> "Me pareció, que el mas conveniente nombre para esta dicha Tierra, era llamarse *la Nueva España del Mar Océano*: y así en nombre de Vuestra Magestad se le puso aqueste nombre; humildemente suplico á Vuestra Alteza lo tenga por bien, y mande, que se nombre así" (Ibid., p. 169.) The name of "New Spain," without other addition, had been before given by Grijalva to Yucatan. *Ante*, Book 2, Chapter 1.

<sup>28</sup> It was dated, "De la Villa

Segura de la Frontera de esta Nueva-España, á treinta de Octubre de mil quinientos veinte años." But, in consequence of the loss of the ship intended to bear it, the letter was not sent till the spring of the following year; leaving the nation still in ignorance of the fate of the gallant adventurers in Mexico, and the magnitude of their discoveries.

<sup>29</sup> The state of feeling occasioned by these discoveries may be seen in the correspondence of Peter

as it would seem, by nearly every officer and soldier in the camp. It expatiated on the obstacles thrown in the way of the expedition by Velasquez and Narvaez, and the great prejudice this had caused to the royal interests. It then set forth the services of Cortés, and besought the emperor to confirm him in his authority, and not to allow any interference with one who, from his personal character, his intimate knowledge of the land and its people, and the attachment of his soldiers, was the man best qualified in all the world to achieve the conquest of the country.<sup>30</sup>

It added not a little to the perplexities of Cortés that he was still in entire ignorance of the light in which his conduct was regarded in Spain. He had not even heard whether his despatches, sent the year preceding from Vera Cruz, had been received. Mexico was as far removed from all intercourse with the civilized world as if it had been placed at the antipodes. Few vessels had entered, and none had been allowed to leave, its ports. The governor of Cuba, an island distant but a few days' sail, was yet ignorant, as we have seen, of the fate of his armament. On the arrival of every new vessel or fleet on these shores, Cortés might well doubt whether it brought aid to his undertaking, or a royal commission to supersede him. His sanguine spirit relied on the former; though the latter was much the more probable, considering the intimacy of his enemy, the governor, with Bishop Fonseca, a man jealous of his authority, and one who, from

Martyr, then residing at the court of Castile. See, in particular, his epistle, dated March, 1521, to his noble pupil, the Marquis de Mondejar, in which he dwells with unbounded satisfaction on all the rich stores of science which the expedition of Cortés had thrown open to the world. *Opus Epistolarum*, ep. 771.

<sup>30</sup> This memorial is in that part of my collection made by the former

President of the Spanish Academy, Vargas Ponce. It is signed by four hundred and forty-four names; and it is remarkable that this roll, which includes every other familiar name in the army, should not contain that of Bernal Diaz del Castillo. It can only be accounted for by his illness; as he tells us he was confined to his bed by a fever about this time. *Hist de la Conquista*, cap. 134.

his station at the head of the Indian department, held a predominant control over the affairs of the New World. It was the policy of Cortés, therefore, to lose no time; to push forward his preparations, lest another should be permitted to snatch the laurel now almost within his grasp. Could he but reduce the Aztec capital, he felt that he should be safe, and that, in whatever light his irregular proceedings might now be viewed, his services in that event would far more than counterbalance them in the eyes both of the crown and of the country.

The general wrote, also, to the Royal Audience at St. Domingo, in order to interest them in his cause. He sent four vessels to the same island, to obtain a further supply of arms and ammunition; and, the better to stimulate the cupidity of adventurers and allure them to the expedition, he added specimens of the beautiful fabrics of the country, and of its precious metals.<sup>21</sup> The funds for procuring these important supplies were, probably, derived from the plunder gathered in the late battles, and the gold which, as already remarked, had been saved from the general wreck by the Castilian convoy.

It was the middle of December when Cortés, having completed all his arrangements, set out on his return to Tlascala, ten or twelve leagues distant. He marched in the van of the army, and took the way of Cholula. How different was his condition from that in which he had left the republican capital not five months before! His march was a triumphal procession, displaying the various banners and military ensigns taken from the enemy, long files of captives, and all the rich spoils of conquest gleaned from many a hard-

<sup>21</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 179.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 18.—Alonso de Avila went as the bearer of despatches to St. Domingo. Bernal Diaz, who is not

averse, now and then, to a fling at his commander, says that Cortés was willing to get rid of this gallant cavalier, because he was too independent and plain-spoken. Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 136.



fought field. As the army passed through the towns and villages, the inhabitants poured out to greet them, and, as they drew near to Tlascala, the whole population, men, women, and children, came forth, celebrating their return with songs, dancing, and music. Arches decorated with flowers were thrown across the streets through which they passed, and a Tlascalan orator addressed the general, on his entrance into the city, in a lofty panegyric on his late achievements, proclaiming him the "avenger of the nation." Amidst this pomp and triumphal show, Cortés and his principal officers were seen clad in deep mourning in honour of their friend Maxixca. And this tribute of respect to the memory of their venerated ruler touched the Tlascalans more sensibly than all the proud display of military trophies.<sup>32</sup>

The general's first act was to confirm the son of his deceased friend in the succession, which had been contested by an illegitimate brother. The youth was but twelve years of age; and Cortés prevailed on him without difficulty to follow his father's example and receive baptism. He afterwards knighted him with his own hand; the first instance, probably, of the order of chivalry being conferred on an American Indian.<sup>33</sup> The elder Xicotencatl was also persuaded to embrace Christianity; and the example of their rulers had its obvious effect in preparing the minds of the people for the reception of the truth. Cortés, whether from the suggestions of Olmedo, or from the engrossing nature of his own affairs, did not press the work of conversion further at this time, but wisely left the good seed, already sown, to ripen in secret, till time should bring forth the harvest.

The Spanish commander, during his short stay in

<sup>32</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 136.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 19.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, ubi supra.—"Hicolo," says Herrera, "i armóle caballero,

al vso de Castilla; i porque lo fuese de Jesu-Christo, le hiço bautizar, i se llamó D. Lorenzo Maxiscatzin."

Tlascala, urged forward the preparations for the campaign. He endeavoured to drill the Tlascalans and to give them some idea of European discipline and tactics. He caused new arms to be made, and the old ones to be put in order. Powder was manufactured with the aid of sulphur obtained by some adventurous cavaliers from the smoking throat of Popocatepetl.<sup>34</sup> The construction of the brigantines went forward prosperously under the direction of Lopez, with the aid of the Tlascalans.<sup>35</sup> Timber was cut in the forests, and pitch, an article unknown to the Indians, was obtained from the pines on the neighbouring Sierra de Malinche. The rigging and other appurtenances were transported by the Indian *tamanes* from Villa Rica; and by Christmas the work was so far advanced that it was no longer necessary for Cortés to delay the march to Mexico.

<sup>34</sup> For an account of the manner in which this article was procured by Montañón and his doughty companions, see *ante*.

<sup>35</sup> "Así se hicieron trece bergantines en el barrio de Atempa,

junto á una hermita que se llama San Buenaventura, los quales hizo y otro Martin Lopez uno de los primeros conquistadores, y le ayudó Neguez Gomez." *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.

## CHAPTER VII.

Cuatemozin, Emperor of the Azteca.—Preparations for the March.—  
Military Code.—Spaniards cross the Sierra.—Enter Tezcuco.—  
Prince Ixtlilxochitl.

1520.

WHILE the events related in the preceding chapter were passing, an important change had taken place in the Aztec monarchy. Montezuma's brother and successor, Cuitlahua, had suddenly died of the smallpox, after a brief reign of four months,—brief, but glorious, for it had witnessed the overthrow of the Spaniards and their expulsion from Mexico.<sup>1</sup> On the death of their warlike chief, the electors were convened, as usual, to supply the vacant throne. It was an office of great responsibility in the dark hour of their fortunes. The *teotluctli*, or high-priest, invoked the blessing of the supreme God on their deliberations. His prayer is still extant. It was the last one ever made on a similar occasion in Anahuac, and a few extracts from it may interest the reader, as a specimen of Aztec eloquence :

“O Lord! thou knowest that the days of our sovereign are at an end, for thou hast placed him beneath

<sup>1</sup> Solís dismisses this prince with the remark “that he reigned but a few days; long enough, however, for his indolence and apathy to efface the memory of his name among the people.” (Conquista, lib. 4, cap. 16.) Whence the historiographer of the Indies borrowed the colouring for this portrait I cannot conjecture; certainly not from the ancient authorities, which uniformly delineate the character and conduct of the Aztec sovereign

in the light represented in the text. Cortés, who ought to know, describes him “as held to be very wise and valiant.” Rel. Seg. ap. Lorenzana, p. 166,—See, also, Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 29,—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 19,—Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 88,—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 16,—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 118.

thy feet. He abides in the place of his retreat; he has trodden the path which we are all to tread; he has gone to the house whither we are all to follow,—the house of eternal darkness, where no light cometh. He is gathered to his rest, and no one henceforth shall disquiet him. . . . All these were the princes, his predecessors, who sat on the imperial throne, directing the affairs of thy kingdom; for thou art the universal lord and emperor, by whose will and movement the whole world is directed; thou needest not the counsel of another. They laid down the intolerable burden of government, and left it to him, their successor. Yet he sojourned but a few days in his kingdom,—but a few days had we enjoyed his presence, when thou summonedst him away to follow those who had ruled over the land before him. And great cause has he for thankfulness, that thou hast relieved him from so grievous a load, and placed him in tranquillity and rest. . . . Who now shall order matters for the good of the people and the realm? Who shall appoint the judges to administer justice to thy people? Who now shall bid the drum and the flute to sound, and gather together the veteran soldiers and the men mighty in battle? Our Lord and our Defence! wilt thou, in thy wisdom, elect one who shall be worthy to sit on the throne of thy kingdom; one who shall bear the grievous burden of government; who shall comfort and cherish thy poor people, even as the mother cherisheth her offspring? . . . O Lord most merciful! pour forth thy light and thy splendour over this thine empire! . . . Order it so that thou shalt be served in all, and through all.”\*

\* The reader of Spanish will see that in the version in the text I have condensed the original, which abounds in the tautology and repetitions characteristic of the compositions of a rude people. “Señor nuestro! ya V. M. sabe como es muerto nuestro N.: ya lo habeis puesto debajo de vuestros pies: ya

VOL. II.

está en su recogimiento, y es ido por el camino que todos hemos de ir y á la casa donde hemos de morar, casa de perpetuas tinieblas, donde ni hay ventana, ni luz alguna: ya está en el reposo donde nadie le desasosegará. . . . Todos estos señores y reyes rigieron, gobernaron, y gozaron del señorioty

The choice fell on Quauhtemotzin, or Guatemotzin, as euphoniously corrupted by the Spaniards.<sup>3</sup> He was nephew to the two last monarchs, and married his cousin, the beautiful princess Tecuichpo, Montezuma's daughter. "He was not more than twenty-five years old, and elegant in his person for an Indian," says one who had seen him often; "valiant, and so terrible that his followers trembled in his presence."<sup>4</sup> He did not shrink from the perilous post that was offered to him; and, as he saw the tempest gathering darkly around, he prepared to meet it like a man. Though young,

dignidad real, y del trono y sitial del imperio, los cuales ordenaron y concertaron las cosas de vuestro reino, que sois el universal señor y emperador, por cuyo albedrio y motivo se rige todo el universo, y que no teneis necesidad de consejo de ningun otro. Ya estos dichos dejaron la carga intolerable del gobierno que tragaron sobre sus hombros, y lo dejaron á su sucesor N., el cual por algunos pocos dias tuvo en pie su señorio y reino, y ahora ya se ha ido en pos de ellos al otro mundo, porque vos le mandásteis que fuese y le llamásteis, y por haberle descargado de tan gran carga, y quitado tan gran trabajo, y haberle puesto en paz y en reposo, está muy obligado á daros gracias. Algunos pocos dias le lográmos, y ahora para siempre se ausentó de nosotros para nunca mas volver al mundo. . . . ¿Quien ordenará y dispondrá las cosas necesarias al bien del pueblo, señorio y reino? ¿Quien elegirá á los jueces particulares, que tengan carga de la gente baja por los barrios? ¿Quien mandará tocar el atambor y pífano para juntar gente para la guerra? ¿Y quien reunirá y acaudillará á los soldados viejos, y hombres diestros en la pelea? Señor nuestro y amparador nuestro! tenga por bien V. M. de elegir, y señalar alguna persona suficiente para que tenga vuestro

trono, y lleve á cuestras la carga pesada del régimen de la república, regocige y regale á los populares, bien así como la madre regala á su hijo, poniéndole en su regazo. . . . O señor nuestro humanísimo! dad lumbré y resplandor de vuestra mano á esto reino! . . . Hágase como V. M. fuere servido en todo, y por todo." Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, lib. 6, cap. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Spaniards appear to have changed the *Qua*, beginning Aztec names, into *Gua*, in the same manner as, in the mother country, they changed the *Wad* at the beginning of Arabic names into *Guad*. (See Condé, El Nubiense, Description de España, notas, passim.) The Aztec *izin* was added to the names of sovereigns and great lords, as a mark of reverence. Thus, Cuiclahua was called Cuiclahuatzin. This termination, usually dropped by the Spaniards, has been retained from accident, or perhaps for the sake of euphony, in Guatemotzin's name.

<sup>4</sup> "Mancebo de hasta veynte y cinco años, bien gentil hombre para ser Indio, y muy esforçado, y se hizo temer de tal manera, que todos los suyos temblauan dél; y estava casado con vna hija de Montezuma, bien hermosa muger para ser India." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 130.

he had ample experience in military matters, and had distinguished himself above all others in the bloody conflicts of the capital. He bore a sort of religious hatred to the Spaniards, like that which Hannibal is said to have sworn, and which he certainly cherished, against his Roman foes.

By means of his spies, Guatemozin made himself acquainted with the movements of the Spaniards and their design to besiege the capital. He prepared for it by sending away the useless part of the population, while he called in his potent vassals from the neighbourhood. He continued the plans of his predecessor for strengthening the defences of the city, reviewed his troops, and stimulated them by prizes to excel in their exercises. He made harangues to his soldiers to rouse them to a spirit of desperate resistance. He encouraged his vassals throughout the empire to attack the white men wherever they were to be met with, setting a price on their heads, as well as on the persons of all who should be brought alive to him in Mexico.<sup>5</sup> And it was no uncommon thing for the Spaniards to find hanging up in the temples of the conquered places the arms and accoutrements of their unfortunate countrymen who had been seized and sent to the capital for sacrifice.<sup>6</sup> Such was the young monarch who was now called to the tottering throne of the Aztecs; worthy, by his bold and magnanimous nature, to sway the sceptre of his country in the most flourishing period of her renown, and now, in her distress, devoting himself in the true spirit of a patriot prince to uphold her falling fortunes or bravely perish with them.<sup>7</sup>

We must now return to the Spaniards in Tlascala,

<sup>5</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 134.

<sup>7</sup> One may call to mind the beautiful invocation which Racine has put into the mouth of Joad :

“ Venez, cher rejeton d’une vail-  
lante race,  
Remplir vos défenseurs d’une  
nouvelle audace ;  
Venez du diadème à leurs yeux  
vous couvrir,  
Et périssez du moins en roi, s’il  
faut périr.”

ATHALIE, acte 4, scène 5.

x 2

where we left them preparing to resume their march on Mexico. Their commander had the satisfaction to see his troops tolerably complete in their appointments; varying, indeed, according to the condition of the different reinforcements which had arrived from time to time, but, on the whole, superior to those of the army with which he had first invaded the country. His whole force fell little short of six hundred men; forty of whom were cavalry, together with eighty arquebusiers and crossbowmen. The rest were armed with sword and target, and with the copper-headed pike of Chinantla. He had nine cannon of a moderate calibre, and was indifferently supplied with powder.\*

As his forces were drawn up in order of march, Cortés rode through the ranks, exhorting his soldiers, as usual with him on these occasions, to be true to themselves and the enterprise in which they were embarked. He told them they were to march against *rebels*, who had once acknowledged allegiance to the Spanish sovereign;<sup>9</sup> against barbarians, the enemies of their religion. They were to fight the battles of the Cross and of the crown; to fight their own battles, to wipe away the stain from their arms, to avenge their injuries, and the loss of the dear companions who had been butchered on the field or on the accursed altar of sacrifice. Never was there a war which offered higher incentives to the Christian cavalier; a war which opened to him riches and renown in this life, and an imperishable glory in that to come.<sup>10</sup>

Thus did the politic chief touch all the secret springs of devotion, honour, and ambition in the bosoms of

\* Rel. Tercera de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 183.—Most, if not all, of the authorities—a thing worthy of note—concur in this estimate of the Spanish forces.

<sup>9</sup> “Y como sin causa ninguna todos los Naturales de Colúa, que son los de la gran Ciudad de Temixtitan, y los de todas las otras Provincias á ellas sujetas, no sola-

mente se habian rebelado contra Vuestra Magestad.” Ibid., ubi supra.

<sup>10</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 184.—“Porque demas del premio, que les davia en el cielo, se les seguirian en esto mundo grandissima honra, riquezas inestimables.” Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chichimeca, MS., cap. 91.

his martial audience, waking the mettle of the most sluggish before leading him on the perilous emprise. They answered with acclamations that they were ready to die in defence of the Faith, and would either conquer, or leave their bones with those of their countrymen in the waters of the Tezcuco.

The army of the allies next passed in review before the general. It is variously estimated by writers from a hundred and ten to a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers! The palpable exaggeration, no less than the discrepancy, shows that little reliance can be placed on any estimate. It is certain, however, that it was a multitudinous array, consisting not only of the flower of the Tlascalcan warriors, but of those of Cholula, Tepeaca, and the neighbouring territories, which had submitted to the Castilian crown.<sup>11</sup>

They were armed, after the Indian fashion, with bows and arrows, the glassy *maquahuítl*, and the long pike, which formidable weapon Cortés, as we have seen, had introduced among his own troops. They were divided into battalions, each having its own banner, displaying the appropriate arms or emblem of its company. The four great chiefs of the nation marched in the van; three of them venerable for their years, and showing, in the insignia which decorated their persons, the evidence of many a glorious feat in arms. The panache of many-coloured plumes floated from their casques, set in emeralds or other precious stones. Their *escaupil*, or stuffed doublet of cotton, was covered with the graceful surcoat of feather-work, and their feet were protected by sandals embossed with gold. Four young pages followed, bearing their weapons, and four others supported as many standards, on which were emblazoned the armorial bearings of the four great divisions of the republic.<sup>12</sup> The Tlasca-

<sup>11</sup> "Cosa muy de ver," says Father Sahagun, without hazarding any precise number, "en la cantidad y en los aparejos que llevaban."

Hist. de Nueva-España, lib. 12, cap. 30, MS.

<sup>12</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2 lib. 10, cap. 20.



lans, though frugal in the extreme, and rude in their way of life, were as ambitious of display in their military attire as any of the races on the plateau. As they defiled before Cortés, they saluted him by waving their banners and by a flourish of their wild music, which the general acknowledged by courteously raising his cap as they passed.<sup>13</sup> The Tlascalan warriors, and especially the younger Xicotencatl, their commander, affected to imitate their European masters, not merely in their tactics, but in minuter matters of military etiquette.

Cortés, with the aid of Marina, made a brief address to his Indian allies. He reminded them that he was going to fight their battles against their ancient enemies. He called on them to support him in a manner worthy of their renowned republic. To those who remained at home, he committed the charge of aiding in the completion of the brigantines, on which the success of the expedition so much depended; and he requested that none would follow his banner who were not prepared to remain till the final reduction of the capital.<sup>14</sup> This address was answered by shouts, or rather yells, of defiance, showing the exultation felt by his Indian confederates at the prospect of at last avenging their manifold wrongs and humbling their haughty enemy.

Before setting out on the expedition, Cortés published a code of ordinances, as he terms them, or regulations for the army, too remarkable to be passed over in silence. The preamble sets forth that in all institutions, whether divine or human,—if the latter have any worth,—order is the great law. The ancient chronicles inform us that the greatest captains in past times owed their successes quite as much to the wisdom of their ordinances as to their own valour and virtue. The situation of the Spaniards eminently demanded such a code; a mere handful of men as they were, in

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

<sup>14</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, loc. cit.

the midst of countless enemies, most cunning in the management of their weapons and in the art of war. The instrument then reminds the army that the conversion of the heathen is the work most acceptable in the eye of the Almighty, and one that will be sure to receive his support. It calls on every soldier to regard this as the prime object of the expedition, *without which the war would be manifestly unjust, and every acquisition made by it, a robbery.*<sup>15</sup>

The general solemnly protests that the principal motive which operates in his own bosom is the desire to wean the natives from their gloomy idolatry and to impart to them the knowledge of a purer faith; and next, to recover for his master, the emperor, the dominions which of right belonged to him.<sup>16</sup>

The ordinances then prohibit all blasphemy against God or the saints; a vice much more frequent among Catholic than Protestant nations, arising, perhaps, less from difference of religion than of physical temperament,—for the warm sun of the South, under which Catholicism prevails, stimulates the sensibilities to the more violent expression of passion.<sup>17</sup>

Another law is directed against gaming, to which

<sup>15</sup> "Que su principal motivo é intencion sea apartar y desarraigar de las dichas idolatrías á todos los naturales destas partes y reducillos ó á lo menos desear su salvacion y que sean reducidos al conocimiento de Dios y de su Santa Fe católica: porque si con otra intencion se liciese la dicha guerra seria injusta y todo lo que en ella se oviese Onoloxio é obligado á restitucion." Ordenanzas militares, MS.

<sup>16</sup> "É desde ahora protesto en nombre de S. M. que mi principal intencion é motivo es facer esta guerra é las otras que ficiese por traer y reducir á los dichos naturales al dicho conocimiento de nuestra Santa Fe é creencia; y despues por los sozjugar é supeditar delajo del yugo é dominio impe-

rial é real de su Sacra Magestad, á quien juridicamente el Señorío de todas estas partes." Ordenanzas militares, MS.

<sup>17</sup> "Ce n'est qu'en Espagne et en Italie," says the penetrating historian of the Italian Republics, "qu'on rencontre cette habitude vicieuse, absolument inconnue aux peuples protestants, et qu'il ne faut point confondre avec les grossiers juremens que le peuple en tout pays mêle à ses discours. Dans tous les accès de colère des peuples du Midi, ils s'attaquent aux objets de leur culte, ils les menacent, et ils accablent de paroles outrageantes la Divinité elle-même, le Rédempteur ou ses saints." Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, cap. 126.

the Spaniards, in all ages, have been peculiarly addicted. Cortés, making allowance for the strong national propensity, authorizes it under certain limitations, but prohibits the use of dice altogether.<sup>18</sup> Then follow other laws against brawls and private combats, against personal taunts and the irritating sarcasms of rival companies; rules for the more perfect discipline of the troops, whether in camp or the field. Among others is one prohibiting any captain, under pain of death, from charging the enemy without orders; a practice noticed as most pernicious and of too frequent occurrence,—showing the impetuous spirit and want of true military subordination in the bold cavaliers who followed the standard of Cortés.

The last ordinance prohibits any man, officer or private, from securing to his own use any of the booty taken from the enemy, whether it be gold, silver, precious stones, feather-work, stuffs, slaves, or other commodity, however or wherever obtained, in the city or in the field, and requires him to bring it forthwith to the presence of the general, or the officer appointed to receive it. The violation of this law was punished with death and confiscation of property. So severe an edict may be thought to prove that, however much the *Conquistador* may have been influenced by spiritual considerations, he was by no means insensible to those of a temporal character.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Lucio Marineo, who witnessed all the dire effects of this national propensity at the Castilian court, where he was residing at this time, breaks out into the following animated apostrophe against it: "The gambler is he who wishes and conspires the death of his parents, he who swears falsely by God and by the life of his king and lord, he who kills his own soul and casts it into hell. What will not the gambler do, when he is not ashamed to lose his money, his time, his sleep, his reputation, his honour, and even

life itself! So that, considering how great a number of men are incessantly engaged in play, the opinion seems to me well founded of those who say that hell is filled with gamblers." *Cosas memorables de España* (ed. Sevilla, 1539), fol. 163.

<sup>19</sup> These regulations are reported with much uniformity by Herrera, Solís, Clavigero, and others, but with such palpable inaccuracy that it is clear they never could have seen the original instrument. The copy in my possession was taken

These provisions were not suffered to remain a dead letter. The Spanish commander, soon after their proclamation, made an example of two of his own slaves, whom he hanged for plundering the natives. A similar sentence was passed on a soldier for the like offence, though he allowed him to be cut down before the sentence was entirely executed. Cortés knew well the character of his followers; rough and turbulent spirits, who required to be ruled with an iron hand. Yet he was not eager to assert his authority on light occasions. The intimacy into which they were thrown by their peculiar situation, perils, and sufferings, in which all equally shared, and a common interest in the adventure, induced a familiarity between men and officers, most unfavourable to military discipline. The general's own manners, frank and liberal, seemed to invite this freedom, which, on ordinary occasions, he made no attempt to repress; perhaps finding it too difficult, or at least impolitic, since it afforded a safety-valve for the spirits of a licentious soldiery, that, if violently coerced, might have burst forth into open mutiny. But the limits of his forbearance were clearly defined; and any attempt to overstep them, or to violate the established regulations of the camp, brought a sure and speedy punishment on the offender. By thus tempering severity with indulgence, masking an iron will under the open bearing of a soldier, Cortés established a control over his band of bold and reckless adventurers, such as a pedantic martinet, scrupulous in enforcing the minutiae of military etiquette, could never have obtained.

The ordinances, dated on the twenty-second of December, were proclaimed to the assembled army on the twenty-sixth. Two days afterwards, the troops were on their march, and Cortés, at the head of his battalions, with colours flying and music playing, issued

from the Muñoz collection. As the document, though curious and highly interesting, has never been

published, I have given it entire in the Appendix, Part II., No. 13

forth from the gates of the republican capital, which had so generously received him in his distress, and which now, for the second time, supplied him with the means for consummating his great enterprise. The population of the city, men, women, and children, hung on the rear of the army, taking a last leave of their countrymen, and imploring the gods to crown their arms with victory.

Notwithstanding the great force mustered by the Indian confederates, the Spanish general allowed but a small part of them now to attend him. He proposed to establish his head-quarters at some place on the Tezcucan lake, whence he could annoy the Aztec capital by reducing the surrounding country, cutting off the supplies, and thus placing the city in a state of blockade.<sup>20</sup>

The direct assault on Mexico itself he intended to postpone until the arrival of the brigantines should enable him to make it with the greatest advantage. Meanwhile, he had no desire to encumber himself with a superfluous multitude, whom it would be difficult to feed; and he preferred to leave them at Tlascala, whence they might convey the vessels, when completed, to the camp, and aid him in his future operations.

Three routes presented themselves to Cortés by which he might penetrate into the Valley. He chose the most difficult, traversing the bold sierra which divides the eastern plateau from the western, and so rough and precipitous as to be scarcely practicable for the march of an army. He wisely judged that he should be less likely to experience annoyance from the enemy in this direction, as they might naturally confide in the difficulties of the ground for their protection.

The first day, the troops advanced five or six leagues,

<sup>20</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 20.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 127. The former historian states the number

of Indian allies who followed Cortés, at eighty thousand; the latter at ten thousand! *¿Quien sabe?*

Cortés riding in the van at the head of his little body of cavalry. They halted at the village of Tetzmellocan, at the base of the mountain chain which traverses the country, touching, at its southern limit, the mighty Iztaccihuatl, or "White woman,"—white with the snows of ages.<sup>21</sup> At this village they met with a friendly reception, and on the following morning began the ascent of the sierra.

The path was steep and exceedingly rough. Thick matted bushes covered its surface, and the winter torrents had broken it into deep stony channels, hardly practicable for the passage of artillery, while the straggling branches of the trees, flung horizontally across the road, made it equally difficult for cavalry. The cold, as they rose higher, became intense. It was keenly felt by the Spaniards, accustomed of late to a warm, or at least temperate, climate; though the extreme toil with which they forced their way upward furnished the best means of resisting the weather. The only vegetation to be seen in these higher regions was the pine, dark forests of which clothed the sides of the mountains, till even these dwindled into a thin and stunted growth. It was night before the way-worn soldiers reached the bald crest of the sierra, where they lost no time in kindling their fires; and, huddling round their bivouacs, they warmed their frozen limbs and prepared their evening repast.

With the earliest dawn, the troops were again in motion. Mass was said, and they began their descent, more difficult and painful than their ascent on the day preceding; for, in addition to the natural obstacles of the road, they found it strewn with huge pieces of

<sup>21</sup> This mountain, which, with its neighbour Popocatepetl, forms the great barrier—the *Herculis columna*—of the Mexican Valley, has been fancifully likened, from its long dorsal swell, to the back of a dromedary. (Tudor's Tour in North America, Let. 22.) It rises

far above the limits of perpetual snow in the tropics, and its huge crest and sides, enveloped in its silver drapery, form one of the most striking objects in the magnificent *coup-d'œil* presented to the inhabitants of the capital.

timber and trees obviously felled for the purpose by the natives. Cortés ordered up a body of light troops to clear away the impediments, and the army again resumed its march, but with the apprehension that the enemy had prepared an ambuscade, to surprise them when they should be entangled in the pass. They moved cautiously forward, straining their vision to pierce the thick gloom of the forests, where the wily foe might be lurking. But they saw no living thing, except only the wild inhabitants of the woods, and flocks of the *zopilote*, the voracious vulture of the country, which, in anticipation of a bloody banquet, hung, like a troop of evil spirits, on the march of the army.

As they descended, the Spaniards felt a sensible and most welcome change in the temperature. The character of the vegetation changed with it, and the funereal pine, their only companion of late, gave way to the sturdy oak, to the sycamore, and, lower down, to the graceful pepper-tree mingling its red berry with the dark foliage of the forest; while, in still lower depths, the gaudy-coloured creepers might be seen flinging their gay blossoms over the branches, and telling of a softer and more luxurious climate.

At length the army emerged on an open level, where the eye, unobstructed by intervening wood or hill-top, could range, far and wide, over the Valley of Mexico. There it lay bathed in the golden sunshine, stretched out, as it were, in slumber, in the arms of the giant hills, which clustered, like a phalanx of guardian genii, around it. The magnificent vision, new to many of the spectators, filled them with rapture. Even the veterans of Cortés could not withhold their admiration, though this was soon followed by a bitter feeling, as they recalled the sufferings which had befallen them within these beautiful but treacherous precincts. It made us feel, says the lion-hearted Conqueror, in his Letters, that "we had no choice but victory or death; and, our minds once resolved, we moved forward with

as light a step as if we had been going on an errand of certain pleasure." <sup>22</sup>

As the Spaniards advanced, they beheld the neighbouring hill-tops blazing with beacon-fires, showing that the country was already alarmed and mustering to oppose them. The general called on his men to be mindful of their high reputation; to move in order, closing up their ranks, and to obey implicitly the commands of their officers. <sup>23</sup> At every turn among the hills, they expected to meet the forces of the enemy drawn up to dispute their passage. And, as they were allowed to pass the defiles unmolested, and drew near to the open plains, they were prepared to see them occupied by a formidable host, who would compel them to fight over again the battle of Otumba. But, although clouds of dusky warriors were seen, from time to time, hovering on the highlands, as if watching their progress, they experienced no interruption till they reached a *barranca*, or deep ravine, through which flowed a little river, crossed by a bridge partly demolished. On the opposite side a considerable body of Indians was stationed, as if to dispute the passage; but, whether distrusting their own numbers, or intimidated by the steady advance of the Spaniards, they offered them no annoyance, and were quickly dispersed by a few resolute charges of cavalry. The army then proceeded, without molestation, to a small town, called Coatepec, where they halted for the night. Before retiring to his own quarters, Cortés made the rounds of the camp, with a few trusty followers, to see that all was safe. <sup>24</sup> He seemed to

<sup>22</sup> "Y prometimos todos de nunca de ella salir, sin Victoria, ó dejar allí las vidas. Y con esta determinacion íbamos todos tan alegres, como si fuéramos á cosa de mucho placer." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 188.

<sup>23</sup> "Y yo torné á rogar, y encomendar mucho á los Españoles, que hiciesen, como siempre habian

hecho, y como se esperaba de sus Personas; y que nadie no se desmandasse, y que fuessen con mucho concierto, y órden por su Camino." Ibid., ubi supra.

<sup>24</sup> "É como la Gente de pie venia algo cansada, y se hacia tarde, dormimos en una Poblacion, que se dice Coatepeque. . . . É yo con diez de Caballo comencé la



have an eye that never slumbered, and a frame incapable of fatigue. It was the indomitable spirit within, which sustained him.<sup>25</sup>

Yet he may well have been kept awake through the watches of the night, by anxiety and doubt. He was now but three leagues from Tezcuco, the far-famed capital of the Acolhuans. He proposed to establish his head-quarters, if possible, at this place. Its numerous dwellings would afford ample accommodations for his army. An easy communication with Tlascala, by a different route from that which he had traversed, would furnish him with the means of readily obtaining supplies from that friendly country, and for the safe transportation of the brigantines, when finished, to be launched on the waters of the Tezcuco. But he had good reason to distrust the reception he should meet with in the capital; for an important revolution had taken place there since the expulsion of the Spaniards from Mexico, of which it will be necessary to give some account.

The reader will remember that the cacique of that place, named Cacama, was deposed by Cortés, during his first residence in the Aztec metropolis, in consequence of a projected revolt against the Spaniards, and that the crown had been placed on the head of a younger brother, Cuicuitzca. The deposed prince was among the prisoners carried away by Cortés, and perished with the others, in the terrible passage of the causeway, on the *noche triste*. His brother, afraid, probably, after the flight of the Spaniards, of continuing with his own vassals, whose sympathies were altogether with the Aztecs, accompanied his friends in

Vela, y Ronda de la prima, y hice, que toda la Gente estubiese muy apercebida." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, pp. 188, 189.

<sup>25</sup> For the preceding pages, giving the account of the march, besides the Letter of Cortés, so often quoted, see Gomara, Crónica, cap. 121.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind.,

MS., lib. 33, cap. 18. Bernál Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 137.—Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala. MS.,—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 20.—Ixtlilxochitl, Relacion de la Venida de los Españoles y Principio de la Ley Evangelica (México, 1829), p. 9.

their retreat, and was so fortunate as to reach Tlascala in safety

Meanwhile, a second son of Nezahualpilli, named Coanaco, claimed the crown, on his elder brother's death, as his own rightful inheritance. As he heartily joined his countrymen and the Aztecs in their detestation of the white men, his claims were sanctioned by the Mexican emperor. Soon after his accession, the new lord of Tezcucó had an opportunity of showing his loyalty to his imperial patron in an effectual manner.

A body of forty-five Spaniards, ignorant of the disasters in Mexico, were transporting thither a large quantity of gold, at the very time their countrymen were on the retreat to Tlascala. As they passed through the Tezcucan territory, they were attacked by Coanaco's orders, most of them massacred on the spot, and the rest sent for sacrifice to Mexico. The arms and accoutrements of these unfortunate men were hung up as trophies in the temples, and their skins, stripped from their dead bodies, were suspended over the bloody shrines, as the most acceptable offering to the offended deities.<sup>26</sup>

Some months after this event, the exiled prince, Cuicuitzca, wearied with his residence in Tlascala, and pining for his former royal state, made his way back secretly to Tezcucó, hoping, it would seem, to raise a party there in his favour. But, if such were his expectations, they were sadly disappointed; for no sooner had he set foot in the capital than he was betrayed to his brother, who, by the advice of Guatemozin, put him to death, as a traitor to his country.<sup>27</sup> Such was the posture of affairs in Tezcucó

<sup>26</sup> See *ante*, p. 130.—The skins of those immolated on the sacrificial stone were a common offering in the Indian temples, and the mad priests celebrated many of their festivals by publicly dancing with their own persons enveloped in

these disgusting spoils of their victims. See Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> *Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 187.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 19.

when Cortés, for the second time, approached its gates; and well might he doubt, not merely the nature of his reception there, but whether he would be permitted to enter it at all, without force of arms.

These apprehensions were dispelled the following morning, when, before the troops were well under arms, an embassy was announced from the lord of Tezcuco. It consisted of several nobles, some of whom were known to the companions of Cortés. They bore a golden flag in token of amity, and a present of no great value to Cortés. They brought also a message from the cacique, imploring the general to spare his territories, inviting him to take up his quarters in his capital, and promising on his arrival to become the vassal of the Spanish sovereign.

Cortés dissembled the satisfaction with which he listened to these overtures, and sternly demanded of the envoys an account of the Spaniards who had been massacred, insisting, at the same time, on the immediate restitution of the plunder. But the Indian nobles excused themselves by throwing the whole blame upon the Aztec emperor, by whose orders the deed had been perpetrated, and who now had possession of the treasure. They urged Cortés not to enter the city that day, but to pass the night in the suburbs, that their master might have time to prepare suitable accommodations for him. The Spanish commander, however, gave no heed to this suggestion, but pushed forward his march, and at noon, on the thirty-first of December, 1520, entered, at the head of his legions, the venerable walls of Tezcuco, "the place of rest," as not inaptly denominated.<sup>28</sup>

He was struck, as when he before visited this populous city, with the solitude and silence which reigned

<sup>28</sup> Tezcuco, a Chichimec name according to Ixtlilxochitl, signifying "place of detention or rest," because the various tribes from the

North halted there on their entrance into Anahuac. *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 10.

throughout its streets. He was conducted to the palace of Nezahualpilli, which was assigned as his quarters. It was an irregular pile of low buildings covering a wide extent of ground, like the royal residence occupied by the troops in Mexico. It was spacious enough to furnish accommodations not only for all the Spaniards, says Cortés, but for twice their number.<sup>29</sup> He gave orders, on his arrival, that all regard should be paid to the persons and property of the citizens, and forbade any Spaniard to leave his quarters, under pain of death.

His commands were not effectual to suppress some excesses of his Indian allies, if the report of the Tezcucan chronicler be correct, who states that the Tlascalans burned down one of the royal palaces soon after their arrival. It was the depository of the national archives; and the conflagration, however it may have occurred, may well be deplored by the antiquary, who might have found in its hieroglyphic records some clue to the migrations of the mysterious races which first settled on the highlands of Anahuac.<sup>30</sup>

Alarmed at the apparent desertion of the place, as well as by the fact that none of its principal inhabitants came to welcome him, Cortés ordered some soldiers to ascend the neighbouring *teocalli* and survey the city. They soon returned with the report that the inhabitants were leaving it in great numbers, with their families and effects, some in canoes upon the lake, others on foot towards the mountains. The general now comprehended the import of the cacique's suggestion that the Spaniards should pass the night in the suburbs,—in order to secure time for evacuating the

<sup>29</sup> "La qual es tan grande, que aunque fuéramos doblados los Españoles, nos pudieramos aposentar bien á placer en ella." Rel. Terc., ep. Lorenzana, p. 191.

<sup>30</sup> "De tal manera que se quemaron todos los Archivos Reales de toda la Nueva-España, que fué una de las mayores pérdidas que tuvo

esta tierra, porque con esto toda la memoria de sus antiguayaz y otras cosas que eran como Escrituras y recuerdos perecieron desde este tiempo. La obra de las Casas era la mejor y la mas artificiosa que hubo en esta tierra." Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 91.

city. He feared that the chief himself might have fled. He lost no time in detaching troops to secure the principal avenues, where they were to turn back the fugitives, and arrest the cacique, if he were among the number. But it was too late. Coanaco was already far on his way across the lake to Mexico.

Cortés now determined to turn this event to his own account, by placing another ruler on the throne, who should be more subservient to his interests. He called a meeting of the few principal persons still remaining in the city, and, by their advice and ostensible election, advanced a brother of the late sovereign to the dignity, which they declared vacant. This prince, who consented to be baptized, was a willing instrument in the hands of the Spaniards. He survived but a few months,<sup>31</sup> and was succeeded by another member of the royal house, named Ixtlilxochitl, who, indeed, as general of his armies, may be said to have held the reigns of government in his hands during his brother's lifetime. As this person was intimately associated with the Spaniards in their subsequent operations to the success of which he essentially contributed, it is proper to give some account of his early history, which, in truth, is as much enveloped in the marvellous as that of any fabulous hero of antiquity.<sup>32</sup>

He was son, by a second queen, of the great Nezahualpilli. Some alarming prodigies at his birth, and the gloomy aspect of the planets, led the astrologers

<sup>31</sup> The historian Ixtlilxochitl pays the following high tribute to the character of his royal kinaman, whose name was Tecocol. Strange that this name is not to be found—with the exception of Sahagun's work—in any contemporary record! "Fué el primero que lo fué en Tezcoco, con harta pena de los Españoles, porque fué nobilísimo y los quiso mucho. Fué D. Fernando Tecocoltzin muy gentil hombre, alto de cuerpo y muy blanco, tanto cuanto podía ser cualquier Español

por muy blanco que fuese, y que mostraba su persona y término descender, y ser del linage que era. Supo la lengua Castellana, y así casi las mas noches despues de haber cenado, trataban él y Cortés de todo lo que se debía hacer acerca de las guerras." Ixtlilxochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>32</sup> The accession of Tecocol, as, indeed, his existence, passes unnoticed by some historians, and by others is mentioned in so equivocal a manner—his Indian name being

who cast his horoscope to advise the king, his father, to take away the infant's life, since, if he lived to grow up, he was destined to unite with the enemies of his country, and overturn its institutions and religion. But the old monarch replied, says the chronicler, that "the time had arrived when the sons of Quetzalcoatl were to come from the East to take possession of the land; and, if the Almighty had selected his child to co-operate with them in the work, His will be done."<sup>33</sup>

As the boy advanced in years, he exhibited a marvellous precocity not merely of talent, but of mischievous activity, which afforded an alarming prognostic for the future. When about twelve years old, he formed a little corps of followers of about his own age, or somewhat older, with whom he practised the military exercises of his nation, conducting mimic fights and occasionally assaulting the peaceful burghers and throwing the whole city as well as palace into uproar and confusion. Some of his father's ancient counselors, connecting this conduct with the predictions at his birth, saw in it such alarming symptoms that they repeated the advice of the astrologers to take away the

omitted—that it is very doubtful if any other is intended than his younger brother Ixtlilxochitl. The Tezcuacan chronicler bearing this last melodious name\* has alone given the particulars of his history. I have followed him, as, from his personal connections, having had access to the best sources of information; though, it must be confessed, he is far too ready to take things on trust, to be always the best authority.

\* "El respondió, que era por demas ir contra lo determinado por el Dios Criador de todas las cosas, pues no sin misterio y secreto juicio suyo le daba tal Hijo al tiempo y quando se acercaban las profecias de sus Antepasados, que haviase venir nuevas Gentes á poseer la Tierra, como eran los Hijos de Quetzalcoatl que aguardaban su venida de la parte oriental." Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 69.

---

\* [This name—"which," says Mr. Tylor, "sticks in the throats of readers of Prescott"—signifies "vanilla-face," being compounded of *ixtli*, face, and *tlilxochitl*, vanilla, the latter being itself a compound of *tlili*, black, and *xochitl*, flower.—Buschmann, Über die Aztekischen Ortsnamen, S. 681.—Ed.]

prince's life, if the monarch would not see his kingdom one day given up to anarchy. This unpleasant advice was reported to the juvenile offender, who was so much exasperated by it that he put himself at the head of a party of his young desperadoes, and, entering the houses of the offending counsellors, dragged them forth and administered to them the *garrote*,—the mode in which capital punishment was inflicted in Tezcuco.

He was seized and brought before his father. When questioned as to his extraordinary conduct, he coolly replied "that he had done no more than he had a right to do. The guilty ministers had deserved their fate, by endeavouring to alienate his father's affections from him, for no other reason than his too great fondness for the profession of arms,—the most honorable profession in the state, and the one most worthy of a prince. If they had suffered death, it was no more than they had intended for him." The wise Nezahualpilli, says the chronicler, found much force in these reasons; and, as he saw nothing low and sordid in the action, but rather the ebullition of a daring spirit, which in after-life might lead to great things, he contented himself with bestowing a grave admonition on the juvenile culprit.<sup>34</sup> Whether this admonition had any salutary effect on his subsequent demeanor, we are not informed. It is said, however, that as he grew older he took an active part in the wars of his country, and, when no more than seventeen, had won for himself the insignia of a valiant and victorious captain.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> "Con que el Rey no supo con que ocacion poderle castigar, porque lo parecieron sus razones tan vivas y fundadas que su parte no habia hecho cosa indebida ni vileza para poder ser castigado, mas tan solo una ferocidad de ánimo; pronóstico de lo mucho que habia de venir á saber por las Armas, y así el Rey dijo, que se fuese á la mano." Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 69.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., ubi supra.—Among other

anecdotes recorded of the young prince's early development is one of his having, when only three years old, pitched his nurse into a well, as she was drawing water, to punish her for certain improprieties of conduct of which he had been witness. But I spare the reader the recital of these astonishing proofs of precocity, as it is very probable his appetite for the marvellous may not keep pace with that of the chronicler of Tezcuco.

On his father's death, he disputed the succession with his elder brother, Cacama. The country was menaced with a civil war, when the affair was compromised by his brother's ceding to him that portion of his territories which lay among the mountains. On the arrival of the Spaniards, the young chieftain—for he was scarcely twenty years of age—made, as we have seen, many friendly demonstrations towards them, induced, no doubt, by his hatred of Montezuma, who had supported the pretensions of Cacama.<sup>36</sup> It was not, however, till his advancement to the lordship of Tezcuco that he showed the full extent of his goodwill. From that hour he became the fast friend of the Christians, supporting them with his personal authority and the whole strength of his military array and resources, which, although much shorn of their ancient splendour since the days of his father, were still considerable, and made him a most valuable ally. His important services have been gratefully commemorated by the Castilian historians; and history should certainly not defraud him of his just meed of glory,—the melancholy glory of having contributed more than any other chieftain of Anahuac to rivet the chains of the white man round the necks of his countrymen.

<sup>36</sup> *Ante*, vol. I.

---

The two pillars on which the story of the Conquest mainly rests are the Chronicles of Gomara and of Bernal Diaz, two individuals having as little resemblance to each other as the courtly and cultivated churchman has to the unlettered soldier.

The first of these, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, was a native of Seville. On the return of Cortés to Spain after the Conquest, Gomara became his chaplain, and on his patron's death continued in the service of his son, the second Marquis of the Valley. It was then that he wrote his Chronicle; and the circumstances under which it was produced might lead one to conjecture that the narrative would not be conducted on the strict principles of historic impartiality. Nor would such a conjecture be without foundation. The history of the Conquest is necessarily that of the great man who achieved it. But Gomara has thrown his hero's character into so bold relief that it has entirely overshadowed that of his brave companions in arms; and, while he has tenderly drawn the veil over the infirmities of his favourite,



he is ever studious to display his exploits in the full blaze of panegyric. His situation may in some degree excuse his partiality. But it did not vindicate him in the eyes of the honest Las Casas, who seldom concludes a chapter of his own narrative of the Conquest, without administering a wholesome castigation to Gomara. He even goes so far as to tax the chaplain with "downright falsehood," assuring us "that he had neither eyes nor ears but for what his patron chose to dictate to him." That this is not literally true is evident from the fact that the narrative was not written till several years after the death of Cortés. Indeed, Gomara derived his information from the highest sources; not merely from his patron's family, but also from the most distinguished actors in the great drama, with whom his position in society placed him in intimate communication.

The materials thus obtained he arranged with a symmetry little understood by the chroniclers of the time. Instead of their rambling incoherencies, his style displays an elegant brevity; it is as clear as it is concise. If the facts are somewhat too thickly crowded on the reader, and occupy the mind too busily for reflection, they at least all tend to a determinate point, and the story, instead of dragging its slow length along till our patience and interest are exhausted, steadily maintains its onward march. In short the execution of the work is not only superior to that of most contemporary narratives, but, to a certain extent, may aspire to the rank of a classical composition.

Owing to these circumstances, Gomara's History soon obtained general circulation and celebrity; and, while many a letter of Cortés, and the more elaborate compositions of Oviedo and Las Casas, were suffered to slumber in manuscript, Gomara's writings were printed and reprinted in his own day, and translated into various languages of Europe. The first edition of the *Crónica de la Nueva-España* appeared at Medina, in 1553; it was republished at Antwerp the following year. It has since been incorporated in Barcia's collection, and lastly, in 1826, made its appearance on this side of the water from the Mexican press. The circumstances attending this last edition are curious. The Mexican government appropriated a small sum to defray the expense of translating what was supposed to be an original chronicle of Chimalpain, an Indian writer who lived at the close of the sixteenth century. The care of the translation was committed to the laborious Bustamante. But this scholar had not proceeded far in his labour when he ascertained that the supposed original was itself an Aztec translation of Gomara's Chronicle. He persevered, however, in his editorial labours, until he had given to the public an American edition of Gomara. It is a fact more remarkable that the editor in his different compilations constantly refers to this same work as the Chronicle of Chimalpain.

The other authority to which I have adverted is Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a native of Medina del Campo in Old Castile. He was born of a poor and humble family, and in 1514 came over to seek his fortunes in the New World. He embarked as a common soldier under Cordova in the first expedition to Yucatan. He accompanied Grijalva in the following year to the same quarter, and finally enlisted under the banner of Cortés. He followed this victorious chief in his first march up the great plateau; descended with him to make the assault on Narvaez; shared the disasters of the *noche triste*; and was present at the siege and surrender of the capital. In short, there was scarcely an event or an action of importance in the whole war in which he did not bear a part. He was engaged in a hundred and nineteen different battles and recon-

tres, in several of which he was wounded, and in more than one narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. In all these Bernal Diaz displayed the old Castilian valour, and a loyalty which made him proof against the mutinous spirit that too often disturbed the harmony of the camp. On every occasion he was found true to his commander and to the cause in which he was embarked. And his fidelity is attested not only by his own report, but by the emphatic commendations of his general; who selected him on this account for offices of trust and responsibility, which furnished the future chronicler with access to the best means of information in respect to the Conquest.

On the settlement of the country, Bernal Diaz received his share of the *repartimientos* of land and labourers. But the arrangement was not to his satisfaction; and he loudly murmurs at the selfishness of his commander, too much engrossed by the care for his own emoluments to think of his followers. The division of spoil is usually an unthankful office. Diaz had been too long used to a life of adventure to be content with one of torpid security. He took part in several expeditions conducted by the captains of Cortés, and he accompanied that chief in his terrible passage through the forests of Honduras. At length, in 1568, we find the veteran established as regidor of the city of Guatemala, peacefully employed in recounting the valorous achievements of his youth. It was then nearly half a century after the Conquest. He had survived his general and nearly all his ancient companions in arms. Five only remained of that gallant band who had accompanied Cortés on his expedition from Cuba; and those five, to borrow the words of the old chronicler, were "poor, aged, and infirm, with children and grandchildren looking to them for support, but with scarcely the means of affording it,—ending their days, as they had begun them, in toil and trouble." Such was the fate of the Conquerors of golden Mexico.

The motives which induced Bernal Diaz to take up his pen at so late a period of life were to vindicate for himself and his comrades that share of renown in the Conquest which fairly belonged to them. Of this they had been deprived, as he conceived, by the exaggerated reputation of their general; owing no doubt, in part, to the influence of Gomara's writings. It was not, however, till he had advanced beyond the threshold of his own work that Diaz met with that of the chaplain. The contrast presented by his own homely diction to the clear and polished style of his predecessor filled him with so much disgust that he threw down his pen in despair. But, when he had read further, and saw the gross inaccuracies and what he deemed disregard of truth in his rival, he resumed his labours, determined to exhibit to the world a narrative which should at least have the merit of fidelity. Such was the origin of the *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva-España*.

The chronicler may be allowed to have succeeded in his object. In reading his pages, we feel that, whatever are the errors into which he has fallen, from oblivion of ancient transactions, or from unconscious vanity,—of which he had full measure,—or from credulity, or any other cause, there is nowhere a wilful perversion of truth. Had he attempted it, indeed, his very simplicity would have betrayed him. Even in relation to Cortés, while he endeavours to adjust the true balance between his pretensions and those of his followers, and while he freely exposes his cunning or cupidity, and sometimes his cruelty, he does ample justice to his great and heroic qualities. With all his defects, it is clear that he considers his own chief as superior to any other of ancient or modern times. In the heat of remonstrance, he is ever ready to testify his

loyalty and personal attachment. When calumnies assail his commander, or he experiences unmerited slight or indignity, the loyal chronicler is prompt to step forward and shield him. In short, it is evident that, however much he may at times censure Cortés, he will allow no one else to do it.

Bernal Diaz, the untutored child of nature, is a most true and literal copyist of nature. He transfers the scenes of real life by a sort of *daguerreotype* process, if I may so say, to his pages. He is among chroniclers what De Foe is among novelists. He introduces us into the heart of the camp, we huddle round the bivouac with the soldiers, loiter with them on their wearisome marches, listen to their stories, their murmurs of discontent, their plans of conquest, their hopes, their triumphs, their disappointments. All the picturesque scenes and romantic incidents of the campaign are reflected in his page as in a mirror. The lapse of fifty years has had no power over the spirit of the veteran. The fire of youth glows in every line of his rude history; and, as he calls up the scenes of the past, the remembrance of the brave companions who are gone gives, it may be, a warmer colouring to the picture than if it had been made at an earlier period. Time, and reflection, and the apprehensions for the future, which might steal over the evening of life, have no power over the settled opinions of his earlier days. He has no misgivings as to the right of conquest, or as to the justice of the severities inflicted on the natives. He is still the soldier of the Cross; and those who fell by his side in the fight were martyrs for the faith. "Where are now my companions?" he asks; "they have fallen in battle or been devoured by the cannibal, or been thrown to fatten the wild beasts in their cages! they whose remains should rather have been gathered under monuments emblazoned with their achievements, which deserve to be commemorated in letters of gold; for they died in the service of God and of his Majesty, and to give light to those who sat in darkness,—and also to acquire that wealth which most men covet." The last motive—thus tardily and incidentally expressed—may be thought by some to furnish a better key than either of the preceding to the conduct of the Conquerors. It is, at all events, a specimen of that *naïveté* which gives an irresistible charm to the old chronicler, and which, in spite of himself, unlocks his bosom, as it were, and lays it open to the eye of the reader.

It may seem extraordinary that, after so long an interval, the incidents of his campaigns should have been so freshly remembered. But we must consider that they were of the most strange and romantic character, well fitted to make an impression on a young and susceptible imagination. They had probably been rehearsed by the veteran again and again to his family and friends, until every passage of the war was as familiar to his mind as the "tale of Troy" to the Greek rhapsodist, or the interminable adventures of Sir Lancelot or Sir Gawain to the Norman minstrel. The throwing of his narrative into the form of chronicle was but repeating it once more.

The literary merits of the work are of a very humble order; as might be expected from the condition of the writer. He has not even the art to conceal his own vulgar vanity, which breaks out with a truly comic ostentation in every page of the narrative. And yet we should have charity for this, when we find that it is attended with no disposition to depreciate the merits of others, and that its display may be referred in part to the singular simplicity of the man. He honestly confesses his infirmity, though, indeed, to excuse it. "When my

chronicle was finished," he says, "I submitted it to two licentiates, who were desirous of reading the story, and for whom I felt all the respect which an ignorant man naturally feels for a scholar. I besought them, at the same time, to make no change or correction in the manuscript, as all there was set down in good faith. When they had read the work, they much commended me for my wonderful memory. The language, they said, was good old Castilian, without any of the flourishes and finicalities so much affected by our fine writers. But they remarked that it would have been as well if I had not praised myself and my comrades so liberally, but had left that to others. To this I answered that it was common for neighbours and kindred to speak kindly of one another; and, if we did not speak well of ourselves, who would? Who else witnessed our exploits and our battles, — unless, indeed, the clouds in the sky, and the birds that were flying over our heads?"

Notwithstanding the liberal encomiums passed by the licentiates on our author's style, it is of a very homely texture, abounding in colloquial barbarisms, and seasoned occasionally by the piquant sallies of the camp. It has the merit, however, of clearly conveying the writer's thoughts, and is well suited to their simple character. His narrative is put together with even less skill than is usual among his craft, and abounds in digressions and repetitions, such as vulgar gossips are apt to use in telling their stories. But it is superfluous to criticise a work by the rules of art which was written manifestly in total ignorance of those rules, and which, however we may criticise it, will be read and re-read by the scholar and the schoolboy, while the compositions of more classic chroniclers sleep undisturbed on their shelves.

In what, then, lies the charm of the work? In that spirit of truth which pervades it; which shows us situations as they were, and sentiments as they really existed in the heart of the writer. It is this which imparts a living interest to his story, and which is more frequently found in the productions of the untutored penman solely intent upon facts, than in those of the ripe and fastidious scholar occupied with the mode of expressing them.

It was by a mere chance that this inimitable chronicle was rescued from the oblivion into which so many works of higher pretensions have fallen in the Peninsula. For more than sixty years after its composition the manuscript lay concealed in the obscurity of a private library, when it was put into the hands of Father Alonso Remon, Chronicler-General of the Order of Mercy. He had the sagacity to discover, under its rude exterior, its high value in illustrating the history of the Conquest. He obtained a license for the publication of the work, and under his auspices it appeared at Madrid in 1632,—the edition used in the preparation of these volumes.

## BOOK VI.

### SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF MEXICO.

---

#### CHAPTER I.

Arrangements at Tezcuco.—Sack of Iztapalapan.—Advantages of the Spaniards. — Wise Policy of Cortés. — Transportation of the Brigantines.

1521.

THE city of Tezcuco was the best position, probably, which Cortés could have chosen for the head-quarters of the army. It supplied all the accommodations for lodging a numerous body of troops, and all the facilities for subsistence, incident to a large and populous town.<sup>1</sup> It furnished, moreover, a multitude of artisans and labourers for the uses of the army. Its territories, bordering on the Tlascalan, afforded a ready means of intercourse with the country of his allies; while its vicinity to Mexico enabled the general, without much difficulty, to ascertain the movements in that capital. Its central situation, in short, opened facilities for communication with all parts of the Valley, and made it an excellent *point d'appui* for his future operations.

The first care of Cortés was to strengthen himself in the palace assigned to him, and to place his quarters

<sup>1</sup> "Así mismo hizo juntar todos los bastimentos que fueron necesarios para sustentar el Ejército y Guarniciones de Gente que andaban en favor de Cortés, y así hizo traer

á la Ciudad de Tezcuco el Maiz que habia en las Troxes y Graneros de las Provincias sugetas al Reyno de Tezcuco." Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 91.

in a state of defence which might secure them against surprise not only from the Mexicans, but from the Tezucans themselves. Since the election of their new ruler, a large part of the population had returned to their homes, assured of protection in person and property. But the Spanish general, notwithstanding their show of submission, very much distrusted its sincerity; for he knew that many of them were united too intimately with the Aztecs, by marriage and other social relations, not to have their sympathies engaged in their behalf.<sup>2</sup> The young monarch, however, seemed wholly in his interests; and, to secure him more effectually, Cortés placed several Spaniards near his person, whose ostensible province it was to instruct him in their language and religion, but who were in reality to watch over his conduct and prevent his correspondence with those who might be unfriendly to the Spanish interests.<sup>3</sup>

Tezcuco stood about half a league from the lake. It would be necessary to open a communication with it, so that the brigantines, when put together in the capital, might be launched upon its waters. It was proposed, therefore, to dig a canal, reaching from the gardens of Nezahualcoyotl, as they were called, from the old monarch who planned them, to the edge of the basin. A little stream, or rivulet, which flowed in that direction, was to be deepened sufficiently for the purpose; and eight thousand Indian labourers were forthwith employed on this great work, under the direction of the young Ixtlilxochitl.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, Cortés received messages from several places in the neighbourhood, intimating their desire to become the vassals of his sovereign, and to be taken

<sup>2</sup> "No era de espantar que tuviese este recelo, porque sus Enemigos, y los de esta Ciudad eran todos Deudos y Parientes mas cercanos, mas despues el tiempo lo desengañó, y vido la gran lealtad de Ixtlilxochitl, y de todos." Ixtlil-

xochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra. — Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 91.

under his protection. The Spanish commander required, in return, that they should deliver up every Mexican who should set foot in their territories. Some noble Aztecs, who had been sent on a mission to these towns, were consequently delivered into his hands. He availed himself of it to employ them as bearers of a message to their master the emperor. In it he deprecated the necessity of the present hostilities. Those who had most injured him, he said, were no longer among the living. He was willing to forget the past, and invited the Mexicans, by a timely submission, to save their capital from the horrors of a siege.<sup>5</sup> Cortés had no expectation of producing any immediate result by this appeal. But he thought it might lie in the minds of the Mexicans, and that, if there was a party among them disposed to treat with him, it might afford them encouragement, as showing his own willingness to co-operate with their views. At this time, however, there was no division of opinion in the capital. The whole population seemed animated by a spirit of resistance, as one man.

In a former page I have mentioned that it was the plan of Cortés, on entering the Valley, to commence operations by reducing the subordinate cities before striking at the capital itself, which, like some goodly tree whose roots had been severed one after another, would be thus left without support against the fury of the tempest. The first point of attack which he selected was the ancient city of Iztapalapan; a place containing fifty thousand inhabitants, according to his own account, and situated about six leagues distant, on the narrow tongue of land which divides the waters of the great salt lake from those of the fresh. It was the private domain of the last sovereign of Mexico; where,

<sup>5</sup> "Los principales, que habian sido en hacernse la Guerra pasada, eran ya muertos; y que lo pasado fuesse pasado, y que no quisiessen dar causa á que destruyesse sus Tierras, y Ciudades, porque me pesaba mucho de ello." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 193.

as the reader may remember, he entertained the white men the night before their entrance into the capital, and astonished them by the display of his princely gardens. To this monarch they owed no goodwill, for he had conducted the operations on the *noche triste*. He was, indeed, no more; but the people of his city entered heartily into his hatred of the strangers, and were now the most loyal vassals of the Mexican crown.

In a week after his arrival at his new quarters, Cortés, leaving the command of the garrison to Sandoval, marched against this Indian city, at the head of two hundred Spanish foot, eighteen horse, and between three and four thousand Tlascalans. Their route lay along the eastern border of the lake, gemmed with many a bright town and hamlet, or, unlike its condition at the present day, darkened with overhanging groves of cypress and cedar, and occasionally opening a broad expanse to their view, with the Queen of the Valley rising gloriously from the waters, as if proudly conscious of her supremacy over the fair cities around her. Farther on, the eye ranged along the dark line of causeway connecting Mexico with the main land, and suggesting many a bitter recollection to the Spaniards.

They quickened their step, and had advanced within two leagues of their point of destination, when they were encountered by a strong Aztec force drawn up to dispute their progress. Cortés instantly gave them battle. The barbarians showed their usual courage, but, after some hard fighting, were compelled to give way before the steady valour of the Spanish infantry, backed by the desperate fury of the Tlascalans, whom the sight of an Aztec seemed to inflame almost to madness. The enemy retreated in disorder, closely followed by the Spaniards. When they had arrived within half a league of Iztapalapan, they observed a number of canoes filled with Indians, who appeared to be labouring on the mole which hemmed in the waters



of the salt lake. Swept along in the tide of pursuit, they gave little heed to it, but, following up the chase, entered pell-mell with the fugitives into the city.

The houses stood some of them on dry ground, some on piles in the water. The former were deserted by the inhabitants, most of whom had escaped in canoes across the lake, leaving, in their haste, their effects behind them. The Tlascalans poured at once into the vacant dwellings, and loaded themselves with booty; while the enemy, making the best of their way through this part of the town, sought shelter in the buildings erected over the water, or among the reeds which sprung from its shallow bottom. In the houses were many of the citizens also, who still lingered with their wives and children, unable to find the means of transporting themselves from the scene of danger.

Cortés, supported by his own men, and by such of the allies as could be brought to obey his orders, attacked the enemy in this last place of their retreat. Both parties fought up to their girdles in the water. A desperate struggle ensued; as the Aztec fought with the fury of a tiger driven to bay by the huntsmen. It was all in vain. The enemy was overpowered in every quarter. The citizen shared the fate of the soldier, and a pitiless massacre succeeded, without regard to sex or age. Cortés endeavoured to stop it. But it would have been as easy to call away the starving wolf from the carcass he was devouring, as the Tlascalan who had once tasted the blood of an enemy. More than six thousand, including women and children, according to the Conqueror's own statement, perished in the conflict.\*

Darkness meanwhile had set in; but it was dispelled in some measure by the light of the burning houses,

\* "Muriéron de ellos mas de seis mil ánimas, entre Hombres, y Mugeres, y Niños; porque los Indios nuestros Amigos, vista la Victoria, que Dios nos daba, no

entendían en otra cosa, sino en matar á diestro y á siniestro." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 195.

which the troops had set on fire in different parts of the town. Their insulated position, it is true, prevented the flames from spreading from one building to another, but the solitary masses threw a strong and lurid glare over their own neighbourhood, which gave additional horror to the scene. As resistance was now at an end, the soldiers abandoned themselves to pillage, and soon stripped the dwellings of every portable article of any value.

While engaged in this work of devastation, a murmuring sound was heard as of the hoarse rippling of waters, and a cry soon arose among the Indians that the dikes were broken! Cortés now comprehended the business of the men whom he had seen in the canoes at work on the mole which fenced in the great basin of Lake Tezcuco.<sup>7</sup> It had been pierced by the desperate Indians, who thus laid the country under an inundation, by suffering the waters of the salt lake to spread themselves over the lower level, through the opening. Greatly alarmed, the general called his men together, and made all haste to evacuate the city. Had they remained three hours longer, he says, not a soul could have escaped.<sup>8</sup> They came staggering under the weight of booty, wading with difficulty through the water, which was fast gaining upon them. For some distance their path was illumined by the glare of the burning buildings. But, as the light faded away in the distance, they wandered with uncertain steps, sometimes up to their knees, at others up to their waists, in the water, through which they floundered on with the greatest difficulty. As they reached the opening in the dike, the stream became deeper, and

<sup>7</sup> "Estándolas quemando, pareció que Nuestro Señor me inspiró, y trujo á la memoria la Calzada, ó Presa, que habia visto rota en el Camino, y representóseme el gran daño, que era." Rel. Terc. de Cortés loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> "Y certifico á Vuestra Mage-

tad, que si aquella noche no pasaríamos el Agua, ó aguardáramos tres horas mas, que ninguno de nosotros escapara, porque quedábamos cercados de Agua, sin tener paso por parte ninguna." Ibid., ubi supra.

flowed out with such a current that the men were unable to maintain their footing. The Spaniards, breasting the flood, forced their way through; but many of the Indians, unable to swim, were borne down by the waters. All the plunder was lost. The powder was spoiled; the arms and clothes of the soldiers were saturated with the brine, and the cold night-wind, as it blew over them, benumbed their weary limbs till they could scarcely drag them along. At dawn they beheld the lake swarming with canoes, full of Indians, who had anticipated their disaster, and who now saluted them with showers of stones, arrows, and other deadly missiles. Bodies of light troops, hovering in the distance, disquieted the flanks of the army in like manner. The Spaniards had no desire to close with the enemy. They only wished to regain their comfortable quarters in Tezcuco, where they arrived on the same day, more disconsolate and fatigued than after many a long march and hard-fought battle.\*

The close of the expedition, so different from its brilliant commencement, greatly disappointed Cortés. His numerical loss had, indeed, not been great; but this affair convinced him how much he had to apprehend from the resolution of a people who, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Hollanders, were prepared to bury their country under water rather than to submit. Still, the enemy had little cause for congratulation; since, independently of the number of slain, they had seen one of their most flourishing cities sacked, and in part, at least, laid in ruins,—one of those, too, which in its public works displayed the nearest approach to civilisation. Such are the triumphs of war!

The expedition of Cortés, notwithstanding the disasters which checkered it, was favourable to the Spanish

\* The general's own Letter to the emperor is so full and precise that it is the very best authority for this event. The story is told also by Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la

Conquista, cap. 138.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 18.—Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 92.—Herrera, Hist. general dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 2 et auct. aliis.

cause. The fate of Iztapalapan struck a terror throughout the Valley. The consequences were soon apparent in the deputations sent by the different places eager to offer their submission. Its influence was visible, indeed, beyond the mountains. Among others, the people of Otumba, the town near which the Spaniards had gained their famous victory, sent to tender their allegiance and to request the protection of the powerful strangers. They excused themselves, as usual, for the part they had taken in the late hostilities, by throwing the blame on the Aztecs.

But the place of most importance which thus claimed their protection was Chalco, situated on the eastern extremity of the lake of that name. It was an ancient city, peopled by a kindred tribe of the Aztecs, and once their formidable rival. The Mexican emperor, distrusting their loyalty, had placed a garrison within their walls to hold them in check. The rulers of the city now sent a message secretly to Cortés, proposing to put themselves under his protection, if he would enable them to expel the garrison.

The Spanish commander did not hesitate, but instantly detached a considerable force under Sandoval for this object. On the march, his rear-guard, composed of Tlascalans, was roughly handled by some light troops of the Mexicans. But he took his revenge in a pitched battle which took place with the main body of the enemy at no great distance from Chalco. They were drawn up on a level ground, covered with green crops of maize and maguey. The field is traversed by the road which at this day leads from the last-mentioned city to Tezcuco.<sup>10</sup> Sandoval, charging the enemy at the head of his cavalry, threw them into disorder. But they quickly rallied, formed again, and renewed the battle with greater spirit than ever. In a second attempt he was more fortunate; and, breaking through their lines by a desperate onset, the brave

<sup>10</sup> Lorenzana, p. 199, note.

cavalier succeeded, after a warm but ineffectual struggle on their part, in completely routing and driving them from the field. The conquering army continued its march to Chalco, which the Mexican garrison had already evacuated, and was received in triumph by the assembled citizens, who seemed eager to testify their gratitude for their deliverance from the Aztec yoke. After taking such measures as he could for the permanent security of the place, Sandoval returned to Tezcuco, accompanied by the two young lords of the city, sons of the late cacique.

They were courteously received by Cortés; and they informed him that their father had died, full of years, a short time before. With his last breath he had expressed his regret that he should not have lived to see Malinche. He believed that the white men were the beings predicted by the oracles as one day to come from the East and take possession of the land;<sup>11</sup> and he enjoined it on his children, should the strangers return to the Valley, to render them their homage and allegiance. The young caciques expressed their readiness to do so; but, as this must bring on them the vengeance of the Aztecs, they implored the general to furnish a sufficient force for their protection.<sup>12</sup>

Cortés received a similar application from various other towns, which were disposed, could they do so with safety, to throw off the Mexican yoke. But he was in no situation to comply with their request. He now felt more sensibly than ever the incompetency of his means to his undertaking. "I assure your Majesty," he writes in his letter to the emperor, "the greatest uneasiness which I feel, after all my labours and fatigues, is from my inability to succour and sup-

<sup>11</sup> "Porque ciertamente sus antepasados les auian dicho, que auian de señorear aquellas tierras hombres qua vernian con barbas de haxia donde sale el Sol, y que por las cosas que han visto, eramos

nosotros." Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 139.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, ubi supra.—Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 200.—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 122.—*Venida de los Españoles*, p. 15.

port our Indian friends, your Majesty's loyal vassals."<sup>13</sup> Far from having a force competent to this, he had scarcely enough for his own protection. His vigilant enemy had an eye on all his movements; and, should he cripple his strength by sending away too many detachments or by employing them at too great a distance, would be prompt to take advantage of it. His only expeditions, hitherto, had been in the neighbourhood, where the troops, after striking some sudden and decisive blow, might speedily regain their quarters. The utmost watchfulness was maintained there, and the Spaniards lived in as constant preparation for an assault as if their camp was pitched under the walls of Mexico.

On two occasions the general had sallied forth and engaged the enemy in the environs of Tezcuco. At one time a thousand canoes, filled with Aztecs, crossed the lake to gather in a large crop of Indian corn, nearly ripe, on its borders. Cortés thought it important to secure this for himself. He accordingly marched out and gave battle to the enemy, drove them from the field, and swept away the rich harvest to the granaries of Tezcuco. Another time a strong body of Mexicans had established themselves in some neighbouring towns friendly to their interests. Cortés, again sallying, dislodged them from their quarters, beat them in several skirmishes, and reduced the places to obedience. But these enterprises demanded all his resources, and left him nothing to spare for his allies. In this exigency, his fruitful genius suggested an expedient for supplying the deficiency of his means.

Some of the friendly cities without the Valley, observing the numerous beacon-fires on the mountains, inferred that the Mexicans were mustering in great

<sup>13</sup> "Y certifico á Vuestra Magestad, allende de nuestro trabajo y necesidad, la mayor fatiga, que tenia, era no poder ayudar, y socorrer á los Indios nuestros Amigos,

que por ser Vasallos de Vuestra Magestad, eran molestados y trabajados de los de Culúa." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 204.

strength, and that the Spaniards must be hard pressed in their new quarters. They sent messengers to Tezcuco, expressing their apprehension, and offering reinforcements, which the general, when he set out on his march, had declined. He returned many thanks for the proffered aid; but, while he declined it for himself, as unnecessary, he indicated in what manner their services might be effectual for the defence of Chalco and the other places which had invoked his protection. But his Indian allies were in deadly feud with these places, whose inhabitants had too often fought under the Aztec banner not to have been engaged in repeated wars with the people beyond the mountains.

Cortés set himself earnestly to reconcile these differences. He told the hostile parties that they should be willing to forget their mutual wrongs, since they had entered into new relations. They were now vassals of the same sovereign, engaged in a common enterprise against the formidable foe who had so long trodden them in the dust. Singly they could do little, but united they might protect each other's weakness and hold their enemy at bay till the Spaniards could come to their assistance. These arguments finally prevailed; and the politic general had the satisfaction to see the high-spirited and hostile tribes forego their long-cherished rivalry, and, resigning the pleasures of revenge, so dear to the barbarian, embrace one another as friends and champions in a common cause. To this wise policy the Spanish commander owed quite as much of his subsequent successes as to his arms.<sup>14</sup>

Thus the foundations of the Mexican empire were hourly loosening, as the great vassals around the capital, on whom it most relied, fell off one after another from their allegiance. The Aztecs, properly so called, formed but a small part of the population of

<sup>14</sup> Bel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp., 204, 205. — Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 19.

the Valley. This was principally composed of cognate tribes, members of the same great family of the Nahuatlacs who had come upon the plateau at nearly the same time. They were mutual rivals, and were reduced one after another by the more warlike Mexican, who held them in subjection, often by open force, always by fear. Fear was the great principle of cohesion which bound together the discordant members of the monarchy; and this was now fast dissolving before the influence of a power more mighty than that of the Aztec. This, it is true, was not the first time that the conquered races had attempted to recover their independence. But all such attempts had failed for want of concert. It was reserved for the commanding genius of Cortés to extinguish their old hereditary feuds, and, combining their scattered energies, to animate them with a common principle of action.<sup>15</sup>

Encouraged by this state of things, the Spanish general thought it a favourable moment to press his negotiations with the capital. He availed himself of the presence of some noble Mexicans, taken in the late action with Sandoval, to send another message to

<sup>15</sup> Oviedo, in his admiration of his hero, breaks out into the following panegyric on his policy, prudence, and military science, which, as he truly predicts, must make his name immortal. It is a fair specimen of the manner of the sagacious old chronicler. "Sin dubda alguna la habilidad y esfuerzo, é prudencia de Hernando Cortés mui dignas son que entre los cavalleros, é gente militar en nuestros tiempos se tengan en mucha estimacion, y en los venideros nunca se desacuerden. Por causa suya me acuerdo muchas veces de aquellas cosas que se escriven del capitan Viriato nuestro Español y Estremeño; y por Hernando Cortés me ocurren al sentido las muchas fatigas de aquel espejo de caballería Julio César

dictador, como parece por sus comentarios, é por Suetonio é Plutarco é otros autores que en conformidad escrivieron los grandes hechos suyos. Pero los de Hernando Cortés en un Mundo nuevo, é tan apartadas provincias de Europa, é con tantos trabajos é necesidades é pocas fuerzas, é con gente tan innumerable, é tan bárbara é bellicosa, é apacentada en carne humana, é aun habida por excelente é sabroso manjar entre sus adversarios; é faltándole á él ó á sus milites el pan é vino é los otros mantenimientos todos de España, y en tan diferenciadas regiones é aires é tan desviado é léjos de socorro é de su principe, cosas son de admiracion." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 20.



their master. It was in substance a repetition of the first, with a renewed assurance that, if the city would return to its allegiance to the Spanish Crown, the authority of Guatemozin should be confirmed and the persons and property of his subjects be respected. To this communication no reply was made. The young Indian emperor had a spirit as dauntless as that of Cortés himself. On his head descended the full effects of that vicious system of government bequeathed to him by his ancestors. But, as he saw his empire crumbling beneath him, he sought to uphold it by his own energy and resources. He anticipated the defection of some vassals by establishing garrisons within their walls. Others he conciliated by exempting them from tributes or greatly lightening their burdens, or by advancing them to posts of honour and authority in the state. He showed, at the same time, his implacable animosity towards the Christians by commanding that every one taken within his dominions should be straightway sent to the capital, where he was sacrificed, with all the barbarous ceremonies prescribed by the Aztec ritual.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Among other chiefs, to whom Guatemozin applied for assistance in the perilous state of his affairs, was Tangapan, lord of Michoacán, an independent and powerful state in the West, which had never been subdued by the Mexican army. The accounts which the Aztec emperor gave him, through his ambassadors, of the white men, were so alarming, according to Ixtlixochitl, who tells the story, that the king's sister voluntarily starved herself to death, from her apprehensions of the coming of the terrible strangers. Her body was deposited, as usual, in the vaults reserved for the royal household, until preparations could be made for its being burnt. On the fourth day, the attendants who had charge of it were astounded by seeing the

corpse exhibit signs of returning life. The restored princess, recovering her speech, requested her brother's presence. On his coming, she implored him not to think of hurting a hair of the heads of the mysterious visitors. She had been permitted, she said, to see the fate of the departed in the next world. The souls of all her ancestors she had beheld tossing about in unquenchable fire; while those who embraced the faith of the strangers were in glory. As a proof of the truth of her assertion, she added that her brother would see, on a great festival near at hand, a young warrior, armed with a torch brighter than the sun, in one hand, and a flaming sword, like that worn by the white men, in the other, passing from east to west

While these occurrences were passing, Cortés received the welcome intelligence that the brigantines were completed and waiting to be transported to Tezcuco. He detached a body for the service, consisting of two hundred Spanish foot and fifteen horse, which he placed under the command of Sandoval. This cavalier had been rising daily in the estimation both of the general and of the army. Though one of the youngest officers in the service, he possessed a cool head and a ripe judgment, which fitted him for the most delicate and difficult undertakings. There were others, indeed, as Alvarado and Olid, for example, whose intrepidity made them equally competent to achieve a brilliant *coup-de-main*. But the courage of Alvarado was too often carried to temerity or perverted by passion; while Olid, dark and doubtful in his character, was not entirely to be trusted. Sandoval was a native of Medellin, the birthplace of Cortés himself. He was warmly attached to his commander, and had on all occasions proved himself worthy of his confidence. He was a man of few words, showing his worth rather by what he did than what he said. His honest, soldier-like deportment made him a favourite with the troops, and had its influence even on his enemies. He unfortunately died in the flower of his age. But he discovered talents and military skill which, had he lived to later life, would undoubtedly have placed his name on the roll with those of the greatest captains of his nation.

over the city. Whether the monarch waited for the vision, or ever beheld it, is not told us by the historian. But, relying perhaps on the miracle of her resurrection as quite a sufficient voucher, he disbanded a very powerful force which he had assembled on the plains of Avalos for the support of his brother of Mexico. This narrative, with abundance of supernumerary incidents, not necessary to repeat, was commemorated in the

Michoacán picture-records, and reported to the historian of Tezcuco himself by the grandson of Tangapan. (See Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 91.) Whoever reported it to him, it is not difficult to trace the same pious fingers in it which made so many wholesome legends for the good of the Church on the Old Continent, and which, now found, in the credulity of the New, a rich harvest for the same godly work.

Sandoval's route was to lead him by Zoltepec, a small city where the massacre of the forty-five Spaniards, already noticed, had been perpetrated. The cavalier received orders to find out the guilty parties, if possible, and to punish them for their share in the transaction.

When the Spaniards arrived at the spot, they found that the inhabitants, who had previous notice of their approach, had all fled. In the deserted temples they discovered abundant traces of the fate of their countrymen; for, besides their arms and clothing, and the hides of their horses, the heads of several soldiers, prepared in such a way that they could be well preserved, were found suspended as trophies of the victory. In a neighbouring building, traced with charcoal on the walls, they found the following inscription in Castilian: "In this place the unfortunate Juan Juste, with many others of his company, was imprisoned."<sup>17</sup> This hidalgo was one of the followers of Narvaez, and had come with him into the country in quest of gold, but had found, instead, an obscure and inglorious death. The eyes of the soldiers were suffused with tears as they gazed on the gloomy record, and their bosoms swelled with indignation as they thought of the horrible fate of the captives. Fortunately, the inhabitants were not then before them. Some few, who subsequently fell into their hands, were branded as slaves. But the greater part of the population, who threw themselves, in the most abject manner, on the mercy of the Conquerors, imputing the blame of the affair to the Aztecs, the Spanish commander spared, from pity, or contempt.<sup>18</sup>

He now resumed his march on Tlascala; but scarcely had he crossed the borders of the republic, when he

<sup>17</sup> "Aquí estuvo preso el sin ventura de Juá Juste cō otros muchos que traia en mi compañía." Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 140.

<sup>18</sup> "Ibid., uli supra.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 19.—Rel. Terc. de Cortés ap. Lorenzana, p. 206.

descried the flaunting banners of the convoy which transported the brigantines, as it was threading its way through the defiles of the mountains. Great was his satisfaction at the spectacle, for he had feared a detention of some days at Tlascala before the preparations for the march could be completed.

There were thirteen vessels in all, of different sizes. They had been constructed under the direction of the experienced ship-builder, Martin Lopez, aided by three or four Spanish carpenters and the friendly natives, some of whom showed no mean degree of imitative skill. The brigantines, when completed, had been fairly tried on the waters of the Zahuapan. They were then taken to pieces, and, as Lopez was impatient of delay, the several parts, the timbers, anchors, iron-work, sails, and cordage, were placed on the shoulders of the *tamanes*, and, under a numerous military escort, were thus far advanced on the way to Tezcuco.<sup>19</sup> Sandoval dismissed a part of the Indian convoy, as superfluous.

Twenty thousand warriors he retained, dividing them into two equal bodies for the protection of the *tamanes* in the centre.<sup>20</sup> His own little body of Spaniards he distributed in like manner. The Tlascalans in the van marched under the command of a chief who gloried in the name of Chichemecatli. For some reason Sandoval afterwards changed the order of march, and placed this division in the rear,—an arrangement which gave great umbrage to the doughty warrior that led it, who asserted his right to the front, the place

<sup>19</sup> "Y despues de hechos por orden de Cortés, y probados en el rio que llaman de Tlaxcalla Zahuapan, que se atajó para probarlos los bergantines, y los tornáran á desbaratar por llevarlos á cuestras sobre hombros de los de Tlaxcalla á la ciudad de Tetzcuco, donde se echáron en la laguna, y se armáron de artillería y municion." Camargo,

Hist. de Tlascala, MS.

<sup>20</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 207.—Bernal Díaz says sixteen thousand. (Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.) There is a wonderful agreement between the several Castilian writers as to the number of forces, the order of march, and the events that occurred on it.

which he and his ancestors had always occupied, as the post of danger. He was somewhat appeased by Sandoval's assurance that it was for that very reason he had been transferred to the rear, the quarter most likely to be assailed by the enemy. But even then he was greatly dissatisfied on finding that the Spanish commander was to march by his side, grudging, it would seem, that any other should share the laurel with himself.

Slowly and painfully, encumbered with their heavy burden, the troops worked their way over steep eminences and rough mountain passes, presenting, one might suppose, in their long line of march, many a vulnerable point to an enemy. But, although small parties of warriors were seen hovering at times on their flanks and rear, they kept at a respectful distance, not caring to encounter so formidable a foe. On the fourth day the warlike caravan arrived in safety before Tezcuco.

Their approach was beheld with joy by Cortés and the soldiers, who hailed it as the signal of a speedy termination of the war. The general, attended by his officers, all dressed in their richest attire, came out to welcome the convoy. It extended over a space of two leagues; and so slow was its progress that six hours elapsed before the closing files had entered the city.<sup>21</sup> The Tlascalan chiefs displayed all their wonted bravery of apparel, and the whole array, composed of the flower of their warriors, made a brilliant appearance. They marched by the sound of atabal and cornet, and, as they traversed the streets of the capital amidst the acclamations of the soldiery, they made the city ring with the shouts of "Castile and Tlascala, long live our sovereign, the emperor!"<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "Estendíase tanto la Gente, que dende que los primeros començaron á entrar, hasta que los postreros hobiéron acabado, se pasaron mas de seis horas; sin quebrar el

hilo de la Gente." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 208.

<sup>22</sup> "Dando voces y silvos y diziendo: Viua, viua el Emperador, nuestro Señor, y Castilla, Castilla,

"It was a marvellous thing," exclaims the Conqueror, in his Letters, "that few have seen, or even heard of,—this transportation of thirteen vessels of war on the shoulders of men for nearly twenty leagues across the mountains!"<sup>23</sup> It was, indeed, a stupendous achievement, and not easily matched in ancient or modern story; one which only a genius like that of Cortés could have devised, or a daring spirit like his have so successfully executed. Little did he foresee, when he ordered the destruction of the fleet which first brought him to the country, and with his usual forecast commanded the preservation of the iron-work and rigging,—little did he foresee the important uses for which they were to be reserved; so important, that on their preservation may be said to have depended the successful issue of his great enterprise.<sup>24</sup>

He greeted his Indian allies with the greatest cordiality, testifying his sense of their services by those honours and attentions which he knew would be most grateful to their ambitious spirits. "We come,"

y Tlascala, Tlascala." (Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 140.) For the particulars of Sandoval's expedition, see, also, Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 19,—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 124,—Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 84,—Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 92,—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 2.

<sup>23</sup> "Que era cosa maravillosa de ver, y assi me parece que es de oir, llevar trece Fustas diez y ocho leguas por Tierra." (Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 207.) "En rem Romano populo," exclaims Martyr, "quando illustrius res illorum vigeant, non facilem!" De Orbe Novo, dec. 5, cap. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Two memorable examples of a similar transportation of vessels across the land are recorded, the one in ancient, the other in modern history; and both, singularly enough, at the same place, Taren-

tum, in Italy. The first occurred at the siege of that city by Hannibal (see Polybius, lib. 8); the latter some seventeen centuries later, by the Great Captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova. But the distance they were transported was inconsiderable. A more analogous example is that of Balboa, the bold discoverer of the Pacific. He made arrangements to have four brigantines transported a distance of twenty-two leagues across the isthmus of Darien, a stupendous labour, and not entirely successful, as only two reached their point of destination. (See Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 2, cap. 11.) This took place in 1516, in the neighbourhood, as it were, of Cortés, and may have suggested to his enterprising spirit the first idea of his own more successful, as well as more extensive, undertaking.

exclaimed the hardy warriors, "to fight under your banner; to avenge our common quarrel, or to fall by your side;" and, with their usual impatience, they urged him to lead them at once against the enemy. "Wait," replied the general, bluntly, "till you are rested, and you shall have your hands full."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> "Y ellos me dijeron, que trahian deseo de se ver con los de Culúa, y que viesse lo que mandaba, que ellos, y aquella Gente vanian con deseos, y voluntad de se vengar, ó morir con nosotros; y yo les di las gracias, y les dije, que reposassen, y que presto les daria las manos llenas." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 208.

## CHAPTER II

**Cortés Reconnoitres the Capital.—Occupies Tacuba.—Skirmishes with the Enemy.—Expedition of Sandoval.—Arrival of Reinforcements.**

1521.

IN the course of three or four days, the Spanish general furnished the Tlascalans with the opportunity so much coveted, and allowed their boiling spirits to effervesce in active operations. He had for some time meditated an expedition to reconnoitre the capital and its environs, and to chastise, on the way, certain places which had sent him insulting messages of defiance and which were particularly active in their hostilities. He disclosed his design to a few only of his principal officers, from his distrust of the Tezcucans, whom he suspected to be in correspondence with the enemy.

Early in the spring, he left Tezcuco, at the head of three hundred and fifty Spaniards and the whole strength of his allies. He took with him Alvarado and Olid, and intrusted the charge of the garrison to Sandoval. Cortés had had practical acquaintance with the incompetence of the first of these cavaliers for so delicate a post, during his short but disastrous rule in Mexico.

But all his precautions had not availed to shroud his designs from the vigilant foe, whose eye was on all his movements ; who seemed even to divine his thoughts and to be prepared to thwart their execution. He had advanced but a few leagues, when he was met by a considerable body of Mexicans, drawn up to dispute his progress. A sharp skirmish took place, in which the enemy were driven from the ground, and the way was left open to the Christians. They held a circuitous



route to the north, and their first point of attack was the insular town of Xaltocan, situated on the northern extremity of the lake of that name, now called San Christóbal. The town was entirely surrounded by water, and communicated with the main land by means of causeways, in the same manner as the Mexican capital. Cortés, riding at the head of his cavalry, advanced along the dike till he was brought to a stand by finding a wide opening in it, through which the waters poured, so as to be altogether impracticable, not only for horse, but for infantry. The lake was covered with canoes filled with Aztec warriors, who, anticipating the movement of the Spaniards, had come to the aid of the city. They now began a furious discharge of stones and arrows on the assailants, while they were themselves tolerably well protected from the musketry of their enemy by the light bulwarks with which, for that purpose, they had fortified their canoes.

The severe volleys of the Mexicans did some injury to the Spaniards and their allies, and began to throw them into disorder, crowded as they were on the narrow causeway, without the means of advancing, when Cortés ordered a retreat. This was followed by renewed tempests of missiles, accompanied by taunts and fierce yells of defiance. The battle cry of the Aztec, like the war-whoop of the North American Indian, was an appalling note, according to the Conqueror's own acknowledgment, in the ears of the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup> At this juncture, the general fortunately obtained information from a deserter, one of the Mexican allies, of a ford, by which the army might traverse the shallow lake and penetrate into the place. He instantly despatched the greater part of the infantry on the service, posting himself with the remainder and with the horse at the entrance of the passage, to

<sup>1</sup> "De lejos comenzaron á gritar, como lo suelen hacer en la Guerra, que cierto es cosa espantosa oílos." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 200.

cover the attack and prevent any interruption in the rear.

The soldiers, under the direction of the Indian guide, forded the lake without much difficulty, though in some places the water came above their girdles. During the passage, they were annoyed by the enemy's missiles; but when they had gained the dry level they took ample revenge, and speedily put all who resisted to the sword. The greater part, together with the townsmen, made their escape in the boats. The place was now abandoned to pillage. The troops found in it many women, who had been left to their fate; and these, together with a considerable quantity of cotton stuffs, gold, and articles of food, fell into the hands of the victors, who, setting fire to the deserted city, returned in triumph to their comrades.<sup>2</sup>

Continuing his circuitous route, Cortés presented himself successively before three other places, each of which had been deserted by the inhabitants in anticipation of his arrival.<sup>3</sup> The principal of these, Azcapotzalco, had once been the capital of an independent state. It was now the great slave-market of the Aztecs, where their unfortunate captives were brought and disposed of at public sale. It was also the quarter occupied by the jewellers, and the place whence the Spaniards obtained the goldsmiths who melted down the rich treasures received from Montezuma. But they found there only a small supply of the precious metals, or, indeed, of anything else of value, as the people had

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 141.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 20.—Ixtililxochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, pp. 13, 14.—Vlem, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 92.—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 125.

<sup>3</sup> These towns rejoiced in the melodious names of Tenajocan, Quauhtitlan, and Azcapotzalco. I have constantly endeavoured to spare the reader, in the text, any

unnecessary accumulation of Mexican names, which, as he is aware by this time, have not even brevity to recommend them. [Alaman, with some justice, remarks that these names appear unmelodious to an English writer who does not know how to pronounce them, for the same reason as English names would appear unmelodious to a Mexican. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 115.]

been careful to remove their effects. They spared the buildings, however, in consideration of their having met with no resistance.

During the nights, the troops bivouacked in the open fields, maintaining the strictest watch, for the country was all in arms, and beacons were flaming on every hill-top, while dark masses of the enemy were occasionally descried in the distance. The Spaniards were now traversing the most opulent region of Anahuac. Cities and villages were scattered over hill and valley, with cultivated environs blooming around them, all giving token of a dense and industrious population. In the centre of this brilliant circumference stood the Indian metropolis, with its gorgeous tiara of pyramids and temples, attracting the eye of the soldier from every other object, as he wound round the borders of the lake. Every inch of ground which the army trod was familiar to them,—familiar as the scenes of childhood, though with very different associations, for it had been written on their memories in characters of blood. On the right rose the Hill of Montezuma,<sup>4</sup> crowned by the *teocalli* under the roof of which the shattered relics of the army had been gathered on the day following the flight from the capital. In front lay the city of Tacuba, through whose inhospitable streets they had hurried in fear and consternation; and away to the east of it stretched the melancholy causeway.

It was the general's purpose to march at once on Tacuba and establish his quarters in that ancient capital for the present. He found a strong force encamped under its walls, prepared to dispute his entrance. Without waiting for their advance, he rode at full gallop against them with his little body of horse. The arquebuses and cross-bows opened a lively volley on their extended wings, and the infantry, armed with their

<sup>4</sup> [The Hill of Los Remedios. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 116.]

swords and copper-headed lances and supported by the Indian battalions, followed up the attack of the horse with an alacrity which soon put the enemy to flight. The Spaniards usually opened the combat with a charge of cavalry. But, had the science of the Aztecs been equal to their courage, they might with their long spears have turned the scale of battle, sometimes at least, in their own favour; for it was with the same formidable weapon that the Swiss mountaineers, but a few years before this period of our history, broke and completely foiled the famous *ordonnance* of Charles the Bold, the best-appointed cavalry of their day. But the barbarians were ignorant of the value of this weapon when opposed to cavalry. And, indeed, the appalling apparition of the war-horse and his rider still held a mysterious power over their imaginations, which contributed, perhaps, quite as much as the effective force of the cavalry itself, to their discomfiture. Cortés led his troops without further opposition into the suburbs of Tacuba, the ancient Tlacopan, where he established himself for the night.

On the following morning he found the indefatigable Aztecs again under arms, and, on the open ground before the city, prepared to give him battle. He marched out against them, and, after an action hotly contested, though of no long duration, again routed them. They fled towards the town, but were driven through the streets at the point of the lance, and were compelled, together with the inhabitants, to evacuate the place. The city was then delivered over to pillage; and the Indian allies, not content with plundering the houses of every thing portable within them, set them on fire, and in a short time a quarter of the town—the poorer dwellings, probably, built of light, combustible materials—was in flames. Cortés and his troops did all in their power to stop the conflagration, but the Tlascalans were a fierce race, not easily guided at any time, and when their passions were once kindled it

was impossible even for the general himself to control them. They were a terrible auxiliary, and, from their insubordination, as terrible sometimes to friend as to foe.<sup>5</sup>

Cortés proposed to remain in his present quarters for some days, during which time he established his own residence in the ancient palace of the lords of Tlacopan. It was a long range of low buildings, like most of the royal residences in the country, and offered good accommodations for the Spanish forces. During his halt here, there was not a day on which the army was not engaged in one or more rencontres with the enemy. They terminated almost uniformly in favour of the Spaniards, though with more or less injury to them and to their allies. One encounter, indeed, had nearly been attended with more fatal consequences.

The Spanish general, in the heat of pursuit, had allowed himself to be decoyed upon the great causeway,—the same which had once been so fatal to his army. He followed the flying foe until he had gained the farther side of the nearest bridge, which had been repaired since the disastrous action of the *noche triste*. When thus far advanced, the Aztecs, with the rapidity of lightning, turned on him, and he beheld a large reinforcement in their rear, all fresh on the field, prepared to support their countrymen. At the same time, swarms of boats, unobserved in the eagerness of the chase, seemed to start up as if by magic, covering the waters around. The Spaniards were now exposed to a perfect hail-storm of missiles, both from the causeway and the lake; but they stood unmoved amidst the

<sup>5</sup> They burned this place, according to Cortés, in retaliation of the injuries inflicted by the inhabitants on their countrymen in the retreat: "Y en amanciendo los Indios nuestros Amigos comenzáron á saquear, y quemar toda la Ciudad, salvo el Aposento donde estabamos, v pusieron tanta diligencia, que

aun de él se quemó un Quarto; y esto se hizo, porque quando salimos la otra vez desbaratados de Temixtitan, pasando por esta Ciudad, los Naturales de ella juntamente con los de Temixtitan nos hicieron muy cruel Guerra, y nos matáron muchos Españoles." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 210.

tempest, when Cortés, too late perceiving his error, gave orders for the retreat. Slowly, and with admirable coolness, his men receded, step by step, offering a resolute front to the enemy.<sup>6</sup> The Mexicans came on with their usual vociferation, making the shores echo to their war-cries, and striking at the Spaniards with their long pikes, and with poles, to which the swords taken from the Christians had been fastened. A cavalier, named Volante, bearing the standard of Cortés, was felled by one of their weapons, and, tumbling into the lake, was picked up by the Mexican boats. He was a man of a muscular frame, and, as the enemy were dragging him off, he succeeded in extricating himself from their grasp, and, clenching his colours in his hand, with a desperate effort sprang back upon the causeway. At length, after some hard fighting, in which many of the Spaniards were wounded and many of their allies slain, the troops regained the land, where Cortés, with a full heart, returned thanks to Heaven for what he might well regard as a providential deliverance.<sup>7</sup> It was a salutary lesson; though he should scarcely have needed one, so soon after the affair of Iztapalapan, to warn him of the wily tactics of his enemy.

It had been one of Cortés' principal objects in this expedition to obtain an interview, if possible, with the Aztec emperor, or with some of the great lords at his court, and to try if some means for an accommodation could not be found, by which he might avoid the appeal to arms. An occasion for such a parley presented itself when his forces were one day confronted with those of the enemy, with a broken bridge interposed between them. Cortés, riding in advance of his

<sup>6</sup> "Luego mandó, que todos se retraxessen; y con el mejor concierto que pudo, y no bueltas las espaldas, sino los rostros á los contrarios, pie contra pie, como quien haze represas." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 141.

<sup>7</sup> "Desta manera se escapó Cortés aquella vez del poder de México, y quando se vió en tierra firme, dió muchas gracias á Dios." Ibid, ubi supra.

people, intimidated by signs his peaceful intent, and that he wished to confer with the Aztecs. They respected the signal, and, with the aid of his interpreter, he requested that if there were any great chief among them he would come forward and hold a parley with him. The Mexicans replied, in derision, they were all chiefs, and bade him speak openly whatever he had to tell them. As the general returned no answer, they asked why he did not make another visit to the capital, and tauntingly added, "Perhaps Malinche does not expect to find there another Montezuma, as obedient to his commands as the former."<sup>8</sup> Some of them complimented the Tlascalans with the epithet of *women*, who, they said, would never have ventured so near the capital but for the protection of the white men.

The animosity of the two nations was not confined to these harmless though bitter jests, but showed itself in regular cartels of defiance, which daily passed between the principal chieftains. These were followed by combats, in which one or more champions fought on a side, to vindicate the honour of their respective countries. A fair field of fight was given to the warriors, who conducted these combats *à l'outrance* with the punctilio of a European tourney; displaying a valour worthy of the two boldest of the races of Anahuac, and a skill in the management of their weapons, which drew forth the admiration of the Spaniards.<sup>9</sup>

Cortés had now been six days in Tacuba. There was nothing further to detain him, as he had accomplished the chief objects of his expedition. He had humbled several of the places which had been most active in their hostility; and he had revived the credit of the Castilian arms, which had been much

<sup>8</sup> "Pensais, que hay agora otro Mutezuma, para que haga todo, lo que quisieredes?" Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 211.

<sup>9</sup> "Y peleaban los unos con los

otros muy hermosamente." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ubi supra. — Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 20.

tarnished by their former reverses in this quarter of the Valley. He had also made himself acquainted with the condition of the capital, which he found in a better posture of defence than he had imagined. All the ravages of the preceding year seemed to be repaired, and there was no evidence, even to his experienced eye, that the wasting hand of war had so lately swept over the land. The Aztec troops, which swarmed through the Valley, seemed to be well appointed, and showed an invincible spirit, as if prepared to resist to the last. It is true, they had been beaten in every encounter. In the open field they were no match for the Spaniards, whose cavalry they could never comprehend, and whose fire-arms easily penetrated the cotton mail which formed the stoutest defence of the Indian warrior. But, entangled in the long streets and narrow lanes of the metropolis, where every house was a citadel, the Spaniards, as experience had shown, would lose much of their superiority. With the Mexican emperor, confident in the strength of his preparations, the general saw there was no probability of effecting an accommodation. He saw, too, the necessity of the most careful preparations on his own part—indeed, that he must strain his resources to the utmost—before he could safely venture to rouse the lion in his lair.

The Spaniards returned by the same route by which they had come. Their retreat was interpreted into a flight by the natives, who hung on the rear of the army, uttering vainglorious vaunts, and saluting the troops with showers of arrows, which did some mischief. Cortés resorted to one of their own stratagems to rid himself of this annoyance. He divided his cavalry into two or three small parties, and concealed them among some thick shrubbery which fringed both sides of the road. The rest of the army continued its march. The Mexicans followed, unsuspecting of the ambuscade, when the horse, suddenly darting from their place of concealment, threw the enemy's flanks



into confusion, and the retreating columns of infantry, facing about suddenly, commenced a brisk attack, which completed their consternation. It was a broad and level plain, over which the panic-struck Mexicans made the best of their way, without attempting resistance; while the cavalry, riding them down and piercing the fugitives with their lances, followed up the chase for several miles, in what Cortés calls a truly beautiful style.<sup>10</sup> The army experienced no further annoyance from the enemy.

On their arrival at Tezcuco they were greeted with joy by their comrades, who had received no tidings of them during the fortnight which had elapsed since their departure. The Tlascalans, immediately on their return, requested the general's permission to carry back to their own country the valuable booty which they had gathered in their foray,—a request which, however unpalatable, he could not refuse.<sup>11</sup>

The troops had not been in quarters more than two or three days, when an embassy arrived from Chalco, again soliciting the protection of the Spaniards against the Mexicans, who menaced them from several points in their neighbourhood. But the soldiers were so much exhausted by uninterrupted vigils, forced marches, battles, and wounds, that Cortés wished to give them a breathing-time to recruit, before engaging in a new expedition. He answered the application of the Chalcans by sending his missives to the allied cities, calling on them to march to the assistance of their confederate. It is not to be supposed that they could comprehend the import of his despatches. But the paper, with its mysterious characters, served for a warrant to the

<sup>10</sup> "Y comenzámos á lanzear en ellos, y duró el alcance cerca de dos leguas todas llanas, como la palma, que fué muy hermosa cosa." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 212.

<sup>11</sup> For the particulars of this expedition of Cortés, see, besides his own Commentaries so often

quoted, Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 20,—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 85,—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 125,—Ixtlixochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, pp. 13, 14,—Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 141.

officer who bore it, as the interpreter of the general's commands.

But, although these were implicitly obeyed, the Chalcans felt the danger so pressing that they soon repeated their petition for the Spaniards to come in person to their relief. Cortés no longer hesitated; for he was well aware of the importance of Chalco, not merely on its own account, but from its position, which commanded one of the great avenues to Tlascala, and to Vera Cruz, the intercourse with which should run no risk of interruption. Without further loss of time, therefore, he detached a body of three hundred Spanish foot and twenty horse, under the command of Sandoval, for the protection of the city.

That active officer soon presented himself before Chalco, and, strengthened by the reinforcement of its own troops and those of the confederate towns, directed his first operations against Huaxtepec, a place of some importance, lying five leagues or more to the south among the mountains. It was held by a strong Mexican force, watching their opportunity to make a descent upon Chalco. The Spaniards found the enemy drawn up at a distance from the town, prepared to receive them. The ground was broken and tangled with bushes, unfavourable to the cavalry, which, in consequence, soon fell into disorder; and Sandoval, finding himself embarrassed by their movements, ordered them, after sustaining some loss, from the field. In their place he brought up his musketeers and crossbowmen, who poured a rapid fire into the thick columns of the Indians. The rest of the infantry, with sword and pike, charged the flanks of the enemy, who, bewildered by the shock, after sustaining considerable slaughter, fell back in an irregular manner, leaving the field of battle to the Spaniards.

The victors proposed to bivouac there for the night. But, while engaged in preparations for their evening meal, they were aroused by the cry of "To arms, to arms! the enemy is upon us!" In an instant the

trooper was in his saddle, the soldier grasped his musket or his good Toledo, and the action was renewed with greater fury than before. The Mexicans had received a reinforcement from the city. But their second attempt was not more fortunate than their first; and the victorious Spaniards, driving their antagonists before them, entered and took possession of the town itself, which had already been evacuated by the inhabitants.<sup>12</sup>

Sandoval took up his quarters in the dwelling of the lord of the place, surrounded by gardens which rivalled those of Iztapalapan in magnificence and surpassed them in extent. They are said to have been two leagues in circumference, having pleasure-houses, and numerous tanks stocked with various kinds of fish; and they were embellished with trees, shrubs, and plants, native and exotic, some selected for their beauty and fragrance, others for their medicinal properties. They were scientifically arranged; and the whole establishment displayed a degree of horticultural taste and knowledge of which it would not have been easy to find a counterpart, at that day, in the more civilized communities of Europe.<sup>13</sup> Such is the testimony not only of the rude Conquerors, but of men of science, who visited these beautiful repositories in the day of their glory.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 214, 215.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 146.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 142.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 21.

<sup>13</sup> "Which gardens," says Cortés, who afterwards passed a day there, "are the largest, freshest, and most beautiful that were ever seen. They have a circuit of two leagues, and through the middle flows a very pleasant stream of water. At distances of two bow-shots are buildings surrounded by grounds planted with fruit-trees of various kinds, with many shrubs and odorous flowers. Truly the whole place is

wonderful for its pleasantness and its extent." (Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, pp. 221, 222.) Bernal Diaz is not less emphatic in his admiration. Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 142.

<sup>14</sup> The distinguished naturalist Hernandez has frequent occasion to notice this garden, which furnished him with many specimens for his great work. It had the good fortune to be preserved after the Conquest, when particular attention was given to its medicinal plants, for the use of a great hospital established in the neighbourhood. See Clavigero, Stor. del Messico, tom. ii. p. 153.

After halting two days to refresh his forces in this agreeable spot, Sandoval marched on Jacapichtla, about twelve miles to the eastward. It was a town, or rather fortress, perched on a rocky eminence almost inaccessible from its steepness. It was garrisoned by a Mexican force, who rolled down on the assailants, as they attempted to scale the heights, huge fragments of rock, which, thundering over the sides of the precipice, carried ruin and desolation in their path. The Indian confederates fell back in dismay from the attempt. But Sandoval, indignant that any achievement should be too difficult for a Spaniard, commanded his cavaliers to dismount, and, declaring that he "would carry the place or die in the attempt," led on his men with the cheering cry of "St. Jago."<sup>15</sup> With renewed courage, they now followed their gallant leader up the ascent, under a storm of lighter missiles, mingled with huge masses of stone, which, breaking into splinters, overturned the assailants and made fearful havoc in their ranks. Sandoval, who had been wounded on the preceding day, received a severe contusion on the head, while more than one of his brave comrades were struck down by his side. Still they clambered up, sustaining themselves by the bushes or projecting pieces of rock, and seemed to force themselves onward as much by the energy of their wills as by the strength of their bodies.

After incredible toil, they stood on the summit, face to face with the astonished garrison. For a moment they paused to recover breath, then sprang furiously on their foes. The struggle was short, but desperate. Most of the Aztecs were put to the sword. Some were thrown headlong over the battlements, and others, letting themselves down the precipice, were killed on

<sup>15</sup> "É como esto vió el dicho Alguacil Mayor, y los Españoles, determináron de morir, ó subilles por fuerza á lo alto del Pueblo, y con el apellido de *Señor Santiago*,

comenzáron á subir." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 214.—Oviedo Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 21.

the borders of a little stream that wound round its base, the waters of which were so polluted with blood that the victors were unable to slake their thirst with them for a full hour!<sup>16</sup>

Sandoval, having now accomplished the object of his expedition, by reducing the strongholds which had so long held the Chalcans in awe, returned in triumph to Tezcuco. Meanwhile, the Aztec emperor, whose vigilant eye had been attentive to all that had passed, thought that the absence of so many of its warriors afforded a favourable opportunity for recovering Chalco. He sent a fleet of boats, for this purpose, across the lake, with a numerous force under the command of some of his most valiant chiefs.<sup>17</sup> Fortunately, the absent Chalcans reached their city before the arrival of the enemy; but, though supported by their Indian allies, they were so much alarmed by the magnitude of the hostile array that they sent again to the Spaniards, invoking their aid.

The messengers arrived at the same time with Sandoval and his army. Cortés was much puzzled by the contradictory accounts. He suspected some negligence in his lieutenant, and, displeased with his precipitate return in this unsettled state of the affair, ordered him back at once, with such of his forces as were in fighting condition. Sandoval felt deeply injured by this proceeding, but he made no attempt at exculpation, and, obeying his commander in silence, put himself at the head of his troops and made a rapid countermarch on the Indian city.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> So says the *Conquistador*. (Rel. Terc., ap Lorenzana, p. 215.) Diaz, who will allow no one to hyperbolize but himself, says, "For as long as one might take to say an Ave Maria!" (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 142.) Neither was present.

<sup>17</sup> The gallant Captain Diaz, who affects a sobriety in his own estimates, which often leads him to disparage those of the chaplain

Gomara, says that the force consisted of 20,000 warriors in 2000 canoes. Hist. de la Conquista, loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup> "El Cortés no le quiso escuchar á Sandoval de enojo, creyendo que por su culpa, ó descuido, recibía mala obra nuestros amigos los de Chalco; y luego sin mas dilacion, ni le oyr, le mandó volver." Ibid., ubi supra.

Before he reached it, a battle had been fought between the Mexicans and the confederates, in which the latter, who had acquired unwonted confidence from their recent successes, were victorious. A number of Aztec nobles fell into their hands in the engagement, whom they delivered to Sandoval to be carried off as prisoners to Tezcuco. On his arrival there, the cavalier, wounded by the unworthy treatment he had received, retired to his own quarters without presenting himself before his chief.

During his absence, the inquiries of Cortés had satisfied him of his own precipitate conduct, and of the great injustice he had done his lieutenant. There was no man in the army on whose services he set so high a value, as the responsible situations in which he had placed him plainly showed; and there was none for whom he seems to have entertained a greater personal regard. On Sandoval's return, therefore, Cortés instantly sent to request his attendance; when, with a soldier's frankness, he made such an explanation as soothed the irritated spirit of the cavalier,—a matter of no great difficulty, as the latter had too generous a nature, and too earnest a devotion to his commander and the cause in which they were embarked, to harbour a petty feeling of resentment in his bosom.<sup>19</sup>

During the occurrence of these events the work was going forward actively on the canal, and the brigantines were within a fortnight of their completion. The greatest vigilance was required, in the mean time, to prevent their destruction by the enemy, who had already made three ineffectual attempts to burn them on the stocks. The precautions which Cortés thought it necessary to take against the Tezcucans themselves added not a little to his embarrassment.

At this time he received embassies from different Indian states, some of them on the remote shores of

<sup>19</sup> Besides the authorities already quoted for Sandoval's expedition, see Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 126,—

Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 92.—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 86.

the Mexican Gulf, tendering their allegiance and soliciting his protection. For this he was partly indebted to the good offices of Ixtlilxochitl, who, in consequence of his brother's death, was now advanced to the sovereignty of Tezcuco. This important position greatly increased his consideration and authority through the country, of which he freely availed himself to bring the natives under the dominion of the Spaniards.<sup>20</sup>

The general received also at this time the welcome intelligence of the arrival of three vessels at Villa Rica, with two hundred men on board, well provided with arms and ammunition, and with seventy or eighty horses. It was a most seasonable reinforcement. From what quarter it came is uncertain; most probably from Hispaniola. Cortés, it may be remembered, had sent for supplies to that place; and the authorities of the island, who had general jurisdiction over the affairs of the colonies, had shown themselves, on more than one occasion, well inclined towards him, probably considering him, under all circumstances, as better fitted than any other man to achieve the conquest of the country.<sup>21</sup>

The new recruits soon found their way to Tezcuco; as the communications with the port were now open and unobstructed. Among them were several cavaliers

<sup>20</sup> "Ixtlilxochitl procuraba siempre traer á la devocion y amistad de los Cristianos no tan solamente á los de el Reyno de Tezcuco sino aun los de las Provincias remotas, rogándoles que todos se procurasen dar de paz al Capitan Cortés, y que aunque de las guerras pasadas algunos tuviesen culpa, era tan afable y deseaba tanto la paz que luego al punto los recibiria en su amistad." Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 92.

<sup>21</sup> Cortés speaks of these vessels as coming at the same time, but does not intimate from what quar-

ter. (*Rel. Terc.*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 216.) Bernal Diaz, who notices only one, says it came from Castile. (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 143.) But the old soldier wrote long after the events he commemorates, and may have confused the true order of things. It seems hardly probable that so important a reinforcement should have arrived from Castile, considering that Cortés had yet received none of the royal patronage, or even sanction, which would stimulate adventurers in the mother country to enlist under his standard.

of consideration, one of whom, Julian de Alderete, the royal treasurer, came over to superintend the interests of the crown.

There was also in the number a Dominican friar, who brought a quantity of pontifical bulls, offering indulgences to those engaged in war against the infidel. The soldiers were not slow to fortify themselves with the good graces of the Church ; and the worthy father, after driving a prosperous traffic with his spiritual wares, had the satisfaction to return home, at the end of a few months, well freighted, in exchange, with the more substantial treasures of the Indies.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 143.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 21.—

Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 6.



## CHAPTER III.

Second Reconnoitring Expedition.—Engagements on the Sierra.—  
Capture of Cuernavaca.—Battles at Xochimilco.—Narrow Escape  
of Cortés.—He Enters Tacuba.

1521.

NOTWITHSTANDING the relief which had been afforded to the people of Chalco, it was so ineffectual that envoys from that city again arrived at Tezcuco, bearing a hieroglyphical chart, on which were depicted several strong places in their neighbourhood, garrisoned by the Aztecs, from which they expected annoyance. Cortés determined, this time, to take the affair into his own hands, and to scour the country so effectually as to place Chalco, if possible, in a state of security. He did not confine himself to this object, but proposed, before his return, to pass quite round the great lakes, and reconnoitre the country to the south of them, in the same manner as he had before done to the west. In the course of his march he would direct his arms against some of the strong places from which the Mexicans might expect support in the siege. Two or three weeks must elapse before the completion of the brigantines; and, if no other good resulted from the expedition, it would give active occupation to his troops, whose turbulent spirits might fester into discontent in the monotonous existence of a camp.

He selected for the expedition thirty horse and three hundred Spanish infantry, with a considerable body of Tlascalan and Tezcucan warriors. The remaining garrison he left in charge of the trusty Sandoval, who, with the friendly lord of the capital, would watch over

the construction of the brigantines and protect them from the assaults of the Aztecs.

On the fifth of April he began his march, and on the following day arrived at Chalco, where he was met by a number of the confederate chiefs. With the aid of his faithful interpreters, Doña Marina and Aguilar, he explained to them the objects of his present expedition, stated his purpose soon to enforce the blockade of Mexico, and required their co-operation with the whole strength of their levies. To this they readily assented; and he soon received a sufficient proof of their friendly disposition in the forces which joined him on the march, amounting, according to one of the army, to more than had ever before followed his banner.<sup>1</sup>

Taking a southerly direction, the troops, after leaving Chalco, struck into the recesses of the wild sierra, which, with its bristling peaks, serves as a formidable palisade to fence round the beautiful Valley; while within its rugged arms it shuts up many a green and fruitful pasture of its own. As the Spaniards passed through its deep gorges, they occasionally wound round the base of some huge cliff or rocky eminence, on which the inhabitants had built their towns, in the same manner as was done by the people of Europe in the feudal ages; a position which, however favourable to the picturesque, intimates a sense of insecurity as the cause of it, which may reconcile us to the absence of this striking appendage of the landscape in our own more fortunate country.

The occupants of these airy pinnacles took advantage of their situation to shower down stones and arrows on the troops as they defiled through the narrow passes of the sierra. Though greatly annoyed by their incessant hostilities. Cortés held on his way, till, winding

<sup>1</sup> "Vinieron tantos, que en todas las entradas que yo suia ido, des-  
ues que en la Nueva España  
entré, nunca vi tanta gente de

guerra de nuestros amigos, como  
sora fueron en nuestra compañía."  
Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista,  
cap. 144.

round the base of a castellated cliff occupied by a strong garrison of Indians, he was so severely pressed that he felt to pass on without chastising the aggressors would imply a want of strength which must disparage him in the eyes of his allies. Halting in the valley, therefore, he detached a small body of light troops to scale the heights, while he remained with the main body of the army below, to guard against surprise from the enemy.

The lower region of the rocky eminence was so steep that the soldiers found it no easy matter to ascend, scrambling, as well as they could, with hand and knee. But, as they came into the more exposed view of the garrison, the latter rolled down huge masses of rock, which, bounding along the declivity and breaking into fragments, crushed the foremost assailants and mangled their limbs in a frightful manner. Still they strove to work their way upward, now taking advantage of some gully worn by the winter torrent, now sheltering themselves behind a projecting cliff, or some straggling tree anchored among the crevices of the mountain. It was all in vain. For no sooner did they emerge again into open view than the rocky avalanche thundered on their heads with a fury against which steel helm and cuirass were as little defence as gossamer. All the party were more or less wounded. Eight of the number were killed on the spot,—a loss the little band could ill afford,—and the gallant ensign, Corral, who led the advance, saw the banner in his hand torn into shreds.<sup>2</sup> Cortés, at length, convinced of the impracticability of the attempt, at least without a more severe loss than he was disposed to incur, commanded a retreat. It was high time; for a large body of the enemy were on full march across the valley to attack him.

He did not wait for their approach, but, gathering his broken files together, headed his cavalry and spurred

<sup>2</sup> "Todos descalabrados, y corriendo sangre, y las vanderas rotas, y ocho muertos." Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.

boldly against them. On the level plain the Spaniards were on their own ground. The Indians, unable to sustain the furious onset, broke, and fell back before it. The flight soon became a rout, and the fiery cavaliers, dashing over them at full gallop, or running them through with their lances, took some revenge for their late discomfiture. The pursuit continued for some miles, till the nimble foe made their escape into the rugged fastnesses of the sierra, where the Spaniards did not care to follow. The weather was sultry, and, as the country was nearly destitute of water, the men and horses suffered extremely. Before evening they reached a spot overshadowed by a grove of wild mulberry-trees, in which some scanty springs afforded a miserable supply to the army.

Near the place rose another rocky summit of the sierra, garrisoned by a stronger force than the one which they had encountered in the former part of the day; and at no great distance stood a second fortress at a still greater height, though considerably smaller than its neighbour. This was also tenanted by a body of warriors, who, as well as those of the adjoining cliff, soon made active demonstration of their hostility by pouring down missiles on the troops below. Cortés, anxious to retrieve the disgrace of the morning, ordered an assault on the larger and, as it seemed, more practicable eminence. But, though two attempts were made with great resolution, they were repulsed with loss to the assailants. The rocky sides of the hill had been artificially cut and smoothed, so as greatly to increase the natural difficulties of the ascent. The shades of evening now closed around; and Cortés drew off his men to the mulberry-grove, where he took up his bivouac for the night, deeply chagrined at having been twice foiled by the enemy on the same day.

During the night, the Indian force which occupied the adjoining height passed over to their brethren, to aid them in the encounter which they foresaw would be renewed on the following morning. No sooner did

the Spanish general, at the break of day, become aware of this manœuvre, than, with his usual quickness, he took advantage of it. He detached a body of musketeers and crossbowmen to occupy the deserted eminence, purposing, as soon as this was done, to lead the assault in person against the other. It was not long before the Castilian banner was seen streaming from the rocky pinnacle, when the general instantly led up his men to the attack. And, while the garrison were meeting them resolutely on that quarter, the detachment on the neighbouring heights poured into the place a well-directed fire, which so much distressed the enemy that in a very short time they signified their willingness to capitulate.<sup>3</sup>

On entering the place, the Spaniards found that a plain of some extent ran along the crest of the sierra, and that it was tenanted not only by men, but by women and their families, with their effects. No violence was offered by the victors to the property or persons of the vanquished; and the knowledge of this lenity induced the Indian garrison, who had made so stout a resistance on the morning of the preceding day, to tender their submission.<sup>4</sup>

After a halt of two days in this sequestered region, the army resumed its march in a south-westerly direction on Huaxtepec, the same city which had surrendered to Sandoval. Here they were kindly received by the cacique, and entertained in his magnificent gardens,

<sup>3</sup> For the assault on the rocks,—the topography of which it is impossible to verify from the narratives of the Conquerors,—see Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 144,—*Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 218–221,—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 127,—*Ixtlilxochitl, Venida de los Españoles*, pp. 16, 17,—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Cortés, according to Bernal Diaz, ordered the troops who took possession of the second fortress

“not to meddle with a grain of maize belonging to the besieged.” Diaz, giving this a very liberal interpretation, proceeded forthwith to load his Indian *tamames* with everything but maize, as fair booty. He was interrupted in his labours, however, by the captain of the detachment, who gave a more narrow construction to his general's orders, much to the dissatisfaction of the latter, if we may trust the doughty chronicler. *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

which Cortés and his officers, who had not before seen them, compared with the best in Castile.<sup>5</sup> Still threading the wild mountain mazes, the army passed through Jauhatepec and several other places, which were abandoned at their approach. As the inhabitants, however, hung in armed bodies on their flanks and rear, doing them occasionally some mischief, the Spaniards took their revenge by burning the deserted towns.

Thus holding on their fiery track, they descended the bold slope of the Cordilleras, which on the south are far more precipitous than on the Atlantic side. Indeed, a single day's journey is sufficient to place the traveller on a level several thousand feet lower than that occupied by him in the morning; thus conveying him, in a few hours, through the climates of many degrees of latitude. The route of the army led them across many an acre covered with lava and blackened scoræ, attesting the volcanic character of the region; though this was frequently relieved by patches of verdure, and even tracts of prodigal fertility, as if Nature were desirous to compensate by these extraordinary efforts for the curse of barrenness which elsewhere had fallen on the land. On the ninth day of their march the troops arrived before the strong city of Quauhnahuac, or Cuernavaca, as since called by the Spaniards.<sup>6</sup> It was the ancient capital of the Tlahuicas, and the most considerable place for wealth and population in this part of the country. It was tributary to the Aztecs, and a garrison of this nation was quartered within its walls. The town was singularly situated, on

<sup>5</sup> "Adonde estaua la huerta que he dicho, que es la mejor que auia visto en toda mi vida, y así lo torno á dezir, que Cortés, y el Tesorero Alderete, desde entonces la viéron, y passeáron algo de ella, se admiráron, y dixéron, que mejor cosa de huerta no auian visto en Castilla." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 144.

<sup>6</sup> This barbarous Indian name is

tortured into all possible variations by the old chroniclers. The town soon received from the Spaniards the name which it now bears, of Cuernavaca, and by which it is indicated on modern maps. "Prevalse poi quello di *Cuernabaca*, col quale è presentemente conosciuta dagli Spagnuoli." Clavigero, Stor. del Messico, tom. iii. p. 185, nota.

a projecting piece of land, encompassed by *barrancas*, or formidable ravines, except on one side, which opened on a rich and well-cultivated country. For, though the place stood at an elevation of between five and six thousand feet above the level of the sea, it had a southern exposure so sheltered by the mountain barrier on the north that its climate was as soft and genial as that of a much lower region.

The Spaniards, on arriving before this city, the limit of their southerly progress, found themselves separated from it by one of the vast *barrancas* before noticed, which resembled one of those frightful rents not unfrequent in the Mexican Andes, the result, no doubt, of some terrible convulsion in earlier ages. The rocky sides of the ravine sank perpendicularly down, so bare as scarcely to exhibit even a vestige of the cactus, or of the other hardy plants with which Nature in these fruitful regions so gracefully covers up her deformities. The bottom of the chasm, however, showed a striking contrast to this, being literally choked up with a rich and spontaneous vegetation; for the huge walls of rock which shut in these *barrancas*, while they screen them from the cold winds of the Cordilleras, reflect the rays of a vertical sun, so as to produce an almost suffocating heat in the enclosure, stimulating the soil to the rank fertility of the *tierra caliente*. Under the action of this forcing apparatus,—so to speak,—the inhabitants of the towns on their margin above may with ease obtain the vegetable products which are to be found on the sultry level of the lowlands.\*

At the bottom of the ravine was seen a little stream, which, oozing from the stony bowels of the sierra, tumbled along its narrow channel and contributed by

---

\* ["The whole of this description," remarks Alaman, "agrees perfectly with the present aspect of Cuernavaca and the *barrancas* surrounding it."—Ed.]

its perpetual moisture to the exuberant fertility of the valley. This rivulet, which at certain seasons of the year was swollen to a torrent, was traversed at some distance below the town, where the sloping sides of the barranca afforded a more practicable passage, by two rude bridges, both of which had been broken, in anticipation of the coming of the Spaniards. The latter had now arrived on the brink of the chasm which intervened between them and the city. It was, as has been remarked, of no great width, and the army drawn up on its borders was directly exposed to the archery of the garrison, on whom its own fire made little impression, protected as they were by their defences.

The general, annoyed by his position, sent a detachment to seek a passage lower down, by which the troops might be landed on the other side. But, although the banks of the ravine became less formidable as they descended, they found no means of crossing the river, till a path unexpectedly presented itself, on which, probably, no one before had ever been daring enough to venture.

From the cliffs on the opposite sides of the barranca, two huge trees shot up to an enormous height, and, inclining towards each other, interlaced their boughs so as to form a sort of natural bridge. Across this avenue, in mid-air, a Tlascalan conceived it would not be difficult to pass to the opposite bank. The bold mountaineer succeeded in the attempt, and was soon followed by several others of his countrymen, trained to feats of agility and strength among their native hills. The Spaniards imitated their example. It was a perilous effort for an armed man to make his way over this ærial causeway, swayed to and fro by the wind, where the brain might become giddy, and where a single false movement of hand or foot would plunge him in the abyss below. Three of the soldiers lost their hold and fell. The rest, consisting of some twenty or thirty Spaniards and a considerable number of Tlascalans,



alighted in safety on the other bank.<sup>7</sup> There hastily forming, they marched with all speed on the city. The enemy, engaged in their contest with the Castilians on the opposite brink of the ravine, were taken by surprise,—which, indeed, could scarcely have been exceeded if they had seen their foe drop from the clouds on the field of battle.

They made a brave resistance, however, when fortunately the Spaniards succeeded in repairing one of the dilapidated bridges in such a manner as to enable both cavalry and foot to cross the river, though with much delay. The horse, under Olid and Andres de Tapia, instantly rode up to the succour of their countrymen. They were soon followed by Cortés at the head of the remaining battalions, and the enemy, driven from one point to another, were compelled to evacuate the city, and to take refuge among the mountains. The buildings in one quarter of the town were speedily wrapt in flames. The place was abandoned to pillage, and, as it was one of the most opulent marts in the country, it amply compensated the victors for the toil and danger they had encountered. The trembling caciques, returning soon after to the city, appeared before Cortés, and, deprecating his resentment, by charging the blame, as usual, on the Mexicans, threw themselves on his mercy. Satisfied with their submission, he allowed no further violence to the inhabitants.<sup>8</sup>

Having thus accomplished the great object of his expedition across the mountains, the Spanish commander

<sup>7</sup> The stout-hearted Diaz was one of those who performed this dangerous feat, though his head swam so, as he tells us, that he scarcely knew how he got on. "Porque de mí digo, que verdaderamente quando passaua, q lo ví mui peligroso, é malo de passar, y se me desvanecia la cabeça, y todavia passé yo, y otros veinte, ó treinta soldados, y muchos Tlascal-

tecas." Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.

<sup>8</sup> For the preceding account of the capture of Cuernavaca, see Bernal Diaz, ubi supra.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 21,—Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 93,—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 8,—Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 87,—Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 223, 224.

turned his face northwards, to recross the formidable barrier which divided him from the Valley. The ascent, steep and laborious, was rendered still more difficult by fragments of rock and loose stones, which encumbered the passes. The mountain sides and summits were shaggy with thick forests of pine and stunted oak, which threw a melancholy gloom over the region, still further heightened at the present day by its being a favourite haunt of banditti.

The weather was sultry, and, as the stony soil was nearly destitute of water, the troops suffered severely from thirst. Several of them, indeed, fainted on the road, and a few of the Indian allies perished from exhaustion.<sup>9</sup> The line of march must have taken the army across the eastern shoulder of the mountain, called the *Cruz del Marques*, or Cross of the Marquess, from a huge stone cross erected there to indicate the boundary of the territories granted by the Crown to Cortés, as Marquis of the Valley. Much, indeed, of the route lately traversed by the troops lay across the princely domain subsequently assigned to the Conqueror.<sup>10</sup>

The Spaniards were greeted from these heights with a different view from any which they had before had of the Mexican Valley, made more attractive in their eyes, doubtless, by contrast with the savage scenery in which they had lately been involved. It was its most pleasant and populous quarter; for nowhere did its cities and villages cluster together in such numbers as round the lake of sweet water. From whatever quarter seen, however, the enchanting region presented the same aspect of natural beauty and cultivation, with its

<sup>9</sup> "Una Tierra de Pinales, despoblada, y sin ninguna agua, la qual y un Puerto pasámos con grandísimo trabajo, y sin beber: tanto, que muchos de los Indios que iban con nosotros pericieron de sed." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 224.

<sup>10</sup> The city of Cuernavaca was comprehended in the patrimony of

the dukes of Monteleone, descendants and heirs of the *Conquistador*. —The Spaniards, in their line of march towards the north, did not deviate far, probably, from the great road which now leads from Mexico to Acapulco, still exhibiting in this upper portion of it the same characteristic features as at the period of the Conquest.

flourishing villas, and its fair lake in the centre, whose dark and polished surface glistened like a mirror, deep set in the huge frame-work of porphyry in which nature had enclosed it.

The point of attack selected by the general was Xochimilco, or "the field of flowers," as its name implies, from the floating gardens which rode at anchor, as it were, on the neighbouring waters.<sup>11</sup> It was one of the most potent and wealthy cities in the Valley, and a stanch vassal of the Aztec crown. It stood, like the capital itself, partly in the water, and was approached in that quarter by causeways of no great length. The town was composed of houses like those of most other places of like magnitude in the country, mostly of cottages or huts made of clay and the light bamboo, mingled with aspiring *teocallis*, and edifices of stone, belonging to the more opulent classes.

As the Spaniards advanced, they were met by skirmishing parties of the enemy, who, after dismissing a light volley of arrows, rapidly retreated before them. As they took the direction of Xochimilco, Cortés inferred that they were prepared to resist him in considerable force. It exceeded his expectations.

On traversing the principal causeway, he found it occupied at the farther extremity by a numerous body of warriors, who, stationed on the opposite side of a bridge, which had been broken, were prepared to dispute his passage. They had constructed a temporary barrier of palisades, which screened them from the fire of the musketry. But the water in its neighbourhood was very shallow, and the cavaliers and infantry, plunging into it, soon made their way, swimming or wading, as they could, in face of a storm of missiles, to the landing near the town. Here they closed with the enemy, and hand to hand, after a sharp struggle, drove them back on the city; a few, however, taking the direction of the open country, were followed up

<sup>11</sup> Clavigero, Stor. del. Messico, tom. iii. p. 187, nota.

by the cavalry. The great mass, hotly pursued by the infantry, were driven through street and lane, without much further resistance. Cortés, with a few followers, disengaging himself from the tumult, remained near the entrance of the city. He had not been there long when he was assailed by a fresh body of Indians, who suddenly poured into the place from a neighbouring dike. The general, with his usual fearlessness, threw himself into the midst, in hopes to check their advance. But his own followers were too few to support him, and he was overwhelmed by the crowd of combatants. His horse lost his footing and fell; and Cortés, who received a severe blow on the head before he could rise, was seized and dragged off in triumph by the Indians. At this critical moment, a Tlascalan, who perceived the general's extremity, sprang, like one of the wild ocelots of his own forests, into the midst of the assailants, and endeavoured to tear him from their grasp. Two of the general's servants also speedily came to the rescue, and Cortés, with their aid and that of the brave Tlascalan, succeeded in regaining his feet and shaking off his enemies. To vault into the saddle and brandish his good lance was but the work of a moment. Others of his men quickly came up, and the clash of arms reaching the ears of the Spaniards, who had gone in pursuit, they returned, and, after a desperate conflict, forced the enemy from the city. Their retreat, however, was intercepted by the cavalry, returning from the country, and, thus hemmed in between the opposite columns, they were cut to pieces, or saved themselves only by plunging into the lake.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 226.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 21.—This is the general's own account of the matter. Diaz, however, says that he was indebted for his rescue to a Castilian, named Olea, supported by some Tlascalans, and that his prisoner received three severe

wounds himself on the occasion. (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 145.) This was an affair, however, in which Cortés ought to be better informed than any one else, and one, moreover, not likely to slip his memory. The old soldier has probably confounded it with another and similar adventure of his commander.

This was the greatest personal danger which Cortés had yet encountered. His life was in the power of the barbarians, and, had it not been for their eagerness to take him prisoner, he must undoubtedly have lost it. To the same cause may be frequently attributed the preservation of the Spaniards in these engagements. The next day he sought, it is said, for the Tlascalan who came so boldly to his rescue, and, as he could learn nothing of him, he gave the credit of his preservation to his patron, St. Peter.<sup>13</sup> He may well be excused for presuming the interposition of his good Genius to shield him from the awful doom of the captive,—a doom not likely to be mitigated in his case. That heart must have been a bold one, indeed, which, from any motive, could voluntarily encounter such a peril! Yet his followers did as much, and that, too, for a much inferior reward.

The period which we are reviewing was still the age of chivalry,—that stirring and adventurous age, of which we can form little conception in the present day of sober, practical reality. The Spaniard, with his nice point of honour, high romance, and proud, vain-glorious vaunt, was the true representative of that age. The Europeans generally had not yet learned to accommodate themselves to a life of literary toil, or to the drudgery of trade or the patient tillage of the soil. They left these to the hooded inmate of the cloister, the humble burgher, and the miserable serf. Arms was the only profession worthy of gentle blood,—the only career which the high-mettled cavalier could tread with honour. The New World, with its strange and mysterious perils, afforded a noble theatre for the exercise of his calling; and the Spaniard entered on it with all the enthusiasm of a paladin of romance.

Other nations entered on it also, but with different motives. The French sent forth their missionaries to

<sup>13</sup> "Otro Día buscó Cortés al Indio, que le socorrió, i muerto, ni vivo no pareció; i Cortés, por la devocion de San Pedro, juzgo que él le avia aiuudado." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 8.

take up their dwelling among the heathen, who, in the good work of winning souls to Paradise, were content to wear—nay, sometimes seemed to court—the crown of martyrdom. The Dutch, too, had their mission, but it was one of worldly lucre, and they found a recompense for toil and suffering in their gainful traffic with the natives. While our own Puritan fathers, with the true Anglo-Saxon spirit, left their pleasant homes across the waters, and pitched their tents in the howling wilderness, that they might enjoy the sweets of civil and religious freedom. But the Spaniard came over to the New World in the true spirit of a knight-errant, courting adventure however perilous, wooing danger, as it would seem, for its own sake. With sword and lance, he was ever ready to do battle for the Faith and, as he raised his old war-cry of “St. Jago,” he fancied himself fighting under the banner of the military apostle, and felt his single arm a match for more than a hundred infidels! It was the expiring age of chivalry; and Spain, romantic Spain, was the land where its light lingered longest above the horizon.

It was not yet dusk when Cortés and his followers re-entered the city; and the general's first act was to ascend a neighbouring *teocalli* and reconnoitre the surrounding country. He there beheld a sight which might have troubled a bolder spirit than his. The surface of the salt lake was darkened with canoes, and the causeway, for many a mile, with Indian squadrons, apparently on their march towards the Christian camp. In fact, no sooner had Guatemozin been apprised of the arrival of the white men at Xochimilco than he mustered his levies in great force to relieve the city. They were now on their march, and, as the capital was but four leagues distant, would arrive soon after night-fall.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> “Por el Agua á una muy grande flota de Canoas, que creo, que pasaban de dos mil; y en ellas venian mas de doce mil Hombres

de Guerra; é por la Tierra llegó tanta multitud de Gente, que todos los Campos cubrian.” Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 227.

Cortés made active preparations for the defence of his quarters. He stationed a corps of pikemen along the landing where the Aztecs would be likely to disembark. He doubled the sentinels, and, with his principal officers, made the rounds repeatedly in the course of the night. In addition to other causes for watchfulness, the bolts of the crossbowmen were nearly exhausted, and the archers were busily employed in preparing and adjusting shafts to the copper heads, of which great store had been provided for the army. There was little sleep in the camp that night.<sup>15</sup>

It passed away, however, without molestation from the enemy. Though not stormy, it was exceedingly dark. But, although the Spaniards on duty could see nothing, they distinctly heard the sound of many oars in the water, at no great distance from the shore. Yet those on board the canoes made no attempt to land, distrusting, or advised, it may be, of the preparations made for their reception. With early dawn they were under arms, and, without waiting for the movement of the Spaniards, poured into the city and attacked them in their own quarters.

The Spaniards, who were gathered in the area round one of the *teocallis*, were taken at disadvantage in the town, where the narrow lanes and streets, many of them covered with a smooth and slippery cement, offered obvious impediments to the manœuvres of cavalry. But Cortés hastily formed his musketeers and crossbowmen, and poured such a lively, well-directed fire into the enemy's ranks as threw him into disorder and compelled him to recoil. The infantry, with their long pikes, followed up the blow; and the horse, charging at full speed as the retreating Aztecs emerged

<sup>15</sup> "Y acordóse que huviesse mui buena vela en todo nuestro Real, repartida á los puertos, é azequias por donde auian de venir á desembarcar, y los de acauallo mui á punto toda la noche ensillados y

enfrenados, aguardando en la calçada, y tierra firme, y todos los Capitanes, y Cortés con ellos, haziendo vela y ronda toda la noche." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 145.

from the city, drove them several miles along the main land.

At some distance, however, they were met by a strong reinforcement of their countrymen, and, rallying, the tide of battle turned, and the cavaliers, swept along by it, gave the rein to their steeds and rode back at full gallop towards the town. They had not proceeded very far, when they came upon the main body of the army, advancing rapidly to their support. Thus strengthened, they once more returned to the charge, and the rival hosts met together in full career, with the shock of an earthquake. For a time, victory seemed to hang in the balance, as the mighty press reeled to and fro under the opposite impulse, and a confused shout rose up towards heaven, in which the war-whoop of the savage was mingled with the battle-cry of the Christian,—a still stranger sound on these sequestered shores. But, in the end, Castilian valour, or rather Castilian arms and discipline, proved triumphant. The enemy faltered, gave way, and, recoiling step by step, the retreat soon terminated in a rout, and the Spaniards, following up the flying foe, drove them from the field with such dreadful slaughter that they made no further attempt to renew the battle.

The victors were now undisputed masters of the city. It was a wealthy place, well stored with Indian fabrics, cotton, gold, feather-work, and other articles of luxury and use, affording a rich booty to the soldiers. While engaged in the work of plunder, a party of the enemy, landing from their canoes, fell on some of the stragglers, laden with merchandise, and made four of them prisoners. It created a greater sensation among the troops than if ten times that number had fallen on the field. Indeed, it was rare that a Spaniard allowed himself to be taken alive. In the present instance the unfortunate men were taken by surprise. They were hurried to the capital, and soon after sacrificed; when their arms and legs were cut off, by the command of the ferocious young chief of the Aztecs, and sent round



to the different cities, with the assurance that this should be the fate of the enemies of Mexico! <sup>16</sup>

From the prisoners taken in the late engagement, Cortés learned that the forces already sent by Guatemozin formed but a small part of his levies; that his policy was to send detachment after detachment, until the Spaniards, however victorious they might come off from the contest with each individually, would, in the end, succumb from mere exhaustion, and thus be vanquished, as it were, by their own victories.

The soldiers having now sacked the city, Cortés did not care to await further assaults from the enemy in his present quarters. On the fourth morning after his arrival, he mustered his forces on a neighbouring plain. They came, many of them reeling under the weight of their plunder. The general saw this with uneasiness. They were to march, he said, through a populous country, all in arms to dispute their passage. To secure their safety, they should move as light and unencumbered as possible. The sight of so much spoil would sharpen the appetite of their enemies, and draw them on, like a flock of famished eagles after their prey. But his eloquence was lost on his men, who plainly told him they had a right to the fruit of their victories, and that what they had won with their swords they knew well enough how to defend with them.

Seeing them thus bent on their purpose, the general did not care to balk their inclinations. He ordered the baggage to the centre, and placed a few of the cavalry over it; dividing the remainder between the

<sup>16</sup> Diaz, who had an easy faith, states, as a fact, that the limbs of the unfortunate men were cut off before their sacrifice: "Manda cortar pies y brazos á los tristes nuestros compañeros, y las embia por muchos pueblos nuestros amigos de los q nos anian venido de paz, y les embia á dezir, que antes que bolvamos á Tezcuco, piensa no quedará ninguno de nosotros á vida,

y con los coraçoones y sangre hizo sacrificio á sus ídolos." (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 145).—This is not very probable. The Aztecs did not, like our North American Indians, torture their enemies from mere cruelty, but in conformity to the prescribed regulations of their ritual. The captive was a religious victim.

front and rear, in which latter post, as that most exposed to attack, he also stationed his arquebusiers and crossbowmen. Thus prepared, he resumed his march, but first set fire to the combustible buildings of Xochimilco, in retaliation for the resistance he had met there.<sup>17</sup> The light of the burning city streamed high into the air, sending its ominous glare far and wide across the waters, and telling the inhabitants on their margin that the fatal strangers so long predicted by their oracles had descended like a consuming flame upon their borders.<sup>18</sup>

Small bodies of the enemy were seen occasionally at a distance, but they did not venture to attack the army on its march, which, before noon, brought them to Cojohuacan, a large town about two leagues distant from Xochimilco. One could scarcely travel that distance in this populous quarter of the Valley without meeting with a place of considerable size, oftentimes the capital of what had formerly been an independent state. The inhabitants, members of different tribes, and speaking dialects somewhat different, belonged to the same great family of nations, who had come from the real or imaginary region of Aztlan, in the far

<sup>17</sup> "Y al cabo dejándola toda quemada y asolada nos partímos; y cierto era mucho para ver, porque tenia muchas Casas, y Torres de sus ídolos de cal y canto." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 228.

<sup>18</sup> For other particulars of the actions at Xochimilco. see Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 23, cap. 21.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 8, 11.—Ixtlil-xochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, p. 18.—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 87, 88.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 145.—The Conqueror's own account of these engagements has not his usual perspicuity, perhaps from its brevity. A more than

ordinary confusion, indeed, prevails in the different reports of them, even those proceeding from contemporaries, making it extremely difficult to collect a probable narrative from authorities not only contradicting one another, but themselves. It is rare, at any time, that two accounts of a battle coincide in all respects; the range of observation for each individual is necessarily so limited and different, and it is so difficult to make a cool observation at all, in the hurry and heat of conflict. Any one who has conversed with the survivors will readily comprehend this, and be apt to conclude that, wherever he may look for truth, it will hardly be on the battle-ground.

Northwest. Gathered round the shores of their Alpine sea, these petty communities continued, after their incorporation with the Aztec monarchy, to maintain a spirit of rivalry in their intercourse with one another, which—as with the cities on the Mediterranean in the feudal ages—quickened their mental energies, and raised the Mexican Valley higher in the scale of civilization than most other quarters of Anahuac.

The town at which the army had now arrived was deserted by its inhabitants; and Cortés halted two days there to restore his troops and give the needful attention to the wounded.<sup>19</sup> He made use of the time to reconnoitre the neighbouring ground, and, taking with him a strong detachment, descended on the causeway which led from Cojohuacan to the great avenue of Iztapalapan.<sup>20</sup> At the point of intersection, called Xoloc, he found a strong barrier, or fortification, behind which a Mexican force was intrenched. Their archery did some mischief to the Spaniards as they came within bowshot. But the latter, marching intrepidly forward in face of the arrowy shower, stormed

<sup>19</sup> This place, recommended by the exceeding beauty of its situation, became, after the Conquest, a favourite residence of Cortés, who founded a nunnery in it, and commanded in his will that his bones should be removed thither from any part of the world in which he might die: “Que mis huesos—los lleven á la mi Villa de Coyoacan, y allí les den tierra en el Monesterio de Monjas, que mando hacer y edificar en la dicha mi Villa.” Testamento de Hernan Cortés, MS.

<sup>20</sup> This, says Archbishop Lorenzana, was the modern *calzada de la Piedad*. (Rel. Terc. de Cortés, p. 229, nota.) But it is not easy

to reconcile this with the elaborate chart which M. de Humboldt has given of the Valley. A short arm, which reached from this city in the day of the Aztecs, touched obliquely the great southern avenue by which the Spaniards first entered the capital. As the waters which once entirely surrounded Mexico have shrunk into their narrow basin, the face of the country has undergone a great change, and, though the foundations of the principal causeways are still maintained, it is not always easy to discern vestiges of the ancient avenues.\*

---

\* [“La calzada de Iztapalapan,” says Alaman, who has made a minute study of the topography, “es la de San Antonio Abad, que conduce á San Augustin de las Cuevas ó Tlalpam.”—ED.]

the works, and, after an obstinate struggle, drove the enemy from their position.<sup>21</sup> Cortés then advanced some way on the great causeway of Iztapalapan; but he beheld the farther extremity darkened by a numerous array of warriors, and, as he did not care to engage in unnecessary hostilities, especially as his ammunition was nearly exhausted, he fell back and retreated to his own quarters.

The following day, the army continued its march, taking the road to Tacuba, but a few miles distant. On the way it experienced much annoyance from straggling parties of the enemy, who, furious at the sight of the booty which the invaders were bearing away, made repeated attacks on their flanks and rear. Cortés retaliated, as on the former expedition, by one of their own stratagems, but with less success than before; for, pursuing the retreating enemy too hotly, he fell with his cavalry into an ambuscade which they had prepared for him in their turn. He was not yet a match for their wily tactics. The Spanish cavaliers were enveloped in a moment by their subtle foe, and separated from the rest of the army. But, spurring on their good steeds, and charging in a solid column together, they succeeded in breaking through the Indian array, and in making their escape, except two individuals, who fell into the enemy's hands. They were the general's own servants, who had followed him faithfully through the whole campaign, and he was deeply affected by their loss,—rendered the more distressing by the consideration of the dismal fate that awaited them. When the little band rejoined the army, which had halted, in some anxiety at their absence, under the walls of Tacuba, the soldiers were astonished at the

<sup>21</sup> "We came to a wall which they had built across the causeway, and the foot-soldiers began to attack it; and though it was very thick and stoutly defended, and ten Spaniards were wounded, at

VOL. II.

length they gained it, killing many of the enemy, although the musketeers were without powder and the bowmen without arrows." *Rel Terc.*, ubi supra.

R

dejected mien of their commander, which too visibly betrayed his emotion.<sup>22</sup>

The sun was still high in the heavens when they entered the ancient capital of the Tepanecs. The first care of Cortés was to ascend the principal *teocalli* and survey the surrounding country. It was an admirable point of view, commanding the capital, which lay but little more than a league distant, and its immediate environs. Cortés was accompanied by Alderete, the treasurer, and some other cavaliers, who had lately joined his banner. The spectacle was still new to them; and, as they gazed on the stately city, with its broad lake covered with boats and barges hurrying to and fro, some laden with merchandise, or fruits and vegetables, for the markets of Tenochtitlan, others crowded with warriors, they could not withhold their admiration at the life and activity of the scene, declaring that nothing but the hand of Providence could have led their countrymen safe through the heart of this powerful empire.<sup>23</sup>

In the midst of the admiring circle, the brow of Cortés alone was observed to be overcast, and a sigh, which now and then stole audibly from his bosom, showed the gloomy working of his thoughts.<sup>24</sup> "Take comfort," said one of the cavaliers, approaching his commander, and wishing to console him, in his rough way, for his recent loss; "you must not lay these things so much to heart; it is, after all, but the fortune of war." The general's answer showed the nature of

<sup>22</sup> "Y estando en esto viene Cortés, con el qual nos alegrámos, puesto que él venia muy triste y como lloroso." Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 145.

<sup>23</sup> "Pues quando viéron la gran ciudad de México, y la laguna, y tanta multitud de canoas, que vnas ivan cargadas con bastimentos, y otras ivan á pescar, y otras valdías, mucho mas se espantáron, porque no las auian visto, hasta en aquella

saçon: y dixéron, que nuestra venida en esta Nueva España, que no eran cosas de hombres humanos, sino que la gran misericordia de Dios era quié nos sostenia." Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 145.

<sup>24</sup> "En este instante suspiró Cortés cō vna muy grã tristeza, mui mayor q̃ la q̃ de antes traia." *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

his meditations. "You are my witness," said he, "how often I have endeavoured to persuade yonder capital peacefully to submit. It fills me with grief when I think of the toil and the dangers my brave followers have yet to encounter before we can call it ours. But the time is come when we must put our hands to the work."<sup>25</sup>

There can be no doubt that Cortés with every other man in his army, felt he was engaged on a holy crusade, and that, independently of personal considerations, he could not serve Heaven better than by planting the Cross on the blood-stained towers of the heathen metropolis. But it was natural that he should feel some compunction as he gazed on the goodly scene, and thought of the coming tempest, and how soon the opening blossoms of civilization which there met his eye must wither under the rude breath of War. It was a striking spectacle, that of the great Conqueror thus brooding in silence over the desolation he was about to bring on the land! It seems to have made a deep impression on his soldiers, little accustomed to such proofs of his sensibility; and it forms the burden of some of those *romances*, or national ballads, with which the Castilian minstrel, in the olden time, delighted to commemorate the favourite heroes of his country, and which, coming mid-way between oral tradition and chronicle, have been found as imperishable a record as chronicle itself.<sup>26</sup>

\* "Y Cortés le dixo, que ya veia quantas vezes auia embiado á México á rogalles con la paz, y que la tristeza no la tenia por sola vna cosa, sino en pensar en los grandes trabajos en que nos auiamos de ver, hasta tornar á señorear; y que con la ayuda de Dios presto lo porriamos por la obra." Ibid., ubi supra.

<sup>25</sup> Diaz gives the opening *redondillas* of the *romance*, which I have not been able to find in any of the printed collections:

"En Tacuba está Cortés,

cõ su esquadron esforçado,  
triste estaua, y muy penoso,  
triste, y con gran cuidado,  
la vna mano en la mexilla,  
y la otra en el costado," etc.

It may be thus done into pretty literal doggerel:

In Tacuba stood Cortés,  
With many a care oppress,  
Thoughts of the past came o'er him,  
And he bowed his haughty crest.  
One hand upon his cheek he laid,  
The other on his breast,  
While his valiant squadrons round  
him, etc.

Tacuba was the point which Cortés had reached on his former expedition round the northern side of the Valley. He had now, therefore, made the entire circuit of the great lake; had reconnoitred the several approaches to the capital, and inspected with his own eyes the dispositions made on the opposite quarters for its defence. He had no occasion to prolong his stay in Tacuba, the vicinity of which to Mexico must soon bring on him its whole warlike population.

Early on the following morning he resumed his march, taking the route pursued in the former expedition north of the small lakes. He met with less annoyance from the enemy than on the preceding days; a circumstance owing in some degree, perhaps, to the state of the weather, which was exceedingly tempestuous. The soldiers, with their garments heavy with moisture, ploughed their way with difficulty through miry roads flooded by the torrents. On one occasion, as their military chronicler informs us, the officers neglected to go the rounds of the camp at night, and the sentinels to mount guard, trusting to the violence of the storm for their protection. Yet the fate of Narvaez might have taught them not to put their faith in the elements.

At Acolman, in the Acolhuan territory, they were met by Sandoval, with the friendly cacique of Tezcuco, and several cavaliers, among whom were some recently arrived from the Islands. They cordially greeted their countrymen, and communicated the tidings that the canal was completed, and that the brigantines, rigged and equipped, were ready to be launched on the bosom of the lake. There seemed to be no reason, therefore, for longer postponing operations against Mexico.—With this welcome intelligence, Cortés and his victorious legions made their entry for the last time into the Acolhuan capital, having consumed just three weeks in completing the circuit of the Valley.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Conspiracy in the Army.—Brigantines Launched.—Muster of Forces.—  
Execution of Xicotencatl.—March of the Army.—Beginning of the  
Siege.**

1521

At the very time when Cortés was occupied with reconnoitring the Valley, preparatory to his siege of the capital, a busy faction in Castile was labouring to subvert his authority and defeat his plans of conquest altogether. The fame of his brilliant exploits had spread not only through the Isles, but to Spain and many parts of Europe, where a general admiration was felt for the invincible energy of the man who with his single arm, as it were, could so long maintain a contest with the powerful Indian empire. The absence of the Spanish monarch from his dominions, and the troubles of the country, can alone explain the supine indifference shown by the government to the prosecution of this great enterprise. To the same causes it may be ascribed that no action was had in regard to the suits of Velasquez and Narvaez, backed as they were by so potent an advocate as Bishop Fonseca, president of the Council of the Indies. The reins of government had fallen into the hands of Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor, and afterwards Pope,—a man of learning, and not without sagacity, but slow and timid in his policy, and altogether incapable of that decisive action which suited the bold genius of his predecessor, Cardinal Ximenes.

In the spring of 1521, however, a number of ordinances passed the Council of the Indies, which threatened an important innovation in the affairs of



New Spain. It was decreed that the Royal Audience of Hispaniola should abandon the proceedings already instituted against Narvaez for his treatment of the commissioner Ayllon; that that unfortunate commander should be released from his confinement at Vera Cruz; and that an arbitrator should be sent to Mexico with authority to investigate the affairs and conduct of Cortés and to render ample justice to the governor of Cuba. There were not wanting persons at court who looked with dissatisfaction on these proceedings, as an unworthy requital of the services of Cortés, and who thought the present moment, at any rate, not the most suitable for taking measures which might discourage the general and perhaps render him desperate. But the arrogant temper of the Bishop of Burgos overruled all objections; and the ordinances, having been approved by the Regency, were signed by that body, April 11, 1521. A person named Tápia, one of the functionaries of the Audience at St Domingo, was selected as the new commissioner to be despatched to Vera Cruz. Fortunately, circumstances occurred which postponed the execution of the design for the present, and permitted Cortés to go forward unmolested in his career of conquest.<sup>1</sup>

But, while thus allowed to remain, for the present at least, in possession of authority, he was assailed by a danger nearer home, which menaced not only his authority, but his life. This was a conspiracy in the army, of a more dark and dangerous character than any hitherto formed there. It was set on foot by a common soldier, named Antonio Villafañá, a native of Old Castile, of whom nothing is known but his share in this transaction. He was one of the troop of Narvaez,—that leaven of disaffection, which had remained with the army, swelling with discontent on every light occasion, and ready at all times to rise into mutiny. They had voluntarily continued in the service after the

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, de Verzara, Escrivano Público de lib. 1, cap. 15.—Relacion de Alonso Vera Cruz, MS., dec. 21.

secession of their comrades at Tlascala; but it was from the same mercenary hopes with which they had originally embarked in the expedition,—and in these they were destined still to be disappointed. They had little of the true spirit of adventure which distinguished the old companions of Cortés; and they found the barren laurels of victory but a sorry recompense for all their toils and sufferings.

With these men were joined others, who had causes of personal disgust with the general; and others, again, who looked with distrust on the result of the war. The gloomy fate of their countrymen who had fallen into the enemy's hands filled them with dismay. They felt themselves the victims of a chimerical spirit in their leader, who, with such inadequate means was urging to extremity so ferocious and formidable a foe; and they shrank with something like apprehension from thus pursuing the enemy into his own haunts, where he would gather tenfold energy from despair.

These men would have willingly abandoned the enterprise and returned to Cuba; but how could they do it? Cortés had control over the whole route from the city to the sea-coast; and not a vessel could leave its ports without his warrant. Even if he were put out of the way, there were others, his principal officers, ready to step into his place and avenge the death of their commander. It was necessary to embrace these, also in the scheme of destruction; and it was proposed, therefore, together with Cortés, to assassinate Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, and two or three others most devoted to his interests. The conspirators would then raise the cry of liberty, and doubted not that they should be joined by the greater part of the army, or enough, at least, to enable them to work their own pleasure. They proposed to offer the command, on Cortés's death, to Francisco Verdugo, a brother-in-law of Velasquez. He was an honourable cavalier, and not privy to their design. But they had little doubt that he would acquiesce in the command thus in a manner forced

upon him, and this would secure them the protection of the governor of Cuba, who, indeed, from his own hatred of Cortés, would be disposed to look with a lenient eye on their proceedings.

The conspirators even went so far as to appoint the subordinate officers, an *alguacil mayor* in place of Sandoval, a quartermaster-general to succeed Olid, and some others.<sup>2</sup> The time fixed for the execution of the plot was soon after the return of Cortés from his expedition. A parcel, pretended to have come by a fresh arrival from Castile, was to be presented to him while at table, and when he was engaged in breaking open the letters, the conspirators were to fall on him and his officers and dispatch them with their poniards. Such was the iniquitous scheme devised for the destruction of Cortés and the expedition. But a conspiracy, to be successful, especially when numbers are concerned, should allow but little time to elapse between its conception and its execution.

On the day previous to that appointed for the perpetration of the deed, one of the party, feeling a natural compunction at the commission of the crime, went to the general's quarters and solicited a private interview with him. He threw himself at his commander's feet, and revealed all the particulars relating to the conspiracy, adding that in Villafañá's possession a paper would be found, containing the names of his accomplices. Cortés, thunderstruck at the disclosure, lost not a moment in profiting by it. He sent for Alvarado, Sandoval, and one or two other officers marked out by the conspirator, and, after communicating the affair to them, went at once with them to Villafañá's quarters, attended by four *alguacils*.

They found him in conference with three or four friends, who were instantly taken from the apartment

<sup>2</sup> "Hacia Alguazil mayor é Alferez, y Alcaldes, y Regidores, y Contador, y Tesorero, y Ueedor, y otras cosas deste arte, y aun repar-

tido entre ellos nuestros bienes, y caualllos." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista cap. 146.

and placed in custody. Villafañá, confounded at this sudden apparition of his commander, had barely time to snatch a paper, containing the signatures of the confederates, from his bosom, and attempt to swallow it. But Cortés arrested his arm and seized the paper. As he glanced his eye rapidly over the fatal list, he was much moved at finding there the names of more than one who had some claim to consideration in the army. He tore the scroll in pieces, and ordered Villafañá to be taken into custody. He was immediately tried by a military court hastily got together, at which the general himself presided. There seems to have been no doubt of the man's guilt. He was condemned to death, and after allowing him time for confession and absolution, the sentence was executed by hanging him from the window of his own quarters.\*

Those ignorant of the affair were astonished at the spectacle; and the remaining conspirators were filled with consternation when they saw that their plot was detected, and anticipated a similar fate for themselves. But they were mistaken. Cortés pursued the matter no further. A little reflection convinced him that to do so would involve him in the most disagreeable, and even dangerous perplexities. And, however much the parties implicated in so foul a deed might deserve death, he could ill afford the loss even of the guilty, with his present limited numbers. He resolved, therefore, to content himself with the punishment of the ringleader.

He called his troops together, and briefly explained to them the nature of the crime for which Villafañá had suffered. He had made no confession he said, and the guilty secret had perished with him. He then expressed his sorrow that any should have been found in their ranks capable of so base an act, and stated his own unconsciousness of having wronged any individual

\* Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 146.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 48.—

Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 1.

among them; but, if he had done so, he invited them frankly to declare it, as he was most anxious to afford them all the redress in his power.<sup>4</sup> But there was no one of his audience, whatever might be his grievances, who cared to enter his complaint at such a moment; least of all were the conspirators willing to do so, for they were too happy at having, as they fancied, escaped detection, to stand forward now in the ranks of the malcontents. The affair passed off, therefore, without further consequences.

The conduct of Cortés in this delicate conjuncture shows great coolness, and knowledge of human nature. Had he suffered his detection, or even his suspicion, of the guilty parties to take air, it would have placed him in hostile relations with them for the rest of his life. It was a disclosure of this kind, in the early part of Louis the Eleventh's reign, to which many of the troubles of his later years were attributed.<sup>5</sup> The mask once torn away, there is no longer occasion to consult even appearances. The door seems to be closed against reform. The alienation, which might have been changed by circumstances or conciliated by kindness, settles into a deep and deadly rancour. And Cortés would have been surrounded by enemies in his own camp more implacable than those in the camp of the Aztecs.

As it was, the guilty soldiers had suffered too serious apprehensions to place their lives hastily in a similar jeopardy. They strove, on the contrary, by demonstrations of loyalty, and the assiduous discharge of their duties, to turn away suspicion from themselves. Cortés, on his part, was careful to preserve his natural demeanour, equally removed from distrust and—what

<sup>4</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, ubi supra.

<sup>5</sup> So says M. de Barante in his picturesque *refacimento* of the ancient chronicles: "Les procès du comté et de monsieur de Némours, bien d'autres révélations, avaient fait

éclater, leur mauvais vouloir, ou du moins leur peu de fidélité pour le roi; ils ne pouvaient donc douter qu'il désirât ou complotât leur ruine." Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne (Paris, 1838), tom. xi. p. 169.

was perhaps more difficult—that studied courtesy which intimates, quite as plainly, suspicion of the party who is the object of it. To do this required no little address. Yet he did not forget the past. He had, it is true, destroyed the scroll containing the list of the conspirators. But the man that has once learned the names of those who have conspired against his life has no need of a written record to keep them fresh in his memory. Cortés kept his eye on all their movements, and took care to place them in no situation, afterwards, where they could do him injury.\*

This attempt on the life of their commander excited a strong sensation in the army, with whom his many dazzling qualities and brilliant military talents had made him a general favourite. They were anxious to testify their reprobation of so foul a deed, coming from their own body, and they felt the necessity of taking some effectual measures for watching over the safety of one with whom their own destinies, as well as the fate of the enterprise, were so intimately connected. It was arranged, therefore, that he should be provided with a guard of soldiers, who were placed under the direction of a trusty cavalier named Antonio de Quiñones. They constituted the general's body-guard during the rest of the campaign, watching over him day and night, and protecting him from domestic treason no less than from the sword of the enemy.

It was stated at the close of the last chapter, the Spaniards, on their return to quarters, found the construction of the brigantines completed, and that they were fully rigged, equipped, and ready for service. The canal, also, after having occupied eight thousand men for nearly two months, was finished.

It was a work of great labour; for it extended half a league in length, was twelve feet wide, and as many deep. The sides were strengthened by palisades of

\* “Y desde allí adelante, aunque mostrava gran voluntad á las personas que eran en la cójuraci6,

siempre se rezelava dellos.” Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 146.

wood, or solid masonry. At intervals, dams and locks were constructed, and part of the opening was through the hard rock. By this avenue the brigantines might now be safely introduced on the lake.<sup>7</sup>

Cortés was resolved that so auspicious an event should be celebrated with due solemnity. On the 28th of April, the troops were drawn up under arms, and the whole population of Tezcuco assembled to witness the ceremony. Mass was performed, and every man in the army, together with the general, confessed and received the sacrament. Prayers were offered up by Father Olmedo, and a benediction invoked on the little navy, the first—worthy of the name—ever launched on American waters.<sup>8</sup> The signal was given by the firing of a cannon, when the vessels, dropping down the canal, one after another, reached the lake in good order; and, as they emerged on its ample bosom, with music sounding, and the royal ensign of Castile proudly floating from their masts, a shout of admiration arose from the countless multitudes of spectators, which mingled with the roar of artillery and musketry from the vessels and the shore!<sup>9</sup> It was a novel spectacle to the simple natives; and they gazed with wonder on the gallant ships, which, fluttering like sea-birds on their snowy pinions, bounded lightly over the waters, as if rejoicing in their element. It touched the stern hearts of the Conquerors with a glow of rapture, and, as they felt that Heaven had blessed their undertaking, they broke forth, by general accord, into the noble

<sup>7</sup> Ixtlilxochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, p. 19.—*Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 234.—“Obragrandissima,” exclaims the Conqueror, “y mucho para ver.”—“Fuéron en guarde de estos bergantines,” adds Camargo, “mas de diez mil hombres de guerra con los maestros dellas, hasta que los armáron y echáron en el agua y laguna de Méjico, que fué obra de mucho efecto para tomarse Méjico.” *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.

<sup>8</sup> The brigantines were still to be

seen, preserved, as precious memorials, long after the conquest, in the dockyards of Mexico. Toribio, *Hist. de los Indios*, MS., Parte 1., cap. 1.

<sup>9</sup> “Dada la señal, soltó la Presa, fuéron saliendo los Vergantines, sin tocar uno á otro, i apartándose por la Laguna, desplegaron las Vánderas, tocó la Música, disparáron su Artillería, respondió la del Exército, así de Castellanos, como de Indios.” Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 1., cap. 6.

anthem of the *Te Deum*. But there was no one of that vast multitude for whom the sight had deeper interest than their commander. For he looked on it as the work, in a manner, of his own hands; and his bosom swelled with exultation, as he felt he was now possessed of a power strong enough to command the lake, and to shake the haughty towers of Tenochtitlan.<sup>10</sup>

The general's next step was to muster his forces in the great square of the capital. He found they amounted to eighty-seven horse, and eight hundred and eighteen foot, of which one hundred and eighteen were arquebusiers and crossbowmen. He had three large field-pieces of iron, and fifteen lighter guns or falconets of brass.<sup>11</sup> The heavier cannon had been transported from Vera Cruz to Tezcuco, a little while before, by the faithful Tlascalans. He was well supplied with shot and balls, with about ten hundred-weight of powder, and fifty thousand copper-headed arrows, made after a pattern furnished by him to the natives.<sup>12</sup> The number and appointments of the army much exceeded what they had been at any time since the flight from Mexico, and showed the good effects of the late arrivals from the Islands. Indeed, taking the fleet into the account, Cortés had never before been in so good a condition for carrying on his operations. Three hundred of the men were sent to man the vessels, thirteen, or rather twelve, in number, one of the smallest having been found, on trial, too dull a

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., ubi supra.—Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 234.—Ixtlilxochitl, Venida de los Españoles, p. 19.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 48.—The last-mentioned chronicler indulges in no slight swell of exultation at this achievement of his hero, which in his opinion throws into shade the boasted exploits of the great Sesostria. "Otras muchas é notables cosas, cuenta este actor que he dicho de aqueste Rey Sesori, en que no me quiero detener, ni las

tengo en tanto como esta tranchea, ó canja que es dicho, y los Vergantines de que tratamos, los quales diéron ocasion á que se oviesen mayores Thesoros é Provincias, é Reynos, que no tuvo Sesori, para la corona Real de Castilla por la industria de Hernando Cortés." Ibid., lib. 33, cap. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 234.

<sup>12</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 147.



sailer to be of service. Half of the crews were required to navigate the ships. There was some difficulty in finding hands for this, as the men were averse to the employment. Cortés selected those who came from Palos, Moguer, and other maritime towns, and, notwithstanding their frequent claims of exemption, as *hidalgos*, from this menial occupation, he pressed them into the service.<sup>13</sup> Each vessel mounted a piece of heavy ordnance, and was placed under an officer of respectability, to whom Cortés gave a general code of instructions for the government of the little navy, of which he proposed to take the command in person.

He had already sent to his Indian confederates, announcing his purpose of immediately laying siege to Mexico, and called on them to furnish their promised levies within the space of ten days at furthest. The Tlascalans he ordered to join him in Tezcuco; the others were to assemble at Chalco, a more convenient place of rendezvous for the operations in the southern quarter of the Valley. The Tlascalans arrived within the time prescribed, led by the younger Xicotencatl, supported by Chichimecatl, the same doughty warrior who had convoyed the brigantines to Tezcuco. They came fifty thousand strong, according to Cortés,<sup>14</sup> making a brilliant show with their military finery, and marching proudly forward under the great national banner, emblazoned with a spread eagle, the arms of

<sup>13</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.—*Hidalguía*, besides its legal privileges, brought with it some fanciful ones to its possessor; if, indeed, it be considered a privilege to have excluded him from many a humble, but honest, calling, by which the poor man might have gained his bread. (For an amusing account of these, see Doblado's Letters from Spain, let. 2.) In no country has the *poor gentleman* afforded so rich a theme for the satirist, as the writings of Le Sage, Cervantes,

and Lope de Vega abundantly show.

<sup>14</sup> "Y los Capitanes de Tascaltecal con toda su gente, muy lúcida, y bien armada, . . . y segun la cuenta, que los Capitanes nos diéron, pasaban de cinquenta mil Hombres de Guerra." (Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 236.) "I toda la Gente," adds Herrera, "tardó tres Dias en entrar, segun en sus Memoriales dice Alonso de Ojeda, ni con ser Tezcuco tan gran Ciudad, cabian en ella." Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 13.

the republic.<sup>15</sup> With as blithe and manly a step as if they were going to the battle-ground, they defiled through the gates of the capital, making its walls ring with the friendly shouts of "Castile and Tlascala."

The observations which Cortés had made in his late tour of reconnoissance had determined him to begin the siege by distributing his forces into three separate camps, which he proposed to establish at the extremities of the principal causeways. By this arrangement the troops would be enabled to move in concert on the capital, and be in the best position to intercept its supplies from the surrounding country. The first of these points was Tacuba, commanding the fatal causeway of the *noche triste*. This was assigned to Pedro de Alvarado, with a force consisting, according to Cortés' own statement, of thirty horse, one hundred and sixty-eight Spanish infantry, and five-and-twenty thousand Tlascalans. Cristóval de Olid had command of the second army, of much the same magnitude, which was to take up its position at Cojohuacan, the city, it will be remembered, overlooking the short causeway connected with that of Iztapalapan. Gonzalo de Sandoval had charge of the third division, of equal strength with each of the two preceding, but which was to draw its Indian levies from the forces assembled at Chalco. This officer was to march on Iztapalapan and complete the destruction of that city, begun by Cortés soon after his entrance into the Valley. It was too formidable a post to remain in the rear of the army. The general intended to support the attack with his brigantines, after which the subsequent movements of Sandoval would be determined by circumstances.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "Y sus vâderas tãdidas, y el ane blãca q̃ tienen por armas, q̃ parece águila, con sus alas tendidas." (Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 149.) A spread eagle of gold, Clavigero considers as the arms of the republic. (Clavigero, Stor. del Messico, tom. ii. p. 145.) But, as Bernal Diaz speaks

of it as "white," it may have been the white heron, which belonged to the house of Xicotencatl.

<sup>16</sup> The precise amount of each division, as given by Cortés, was,—in that of Alvarado, 30 horse, 168 Castilian infantry, and 25,000 Tlascalans; in that of Olid, 33 horse, 178 infantry, 20,000 Tlas-

Having announced his intended dispositions to his officers, the Spanish commander called his troops together, and made one of those brief and stirring harangues with which he was wont on great occasions to kindle the hearts of his soldiery. "I have taken the last step," he said; "I have brought you to the goal for which you have so long panted. A few days will place you before the gates of Mexico,—the capital from which you were driven with so much ignominy. But we now go forward under the smiles of Providence. Does any one doubt it? Let him but compare our present condition with that in which we found ourselves not twelve months since, when, broken and dispirited, we sought shelter within the walls of Tlascalala; nay, with that in which we were but a few months since, when we took up our quarters in Tezcuco."<sup>17</sup> Since that time our strength has been nearly doubled. We are fighting the battles of the Faith, fighting for our honour, for riches, for revenge. I have brought you face to face with your foe. It is for you to do the rest."<sup>18</sup>

The address of the bold chief was answered by the thundering acclamations of his followers, who declared that every man would do his duty under such a leader; and they only asked to be led against the enemy.<sup>19</sup> Cortés then caused the regulations for the army, pub-

calans; and in Sandoval's, 24 horse, 167 infantry, 30,000 Indians. (Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 236.) Diaz reduces the number of native troops to one-third. Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 150.

<sup>17</sup> "Que se alegrassen, y esforzassen mucho, pues que veian, que nuestro Señor nos encaminaba para haber victoria de nuestros Enemigos: porque bien sabian, que quando habiamos entrado en Tlascalco, no habiamos trahido mas de quarenta de Caballo, y que Dios nos habia socorrido mejor, que lo habiamos pensado." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 235.

<sup>18</sup> Oviedo expands what he nevertheless calls the "breve é substancial oracion" of Cortés into treble the length of it as found in the general's own pages; in which he is imitated by most of the other chroniclers. Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 22.

<sup>19</sup> "Y con estas últimas palabras cesó; y todos respondieron sin discrepancia, é á una voce dicentes; Sirvanse Dios y el Emperador nuestro Señor de tan buen capitan, y de nosotros, que así lo haríamos todos como quien somos, y como se debe esperar de buenos Españoles, y con tanta voluntad, y deseo,

lished at Tlascala, to be read again to the troops, with the assurance that they should be enforced to the letter.

It was arranged that the Indian forces should precede the Spanish by a day's march, and should halt for their confederates on the borders of the Tezcucan territory. A circumstance occurred soon after their departure which gave bad augury for the future. A quarrel had arisen in the camp at Tezcucan between a Spanish soldier and a Tlascalan chief, in which the latter was badly hurt. He was sent back to Tlascala, and the matter was hushed up, that it might not reach the ears of the general, who, it was known, would not pass it over lightly. Xicotencatl was a near relative of the injured party, and on the first day's halt he took the opportunity to leave the army, with a number of his followers, and set off for Tlascala. Other causes are assigned for his desertion.<sup>20</sup> It is certain that from the first he had looked on the expedition with an evil eye, and had predicted that no good would come of it. He came into it with reluctance, as, indeed, he detested the Spaniards in his heart.

His partner in the command instantly sent information of the affair to the Spanish general, still encamped at Tezcucan. Cortés, who saw at once the mischievous consequences of this defection at such a time, detached a party of Tlascalan and Tezcucan Indians after the fugitive, with instructions to prevail on him, if possible, to return to his duty. They overtook him on the road, and remonstrated with him on his conduct, contrasting it with that of his countrymen generally, and of his own father in particular, the steady friend of

dicho que parecia que cada hora les era perder vn año de tiempo por estar ya á las manos con los Enemigos." Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., ubi supra.

<sup>20</sup> According to Diaz, the desire to possess himself of the lands of his comrade Chichimecatl, who re-

mained with the army (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 150) ; according to Herrera, it was an amour that carried him home. (Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 17.) Both and all agree on the chief's aversion to the Spaniards and to the war.

S

VOL. II

the white men. "So much the worse," replied the chieftain: "if they had taken my counsel, they would never have become the dupes of the perfidious strangers."<sup>21</sup> Finding their remonstrances received only with anger or contemptuous taunts, the emissaries returned without accomplishing their object.

Cortés did not hesitate on the course he was to pursue. "Xicotencatl," he said, "had always been the enemy of the Spaniards, first in the field, and since in the council-chamber; openly, or in secret, still the same,—their implacable enemy. There was no use in parleying with the false-hearted Indian." He instantly despatched a small body of horse with an alguacil to arrest the chief wherever he might be found, even though it were in the streets of Tlascala, and to bring him back to Tezcuco. At the same time, he sent information of Xicotencatl's proceedings to the Tlascalan senate, adding that desertion among the Spaniards was punished with death.

The emissaries of Cortés punctually fulfilled his orders. They arrested the fugitive chief,—whether in Tlascala or in its neighbourhood is uncertain,—and brought him a prisoner to Tezcuco, where a high gallows, erected in the great square, was prepared for his reception. He was instantly led to the place of execution; his sentence and the cause for which he suffered were publicly proclaimed, and the unfortunate cacique expiated his offence by the vile death of a malefactor. His ample property, consisting of lands, slaves, and some gold, was all confiscated to the Castilian crown.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "Y la respuesta que le embió á dezir fué, que si el viejo de su padre, y Masse Escnci le huvieran creído, que no se huvieran señoreado tanto dellos, que les haze hazer todo lo que quiere: y por no gastar mas palabras, dize, que no quería venir." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 150.

<sup>22</sup> So says Herrera, who had in

his possession the memorial of Ojeda, one of the Spaniards employed to apprehend the chieftain. (Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 17, and Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 90.) Bernal Diaz, on the other hand, says that the Tlascalan chief was taken and executed on the road. (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 150.) But the lat-

Thus perished Xicotencatl, in the flower of his age,—as dauntless a warrior as ever led an Indian army to battle. He was the first chief who successfully resisted the arms of the invaders; and, had the natives of Anahuac, generally, been animated with a spirit like his, Cortés would probably never have set foot in the capital of Montezuma. He was gifted with a clearer insight into the future than his countrymen; for he saw that the European was an enemy far more to be dreaded than the Aztec. Yet, when he consented to fight under the banner of the white men, he had no right to desert it, and he incurred the penalty prescribed by the code of savage as well as of civilized nations. It is said, indeed, that the Tlascalcan senate aided in apprehending him, having previously answered Cortés that his crime was punishable with death by their own laws.<sup>23</sup> It was a bold act, however, thus to execute him in the midst of his people. For he was a powerful chief, heir to one of the four seigniories of the republic. His chivalrous qualities made him popular, especially with the younger part of his countrymen; and his garments were torn into shreds at his death and distributed as sacred relics among them. Still, no resistance was offered to the execution of the sentence, and no commotion followed it. He was the only Tlascalcan who ever swerved from his loyalty to the Spaniards.

According to the plan of operations settled by Cortés, Sandoval, with his division, was to take a southern

ter chronicler was probably absent at the time with Alvarado's division, in which he served. Solís, however, prefers his testimony, on the ground that Cortés would not have hazarded the execution of Xicotencatl before the eyes of his own troops. (*Conquista*, lib. 5, cap. 19.) But the Tlascalans were already well on their way towards Tacuba. A very few only could have remained in Tezcuco, which

was occupied by the citizens and the Castilian army,—neither of them very likely to interfere in the prisoner's behalf. His execution there would be an easier matter than in the territory of Tlascala, which he had probably reached before his apprehension.

<sup>23</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 17.—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 90.

direction, while Alvarado and Olid would make the northern circuit of the lakes. These two cavaliers, after getting possession of Tacuba, were to advance to Chapoltepec and demolish the great aqueduct there, which supplied Mexico with water. On the tenth of May they commenced their march; but at Acolman, where they halted for the night, a dispute arose between the soldiers of the two divisions, respecting their quarters. From words they came to blows, and a defiance was even exchanged between the leaders, who entered into the angry feelings of their followers.<sup>24</sup> Intelligence of this was soon communicated to Cortés, who sent at once to the fiery chiefs, imploring them, by their regard for him and the common cause, to lay aside their differences, which must end in their own ruin and that of the expedition. His remonstrance prevailed, at least, so far as to establish a show of reconciliation between the parties. But Olid was not a man to forget, or easily to forgive; and Alvarado, though frank and liberal, had an impatient temper much more easily excited than appeased. They were never afterwards friends.<sup>25</sup>

The Spaniards met with no opposition on their march. The principal towns were all abandoned by the inhabitants, who had gone to strengthen the garrison of Mexico, or taken refuge with their families among the mountains. Tacuba was in like manner deserted, and the troops once more established themselves in their old quarters in the lordly city of the Tepanecs.<sup>26</sup>

\* "Y sobre ello ya auíamos echado mano á las armas los de nuestra Capitanía contra los de Christóval de Oli, y aun los Capitanes desafiados." Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 150.

† Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 150.—*Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 237.—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 130.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 23.

‡ The Tepanec capital, shorn of its ancient splendours, is now only interesting from its historic associations. "These plains of Tacuba," says the spirited author of "*Life in Mexico*," "once the theatre of fierce and bloody conflicts, and where, during the siege of Mexico, Alvarado 'of the leap' fixed his camp, now present a very tranquil scene. Tacuba itself is now a small village of mud huts, with

Their first undertaking was to cut off the pipes that conducted the water from the royal streams of Chapultepec to feed the numerous tanks and fountains which sparkled in the court-yards of the capital. The aqueduct, partly constructed of brick-work and partly of stone and mortar, was raised on a strong though narrow dike, which transported it across an arm of the lake; and the whole work was one of the most pleasing monuments of Mexican civilization. The Indians, well aware of its importance, had stationed a large body of troops for its protection. A battle followed, in which both sides suffered considerably, but the Spaniards were victorious. A part of the aqueduct was demolished, and during the siege no water found its way again to the capital through this channel.

On the following day the combined forces descended on the fatal causeway, to make themselves masters, if possible, of the nearest bridge. They found the dike covered with a swarm of warriors, as numerous as on the night of their disaster, while the surface of the lake was dark with the multitude of canoes. The intrepid Christians strove to advance under a perfect hurricane of missiles from the water and the land, but they made slow progress. Barricades thrown across the causeway embarrassed the cavalry and rendered it nearly useless. The sides of the Indian boats were fortified with bulwarks, which shielded the crews from the arquebuses and cross-bows; and, when the warriors on the dike were hard pushed by the pike-men, they threw themselves fearlessly into the water, as if it were their native element, and, reappearing along the sides of the dike, shot off their arrows and javelins with fatal execution. After a long and obstinate struggle, the Christians were compelled to fall back on their own quarters with disgrace, and—including the allies—with nearly as much

some fine old trees, a few very old ruined houses, a ruined church, and some traces of a building, which — assured us had been the pa-

lace of their last monarch; whilst others declare it to have been the site of the Spanish encampment." Vol. i. let. 13.



damage as they had inflicted on the enemy. Olid, disgusted with the result of the engagement, inveighed against his companion as having involved them in it by his wanton temerity, and drew off his forces the next morning to his own station at Cojohuacan.

The camps, separated by only two leagues, maintained an easy communication with each other. They found abundant employment in foraging the neighbouring country for provisions, and in repelling the active sallies of the enemy; on whom they took their revenge by cutting off his supplies. But their own position was precarious, and they looked with impatience for the arrival of the brigantines under Cortés. It was in the latter part of May that Olid took up his quarters at Cojohuacan; and from that time may be dated the commencement of the siege of Mexico.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 237-239. — Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 94. — Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 22. — Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 50. — Gomara, Crónica, cap. 130. — Clavigero settles this date at the day of Corpus Christi, May 30th. (Clavigero, Stor. del Messico, tom. iii. p. 196.) But the Spaniards left Tescuco May 10th, according

to Cortés; and three weeks could not have intervened between their departure and their occupation of Cojohuacan. Clavigero disposes of this difficulty, it is true, by dating the beginning of their march on the 20th instead of the 10th of May; following the chronology of Herrera, instead of that of Cortés. Surely the general is the better authority of the two.

## CHAPTER V.

**Indian Flotilla Defeated.—Occupation of the Causeways.—Desperate Assault.—Firing of the Palaces.—Spirit of the Besieged.—Barracks for the troops.**

1521.

No sooner had Cortés received intelligence that his two officers had established themselves in their respective posts, than he ordered Sandoval to march on Iztapalapan. The cavalier's route led him through a country for the most part friendly; and at Chalco his little body of Spaniards was swelled by the formidable muster of Indian levies who awaited there his approach. After this junction, he continued his march without opposition till he arrived before the hostile city, under whose walls he found a large force drawn up to receive him. A battle followed, and the natives, after maintaining their ground sturdily for some time, were compelled to give way, and to seek refuge either on the water, or in that part of the town which hung over it. The remainder was speedily occupied by the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, Cortés had set sail with his flotilla, intending to support his lieutenant's attack by water. On drawing near the southern shore of the lake, he passed under the shadow of an insulated peak, since named from him the "Rock of the Marquis." It was held by a body of Indians, who saluted the fleet, as it passed, with showers of stones and arrows. Cortés, resolving to punish their audacity, and to clear the lake of his troublesome enemy, instantly landed with a hundred and fifty of his followers. He placed himself at their head, scaled the steep ascent, in the face of a driving storm of missiles, and, reaching the summit, put the garrison to the sword. There was a num-

ber of women and children, also, gathered in the place, whom he spared.<sup>1</sup>

On the top of the eminence was a blazing beacon, serving to notify to the inhabitants of the capital when the Spanish fleet weighed anchor. Before Cortés had regained his brigantine, the canoes and *piraguas* of the enemy had left the harbours of Mexico, and were seen darkening the lake for many a rood. There were several hundred of them, all crowded with warriors, and advancing rapidly by means of their oars over the calm bosom of the waters.<sup>2</sup>

Cortés, who regarded his fleet, to use his own language, as "the key of the war," felt the importance of striking a decisive blow in the first encounter with the enemy.<sup>3</sup> It was with chagrin, therefore, that he found his sails rendered useless by the want of wind. He calmly awaited the approach of the Indian squadron, which, however, lay on their oars at something more than musket-shot distance, as if hesitating to encounter these leviathans of their waters. At this moment, a light air from land rippled the surface of the lake; it gradually freshened into a breeze, and Cortés, taking advantage of the friendly succour, which he may be excused, under all the circumstances, for regarding as especially sent him by Heaven, extended his line of battle, and bore down, under full press of canvas, on the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "It was a beautiful victory," exclaims the Conqueror. "É entrámoslos de tal manera, que ninguno de ellos se escapó, excepto las Mujeres, y Niños; y en este combate me hirieron veinte y cinco Españoles, pero fué muy hermosa Victoria." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> About five hundred boats, according to the general's own estimate (*Ibid.*, loc. cit.); but more than four thousand, according to Bernal Díaz (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 150); who, however, was not present.

<sup>3</sup> "Y como yo deseaba mucho, que el primer reencuentro, que con ellos obiessemos, fuesse de mucha victoria; y se hiciesse de manera, que ellos cobrasen mucho temor de los bergantines, porque la llave de toda la Guerra estaba en ellos." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, pp. 241, 242.

<sup>4</sup> "Plugo á nuestro Señor, que estándonos mirando los unos á los otros, vino un viento de la Tierra muy favorable para embestir con ellos." *Ibid.*, p. 242.

The latter no sooner encountered the bows of their formidable opponents than they were overturned and sent to the bottom by the shock, or so much damaged that they speedily filled and sank. The water was covered with the wreck of broken canoes, and with the bodies of men struggling for life in the waves and vainly imploring their companions to take them on board their over-crowded vessels. The Spanish fleet, as it dashed through the mob of boats, sent off its volleys to the right and left with a terrible effect, completing the discomfiture of the Aztecs. The latter made no attempt at resistance, scarcely venturing a single flight of arrows, but strove with all their strength to regain the port from which they had so lately issued. They were no match in the chase, any more than in the fight, for their terrible antagonist, who, borne on the wings of the wind, careered to and fro at his pleasure, dealing death widely around him, and making the shores ring with the thunders of his ordnance. A few only of the Indian flotilla succeeded in recovering the port, and, gliding up the canals, found a shelter in the bosom of the city, where the heavier burden of the brigantines made it impossible for them to follow. This victory, more complete than even the sanguine temper of Cortés had prognosticated, proved the superiority of the Spaniards, and left them, henceforth, undisputed masters of the Aztec sea.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, loc. cit.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 48.—Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 32.—I may be excused for again quoting a few verses from a beautiful description in "Madoc," and one as pertinent as it is beautiful:

"Their thousand boats, and the ten thousand oars,  
From whose broad bows the waters fall and flash,  
And twice ten thousand feathered helms, and shields,

Glittering with gold and scarlet plumery.

Onward they come with song and swelling horn;

. . . . . On the other side

Advance the *British* barks; the freshening breeze

Fills the broad sail; around the rushing keel

The waters sing, while proudly they sail on,

Lords of the water."

MADOC, Part 2., canto 25

It was nearly dusk when the squadron, coasting along the great southern causeway, anchored off the point of junction, called Xoloc, where the branch from Cojohuacan meets the principal dike. The avenue widened at this point, so as to afford room for two towers, or turreted temples, built of stone, and surrounded by walls of the same material, which presented altogether a position of some strength, and, at the present moment, was garrisoned by a body of Aztecs. They were not numerous, and Cortés, landing with his soldiers, succeeded without much difficulty in dislodging the enemy and in getting possession of the works.

It seems to have been originally the general's design to take up his own quarters with Olid at Cojohuacan. But, if so, he now changed his purpose, and wisely fixed on this spot as the best position for his encampment. It was but half a league distant from the capital, and, while it commanded its great southern avenue, had a direct communication with the garrison at Cojohuacan, through which he might receive supplies from the surrounding country. Here, then, he determined to establish his head-quarters. He at once caused his heavy iron cannon to be transferred from the brigantines to the causeway, and sent orders to Olid to join him with half his force, while Sandoval was instructed to abandon his present quarters and advance to Cojohuacan, whence he was to detach fifty picked men of his infantry to the camp of Cortés. Having made these arrangements, the general busily occupied himself with strengthening the works at Xoloc and putting them in the best posture of defence.

During the first five or six days after their encampment the Spaniards experienced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavoured to prevent their taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the science of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to their usual practice, the Indians made their attacks

by night as well as by day. The water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send showers of arrows into the Christian camp, that fell so thick as to hide the surface of the ground and impede the movements of the soldiers. Others ran along the western side of the causeway, unprotected as it was by the Spanish fleet, and plied their archery with such galling effect that the Spaniards were forced to make a temporary breach in the dike, wide enough to admit two of their own smaller vessels, which, passing through, soon obtained as entire command of the interior basin as they before had of the outer. Still, the bold barbarians, advancing along the causeway, marched up within bow-shot of the Christian ramparts, sending forth such yells and discordant battle-cries that it seemed, in the words of Cortés, "as if heaven and earth were coming together." But they were severely punished for their temerity, as the batteries, which commanded the approaches to the camp, opened a desolating fire, that scattered the assailants and drove them back in confusion to their own quarters.<sup>6</sup>

The two principal avenues to Mexico, those on the south and the west, were now occupied by the Christians. There still remained a third, the great dike of Tepejacac, on the north, which, indeed, taking up the principal street, that passed in a direct line through the heart of the city, might be regarded as a continuation of the dike of Iztapalapan. By this northern route a means of escape was still left open to the besieged, and they availed themselves of it, at present, to maintain their communications with the country and to supply themselves with provisions. Alvarado, who observed

<sup>6</sup> "Y era tanta la multitud," says Cortés, "que por el Agua, y por la Tierra no viamos sino Gente, y daban tantas gritas, y alaridos, que pareció que se hundia el M. indo."

Rel. Terc., p. 245.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 23.—Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 95.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 32.

this from his station at Tacuba, advised his commander of it, and the latter instructed Sandoval to take up his position on the causeway. That officer, though suffering at the time from a severe wound received from a lance in one of the late skirmishes, hastened to obey, and thus, by shutting up its only communication with the surrounding country, completed the blockade of the capital.<sup>7</sup>

But Cortés was not content to wait patiently the effects of a dilatory blockade, which might exhaust the patience of his allies and his own resources. He determined to support it by such active assaults on the city as should still further distress the besieged and hasten the hour of surrender. For this purpose he ordered a simultaneous attack, by the two commanders at the other stations, on the quarters nearest their encampments.

On the day appointed, his forces were under arms with the dawn. Mass, as usual, was performed; and the Indian confederates, as they listened with grave attention to the stately and imposing service, regarded with undisguised admiration the devotional reverence shown by the Christians, whom, in their simplicity, they looked upon as little less than divinities themselves.<sup>8</sup> The Spanish infantry marched in the van, led on by Cortés, attended by a number of cavaliers, dismounted like himself. They had not moved far upon the causeway, when they were brought to a stand by one of the open breaches, that had formerly been traversed by a bridge. On the farther side a solid rampart of stone and lime had been erected, and behind

<sup>7</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 246, 247.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 150.—Herrera, Hist. de las Ind., dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 17.—Defensa, MS., cap. 28.

<sup>8</sup> "Así como fué de día se dixo vna missa de Espiritu Santo, que todos los Christianos oyéron con

mucha devocion; é aun los Indios, como simples, é no entendientes de tan alto misterio, con admiracion estaban atentos notando el silencio de los cathólicos y el acatamiento que al altar, y al sacerdote los Christianos toviéron hasta recibir la benedicion." Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 24.

this a strong body of Aztecs were posted, who discharged on the Spaniards, as they advanced, a thick volley of arrows. The latter vainly endeavoured to dislodge them with their fire-arms and cross-bows; they were too well secured behind their defences.

Cortés then ordered two of the brigantines, which had kept along, one on each side of the causeway, in order to co-operate with the army, to station themselves so as to enfilade the position occupied by the enemy. Thus placed between two well-directed fires, the Indians were compelled to recede. The soldiers on board the vessels, springing to land, bounded like deer up the sides of the dike. They were soon followed by their countrymen under Cortés, who, throwing themselves into the water, swam the undefended chasm and joined in pursuit of the enemy. The Mexicans fell back, however, in something like order, till they reached another opening in the dike, like the former, dismantled of its bridge, and fortified in the same manner by a bulwark of stone, behind which the retreating Aztecs, swimming across the chasm, and reinforced by fresh bodies of their countrymen, again took shelter.

They made good their post, till, again assailed by the cannonade from the brigantines, they were compelled to give way. In this manner breach after breach was carried; and at every fresh instance of success a shout went up from the crews of the vessels, which, answered by the long files of the Spaniards and their confederates on the causeway, made the Valley echo to its borders.

Cortés had now reached the end of the great avenue, where it entered the suburbs. There he halted to give time for the rear-guard to come up with him. It was detained by the labour of filling up the breaches in such a manner as to make a practicable passage for the artillery and horse and to secure one for the rest of the army on its retreat. This important duty was intrusted to the allies, who executed it by tearing down



the ramparts on the margins and throwing them into the chasms, and, when this was not sufficient,—for the water was deep around the southern causeway,—by dislodging the great stones and rubbish from the dike itself, which was broad enough to admit of it, and adding them to the pile, until it was raised above the level of the water.

The street on which the Spaniards now entered was the great avenue that intersected the town from north to south, and the same by which they had first visited the capital.<sup>9</sup> It was broad and perfectly straight, and, in the distance, dark masses of warriors might be seen gathering to the support of their countrymen, who were prepared to dispute the further progress of the Spaniards. The sides were lined with buildings, the terraced roofs of which were also crowded with combatants, who, as the army advanced, poured down a pitiless storm of missiles on their heads, which glanced harmless, indeed, from the coat of mail, but too often found their way through the more common *escaupil* of the soldier, already gaping with many a ghastly rent. Cortés, to rid himself of this annoyance for the future, ordered his Indian pioneers to level the principal buildings as they advanced; in which work of demolition, no less than in the repair of the breaches, they proved of inestimable service.<sup>10</sup>

The Spaniards, meanwhile, were steadily, but slowly, advancing, as the enemy recoiled before the rolling fire of musketry, though turning, at intervals, to dis-

<sup>9</sup> [This street, which is now called the Calle del Rastro, and traverses the whole city from north to south, leading from the Calle del Relox to the causeway of Guadalupe or Tepeyacac, was known at the period immediately following the Conquest as the Calle de Iztapalapa, which name was given to it through its whole extent. In the time of the ancient Mexicans its course was intercepted by the great temple, the principal door of which

fronted upon it. After this edifice had been demolished, the street was opened from one end to the other. Conquista de Méjico (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 157.]

<sup>10</sup> Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 32.—Ixtililxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 95.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 23.—Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 247, 248.

charge their javelins and arrows against their pursuers. In this way they kept along the great street until their course was interrupted by a wide ditch or canal, once traversed by a bridge, of which only a few planks now remained. These were broken by the Indians the moment they had crossed, and a formidable array of spears was instantly seen bristling over the summit of a solid rampart of stone, which protected the opposite side of the canal. Cortés was no longer supported by his brigantines, which the shallowness of the canals prevented from penetrating into the suburbs. He brought forward his arquebusiers, who, protected by the targets of their comrades, opened a fire on the enemy. But the balls fell harmless from the bulwarks of stone; while the assailants presented but too easy a mark to their opponents.

The general then caused the heavy guns to be brought up, and opened a lively cannonade, which soon cleared a breach in the works, through which the musketeers and crossbowmen poured in their volleys thick as hail. The Indians now gave way in disorder, after having held their antagonists at bay for two hours.<sup>11</sup> The latter, jumping into the shallow water, scaled the opposite bank without further resistance, and drove the enemy along the street towards the square, where the

<sup>11</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ubi supra.—Ixtililxochitl, Hist. Chich., MS., cap. 95.—Here terminates the work last cited of the Tezcucan chronicler; who has accompanied us from the earliest period of our narrative down to this point in the final siege of the capital. Whether the concluding pages of the manuscript have been lost, or whether he was interrupted by death, it is impossible to say. But the deficiency is supplied by a brief sketch of the principal events of the siege, which he has left in another of his writings. He had, undoubtedly, uncommon sources of information in his knowledge of the Indian lan-

guages and picture-writing, and in the oral testimony which he was at pains to collect from the actors in the scenes he describes. All these advantages are too often counterbalanced by a singular incapacity for discriminating—I will not say, between historic truth and falsehood (for what is truth?)—but between the probable, or rather the possible, and the impossible. One of the generation of primitive converts to the Romish faith, he lived in a state of twilight civilization, when, if miracles were not easily wrought, it was at least easy to believe them.

sacred pyramid reared its colossal bulk high over the other edifices of the city.

It was a spot too familiar to the Spaniards. On one side stood the palace of Axayacatl, their old quarters, the scene to many of them of so much suffering.<sup>12</sup> Opposite was the pile of low, irregular buildings once the residence of the unfortunate Montezuma; <sup>13</sup> while a third side of the square was flanked by the *Coatepantli*, or Wall of Serpents, which encompassed the great *teocalli* with its little city of holy edifices.<sup>14</sup> The Spaniards halted at the entrance of the square, as if oppressed, and for the moment overpowered, by the bitter recollections that crowded on their minds. But their intrepid leader, impatient at their hesitation, loudly called on them to advance before the Aztecs had time to rally; and, grasping his target in one hand, and waving his sword high above his head with the other, he cried his war-cry of "St. Jago," and led them at once against the enemy.<sup>15</sup>

The Mexicans, intimidated by the presence of their detested foe, who, in spite of all their efforts, had again forced his way into the heart of their city, made no further resistance, but retreated, or rather fled, for refuge into the sacred enclosure of the *teocalli*, where the numerous buildings scattered over its ample area afforded many good points of defence. A few priests, clad in their usual wild and blood-stained vestments, were to be seen lingering on the terraces which wound round the stately sides of the pyramid, chanting hymns

<sup>12</sup> [In the street of Santa Teresa. Conquista de Méjico (transl. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 158.]

<sup>13</sup> [Which forms now what is called "El Empedradillo." Ibid.]

<sup>14</sup> [This wall, adorned with serpents, and crowned with the heads, strung together on stakes, of the human victims sacrificed in the temple, formed the front of the Plaza on the south side, extending from the corner of the Calle de

Plateros east, towards the chains that enclose the cemetery of the cathedral. Ibid.]

<sup>15</sup> "I con todo eso no se determinaban los Christianos de entrar en la Plaza; por lo qual diciendo Hernando Cortés, que no era tiempo de mostrar cansancio, ni cobardía, con una Rodela en la mano, apellidando Santiago, arremetió el primero." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 18.

in honour of their god, and encouraging the warriors below to battle bravely for his altars.<sup>16</sup>

The Spaniards poured through the open gates into the area, and a small party rushed up the winding corridors to its summit. No vestige now remained there of the Cross, or of any other symbol of the pure faith to which it had been dedicated. A new effigy of the Aztec war-god had taken the place of the one demolished by the Christians, and raised its fantastic and hideous form in the same niche which had been occupied by its predecessor. The Spaniards soon tore away its golden mask and the rich jewels with which it was bedizened, and, hurling the struggling priests down the sides of the pyramid, made the best of their way to their comrades in the area. It was full time.<sup>17</sup>

The Aztecs, indignant at the sacrilegious outrage perpetrated before their eyes, and gathering courage from the inspiration of the place, under the very presence of their deities, raised a yell of horror and vindictive fury, as, throwing themselves into something like order, they sprang, by a common impulse, on the Spaniards. The latter, who had halted near the entrance, though taken by surprise, made an effort to maintain their position at the gateway. But in vain; for the headlong rush of the assailants drove them at once into the square, where they were attacked by other bodies of Indians, pouring in from the neighbouring streets. Broken, and losing their presence of mind, the troops made no attempt to rally, but, crossing the square, and abandoning the cannon, planted there, to the enemy, they hurried down the great street of Iztapalapan. Here they were soon mingled with the allies,

<sup>16</sup> Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 32.

<sup>17</sup> Ixtlilxochitl, in his *Thirteenth Relacion*, embracing among other things a brief notice of the capture of Mexico, of which an edition has been given to the world by the industrious Bustamante, bestows the credit of this exploit on Cortés him-

VOL. II

self. "En la capilla mayor donde estaba Huitzilopochtli, que llegaron Cortés é Ixtlilxuchitl á un tiempo, y ambos embistiéron con el ídolo. Cortés cogió la máscara de oro que tenía puesta este ídolo con ciertas piedras preciosas que estaban engastadas en ella." *Venida de los Españoles*, p. 29.

T

who clogged up the way, and who, catching the panic of the Spaniards, increased the confusion, while the eyes of the fugitives, blinded by the missiles that rained on them from the *azoteas*, were scarcely capable of distinguishing friend from foe. In vain Cortés endeavoured to stay the torrent, and to restore order. His voice was drowned in the wild uproar, as he was swept away, like drift-wood, by the fury of the current.

All seemed to be lost;—when suddenly sounds were heard in an adjoining street, like the distant tramp of horses galloping rapidly over the pavement. They drew nearer and nearer, and a body of cavalry soon emerged on the great square. Though but a handful in number, they plunged boldly into the thick of the enemy. We have often had occasion to notice the superstitious dread entertained by the Indians of the horse and his rider. And, although the long residence of the cavalry in the capital had familiarized the natives in some measure with their presence, so long a time had now elapsed since they had beheld them that all their former mysterious terrors revived in full force; and, when thus suddenly assailed in flank by the formidable apparition, they were seized with a panic and fell into confusion. It soon spread to the leading files, and Cortés, perceiving his advantage, turned with the rapidity of lightning, and, at this time supported by his followers, succeeded in driving the enemy with some loss back into the enclosure.

It was now the hour of vespers, and, as night must soon overtake them, he made no further attempt to pursue his advantage. Ordering the trumpets, therefore, to sound a retreat, he drew off his forces in good order, taking with him the artillery which had been abandoned in the square. The allies first went off the ground, followed by the Spanish infantry, while the rear was protected by the horse, thus reversing the order of march on their entrance. The Aztecs hung on the closing files, and, though driven back by frequent charges of the cavalry, still followed in the dis-

tance, shooting off their ineffectual missiles, and filling the air with wild cries and howlings, like a herd of ravenous wolves disappointed of their prey. It was late before the army reached its quarters at Xoloc.<sup>18</sup>

Cortés had been well supported by Alvarado and Sandoval in this assault on the city; though neither of these commanders had penetrated the suburbs, deterred, perhaps, by the difficulties of the passage, which in Alvarado's case were greater than those presented to Cortés, from the greater number of breaches with which the dike in his quarter was intersected. Something was owing, too, to the want of brigantines, until Cortés supplied the deficiency by detaching half of his little navy to the support of his officers. Without their co-operation, however, the general himself could not have advanced so far, nor, perhaps, have succeeded at all in setting foot within the city. The success of this assault spread consternation not only among the Mexicans, but their vassals, as they saw that the formidable preparations for defence were to avail little against the white man, who had so soon, in spite of them, forced his way into the very heart of the capital. Several of the neighbouring places, in consequence, now showed a willingness to shake off their allegiance, and claimed the protection of the Spaniards. Among these were the territory of Xochimilco, so roughly treated by the invaders, and some tribes of Otomies, a rude but valiant people, who dwelt on the western confines of the Valley.<sup>19</sup> Their support was

<sup>18</sup> "Los de Caballo revolían sobre ellos, que siempre alanceaban, ó mataban algunos; é como la Calle era muy larga, hubo lugar de hacerse esto quatro, ó cinco veces. É aunque los Enemigos vian que recibían daño, venían los Perros tan rabiosos, que en ninguna manera los podíamos detener, ni que nos dejassen de seguir." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 250.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 18.—Sahagún, Hist. de Nueva-

España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 32.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 23.

<sup>19</sup> The great mass of the Otomies were an untamed race, who roamed over the broad tracks of the plateau, far away to the north. But many of them, who found their way into the Valley, became blended with the Tezucan, and even with the Tlascalcan nation, making some of the best soldiers in their armies.

valuable, not so much from the additional reinforcements which it brought, as from the greater security it gave to the army, whose outposts were perpetually menaced by these warlike barbarians.<sup>20</sup>

The most important aid which the Spaniards received at this time was from Tezcuco, whose prince, Ixtlilxochitl, gathered the whole strength of his levies, to the number of fifty thousand, if we are to credit Cortés, and led them in person to the Christian camp. By the general's orders, they were distributed among the three divisions of the besiegers.<sup>21</sup>

Thus strengthened, Cortés prepared to make another attack upon the capital, and that before it should have time to recover from the former. Orders were given to his lieutenants on the other causeways to march at the same time, and co-operate with him, as before, in the assault. It was conducted in precisely the same manner as on the previous entry, the infantry taking the van, and the allies and cavalry following. But, to the great dismay of the Spaniards, they found two-thirds of the breaches restored to their former state, and the stones and other materials, with which they had been stopped, removed by the indefatigable enemy. They were again obliged to bring up the cannon, the brigantines ran alongside, and the enemy was dislodged, and driven from post to post, in the same manner as on the preceding attack. In short, the whole

<sup>20</sup> [The Otomies inhabited all the country of Tula on the west, where their language is well preserved. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 161.]

<sup>21</sup> "Istrisuchil [Ixtlilxochitl], que es de edad de veinte y tres, ó veintey quatro años, muy esforzado, amado, y temido de todos." (Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 251.) The greatest obscurity prevails among historians in respect to this prince, whom they seem to have confounded very often with his brother and predecessor on the throne of Tezcuco. It is rare that

either of them is mentioned by any other than his baptismal name of Hernando; and, if Herrera is correct in the assertion that this name was assumed by both, it may explain in some degree the confusion. (Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 18.) I have conformed in the main to the old Tezcuacan chronicler, who gathered his account of his kinsman, as he tells us, from the records of his nation, and from the oral testimony of the contemporaries of the prince himself. *Venida de los Españoles*, pp. 30, 31.

work was to be done over again. It was not till an hour after noon, that the army had won a footing in the suburbs.

Here their progress was not so difficult as before; for the buildings, from the terraces of which they had experienced the most annoyance, had been swept away. Still, it was only step by step that they forced a passage in face of the Mexican militia, who disputed their advance with the same spirit as before. Cortés, who would willingly have spared the inhabitants, if he could have brought them to terms, saw them with regret, as he says, thus desperately bent on a war of extermination. He conceived that there would be no way more likely to affect their minds than by destroying at once some of the principal edifices, which they were accustomed to venerate as the pride and ornament of the city.<sup>22</sup>

Marching into the great square, he selected, as the first to be destroyed, the old palace of Axayacatl, his former barracks. The ample range of low buildings was, it is true, constructed of stone; but the interior, as well as the outworks, the turrets, and roofs, was of wood. The Spaniards, whose associations with the pile were of so gloomy a character, sprang to the work of destruction with a satisfaction like that which the French mob may have felt in the demolition of the Bastille. Torches and firebrands were thrown about in all directions; the lower parts of the building were speedily on fire, which, running along the inflammable hangings and wood-work of the interior, rapidly spread to the second floor. There the element took freer range, and, before it was visible from without, sent up from every aperture and crevice a dense column of

<sup>22</sup> "Daban ocasion, y nos forzaban á que totalmente les destruyesemos. É de esta postrera tenia mas sentimiento, y ma pesaba en el alma, y pensaba que forma ternia para los atemorizar, de manera, que viniessen en conocimiento de su

yerro, y de el daño, que podian recibir de nosotros, y no hacia sino quemalles, y derrocalles las Torres de sus Ídolos, y sus Casas." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 254.



vapour, that hung like a funereal pall over the city. This was dissipated by a bright sheet of flame, which enveloped all the upper regions of the vast pile, till, the supporters giving way, the wide range of turreted chambers fell, amidst clouds of dust and ashes, with an appalling crash, that for a moment stayed the Spaniards in the work of devastation.<sup>23</sup>

It was but for a moment. On the other side of the square, adjoining Montezuma's residence, were several buildings, as the reader is aware, appropriated to animals. One of these was now marked for destruction,—the House of Birds, filled with specimens of all the painted varieties which swarmed over the wide forests of Mexico. It was an airy and elegant building, after the Indian fashion, and, viewed in connection with its object, was undoubtedly a remarkable proof of refinement and intellectual taste in a barbarous monarch. Its light, combustible materials, of wood and bamboo, formed a striking contrast to the heavy stone edifices around it, and made it obviously convenient for the present purpose of the invaders. The torches were applied, and the fanciful structure was soon wrapped in flames, that sent their baleful splendours far and wide over city and lake. Its feathered inhabitants either perished in the fire, or those of stronger wing, bursting the burning lattice-work of the aviary, soared high into the air, and, fluttering for a while over the devoted city, fled with loud screams to their native forests beyond the mountains.

The Aztecs gazed with inexpressible horror on this destruction of the venerable abode of their monarchs and of the monuments of their luxury and splendour. Their rage was exasperated almost to madness as they beheld their hated foes the Tlascalans busy in the work of desolation, and aided by the Tezcucans, their own

<sup>23</sup> [The ruins of this building were brought to light in the process of laying the foundations of the houses recently constructed on the southern side of the street of

Santa Teresa, adjoining the convent of the Conception. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 162.]

allies, and not unfrequently their kinsmen. They vented their fury in bitter execrations, especially on the young prince Ixtlilxochitl, who, marching side by side with Cortés, took his full share in the dangers of the day. The warriors from the house-tops poured the most opprobrious epithets on him as he passed, denouncing him as a false-hearted traitor; false to his country and his blood,—reproaches not altogether unmerited, as his kinsman, who chronicles the circumstance, candidly confesses.<sup>24</sup> He gave little heed to their taunts, however, holding on his way with the dogged resolution of one true to the cause in which he was embarked; and, when he entered the great square, he grappled with the leader of the Aztec forces, wrenched a lance from his grasp, won by the latter from the Christians, and dealt him a blow with his mace, or *maquahuil*, which brought him lifeless to the ground.<sup>25</sup>

The Spanish commander having accomplished the work of destruction, sounded a retreat, sending on the Indian allies, who blocked up the way before him. The Mexicans, maddened by their losses, in wild transports of fury hung close on his rear, and, though driven back by the cavalry, still returned, throwing themselves desperately under the horses, striving to tear the riders from their saddles, and content to throw away their own lives for one blow at their enemy. Fortunately, the greater part of their militia was engaged with the assailants on the opposite quarters of the city, but, thus crippled, they pushed the Spaniards under Cortés so vigorously that few reached the camp that night without bearing on their bodies some token of the desperate conflict.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "Y desde las azoteas deshonorarle llamándole de traidor contra su patria y deudos, y otras razones pesadas, que á la verdad á ellos les sobraba la razon; mas Ixtlilxuchitl callaba y peleaba, que mas estimaba la amistad y salud de los

Cristianos que todo esto." Venida de los Españoles, p. 32.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> For the preceding pages relating to this second assault, see Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 254-256,—Sabagun, Hist. de

On the following day, and, indeed, on several days following, the general repeated his assaults with as little care for repose as if he and his men had been made of iron. On one occasion he advanced some way down the street of Tacuba, in which he carried three of the bridges, desirous, if possible, to open a communication with Alvarado, posted on the contiguous causeway. But the Spaniards in that quarter had not penetrated beyond the suburbs, still impeded by the severe character of the ground, and wanting, it may be, somewhat of that fiery impetuosity which the soldier feels who fights under the eye of his chief.

In each of these assaults the breaches were found more or less restored to their original state by the pertinacious Mexicans, and the materials, which had been deposited in them with so much labour, again removed. It may seem strange that Cortés did not take measures to guard against the repetition of an act which caused so much delay and embarrassment to his operations. He notices this in his Letter to the Emperor, in which he says that to do so would have required either that he should have established his quarters in the city itself, which would have surrounded him with enemies and cut off his communications with the country, or that he should have posted a sufficient guard of Spaniards—for the natives were out of the question—to protect the breaches by night, a duty altogether beyond the strength of men engaged in so arduous a service through the day.<sup>27</sup>

Yet this was the course adopted by Alvarado; who stationed at night a guard of forty soldiers for the defence of the opening nearest to the enemy. This was relieved by a similar detachment, in a few hours, and this again by a third, the two former still lying on their post; so that on an alarm a body of one hundred

Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 33,—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 24,—Defensa, MS. cap. 28.

<sup>27</sup> Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 259.

and twenty soldiers was ready on the spot to repel an attack. Sometimes, indeed, the whole division took up their bivouac in the neighbourhood of the breach, resting on their arms, and ready for instant action.<sup>28</sup>

But a life of such incessant toil and vigilance was almost too severe even for the stubborn constitutions of the Spaniards. "Through the long night," exclaims Diaz, who served in Alvarado's division, "we kept our dreary watch; neither wind, nor wet, nor cold availing anything. There we stood, smarting as we were from the wounds we had received in the fight of the preceding day."<sup>29</sup> It was the rainy season, which continues in that country from July to September;<sup>30</sup> and the surface of the causeways, flooded by the storms, and broken up by the constant movement of such large bodies of men, was converted into a marsh, or rather quagmire, which added inconceivably to the distresses of the army.

The troops under Cortés were scarcely in a better situation. But few of them could find shelter in the rude towers that garnished the works of Xoloc. The greater part were compelled to bivouac in the open air, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. Every man, unless his wounds prevented it, was required by the camp regulations to sleep on his arms; and they were often roused from their hasty slumbers by the midnight call to battle. For Guatemozin, contrary to the usual practice of his countrymen, frequently

<sup>28</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 151.—According to Herrera, Alvarado and Sandoval did not conceal their disapprobation of the course pursued by their commander in respect to the breaches: "I Alvarado, i Sandoval, por su parte, tambien lo hicieron muy bien, culpando á Hernando Cortes por estas retiradas, queriendo muchos que se quedara en lo guando, por no bolver tantas veces á ello." *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 19.

<sup>29</sup> "Porque como era de noche, no aguardauan mucho, y desta manera que he dicho veluamos, que ni porque llouiesse, ni vientos, ni frios, y aunque estauamos metidos en medio de grandes lodos, y heridos, allí auiamos de estar." *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 151.

<sup>30</sup> [That is to say, the more violent part of the rainy season, which lasts, in fact, from May or June to October. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 165.]

selected the hours of darkness to aim a blow at the enemy. "In short," exclaims the veteran soldier above quoted, "so unintermitting were our engagements, by day and by night, during the three months in which we lay before the capital, that to recount them all would but exhaust the reader's patience, and make him fancy he was perusing the incredible feats of a knight-errant of romance."<sup>31</sup>

The Aztec emperor conducted his operations on a systematic plan, which showed some approach to military science. He not unfrequently made simultaneous attacks on the three several divisions of the Spaniards established on the causeways, and on the garrisons at their extremities. To accomplish this, he enforced the service not merely of his own militia of the capital, but of the great towns in the neighbourhood, who all moved in concert, at the well-known signal of the beacon-fire, or of the huge drum struck by the priests on the summit of the temple. One of these general attacks, it was observed, whether from accident or design, took place on the eve of St. John the Baptist, the anniversary of the day on which the Spaniards made their second entry into the Mexican capital.<sup>32</sup>

Notwithstanding the severe drain on his forces by this incessant warfare, the young monarch contrived to relieve them in some degree by different detachments, which took the place of one another. This was apparent from the different uniforms and military badges of the Indian battalions that successively came and disappeared from the field. At night a strict guard was maintained in the Aztec quarters, a thing not common with the nations of the plateau. The

<sup>31</sup> "Porque nouenta y tres dias estuúimos sobre esta tan fuerte ciudad, cada día é de noche teníamos guerras, y combates; é no lo pongo aquí por capítulos lo que cada día hazíamos, porque me parece que sería gran proligidad, é sería cosa para nunca acabar, y parecería a

los libros de Amadís, é de otros corros de caualleros." Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.

<sup>32</sup> Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.—Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 33.

outposts of the hostile armies were stationed within sight of each other. That of the Mexicans was usually placed in the neighbourhood of some wide breach, and its position was marked by a large fire in front. The hours for relieving guard were intimated by the shrill Aztec whistle, while bodies of men might be seen moving behind the flame, which threw a still ruddier glow over the cinnamon-coloured skins of the warriors.

While thus active on land, Guatemozin was not idle on the water. He was too wise, indeed, to cope with the Spanish navy again in open battle; but he resorted to stratagem, so much more congenial to Indian warfare. He placed a large number of canoes in ambush among the tall reeds which fringed the southern shores of the lake, and caused piles, at the same time, to be driven into the neighbouring shallows. Several *piraguas*, or boats of a larger size, then issued forth, and rowed near the spot where the Spanish brigantines were moored. Two of the smallest vessels, supposing the Indian barks were conveying provisions to the besieged, instantly stood after them, as had been foreseen. The Aztec boats fled for shelter to the reedy thicket where their companions lay in ambush. The Spaniards, following, were soon entangled among the palisades under the water. They were instantly surrounded by the whole swarm of Indian canoes, most of the men were wounded, several, including the two commanders, slain, and one of the brigantines fell—a useless prize—into the hands of the victors. Among the slain was Pedro Barba, captain of the crossbowmen, a gallant officer, who had highly distinguished himself in the Conquest. This disaster occasioned much mortification to Cortés. It was a salutary lesson, that stood him in good stead during the remainder of the war.<sup>23</sup>

Thus the contest was waged by land and by water,

<sup>23</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 151.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 34.

—on the causeway, the city, and the lake. Whatever else might fail, the capital of the Aztec empire was true to itself, and, mindful of its ancient renown, opposed a bold front to its enemies in every direction. As in a body whose extremities have been struck with death, life still rallied in the heart, and seemed to beat there, for the time, with even a more vigorous pulsation than ever.

It may appear extraordinary that Guatemozin should have been able to provide for the maintenance of the crowded population now gathered in the metropolis, especially as the avenues were all in the possession of the besieging army.<sup>34</sup> But independently of the preparations made with this view before the siege, and of the loathsome sustenance daily furnished by the victims for sacrifice, supplies were constantly obtained from the surrounding country across the lake. This was so conducted, for a time, as in a great measure to escape observation; and even when the brigantines were commanded to cruise day and night, and sweep the waters of the boats employed in this service, many still contrived, under cover of the darkness, to elude the vigilance of the cruisers, and brought their cargoes into port. It was not till the great towns in the neighbourhood cast off their allegiance that the supply began to fail, from the failure of its sources. This defection was more frequent, as the inhabitants became convinced that the government, incompetent to its own defence, must be still more so to theirs; and the Aztec metropolis saw its great vassals fall off one after another, as the tree over which decay is stealing parts with its leaves at the first blast of the tempest.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> I recollect meeting with no estimate of their numbers; nor, in the loose arithmetic of the Conquerors, would it be worth much. They must, however, have been very great, to enable them to meet the assailants so promptly and efficiently on every point.

<sup>35</sup> Defensa, MS., cap. 28.—Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 34.—The principal cities were Mexicaltzingo, Cuiclahuac, Iztapalapan, Mizquiz, Huicilorocho, Colluacan.

The cities which now claimed the Spanish general's protection supplied the camp with an incredible number of warriors; a number which, if we admit Cortés' own estimate, one hundred and fifty thousand,<sup>36</sup> could have only served to embarrass his operations on the long extended causeways. Yet it is true that the Valley, teeming with towns and villages, swarmed with a population—and one, too, in which every man was a warrior—greatly exceeding that of the present day. These levies were distributed among the three garrisons at the terminations of the causeways; and many found active employment in foraging the country for provisions, and yet more in carrying on hostilities against the places still unfriendly to the Spaniards.

Cortés found further occupation for them in the construction of barracks for his troops, who suffered greatly from exposure to the incessant rains of the season, which were observed to fall more heavily by night than by day. Quantities of stone and timber were obtained from the buildings that had been demolished in the city. They were transported in the brigantines to the causeway, and from these materials a row of huts or barracks was constructed, extending on either side of the works of Xoloc. It may give some idea of the great breadth of the causeway at this place, one of the deepest parts of the lake, to add that, although the barracks were erected in parallel lines on the opposite sides of it, there still remained space enough for the army to defile between.<sup>37</sup>

By this arrangement, ample accommodations were furnished for the Spanish troops and their Indian attendants, amounting in all to about two thousand. The great body of the allies, with a small detachment

<sup>36</sup> "Y como aquel día llevábamos mas de ciento y cincuenta mil Hombres de Guerra." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 280.

<sup>37</sup> "Y vea Vuestra Magestad," says Cortés to the Emperor, "que tan ancha puede ser la Calzada,

que va por lo mas hondo de la Laguna, que de la una parte, y de la otra iban estas Casas, y quedaba en medio hecha Calle, que muy á placer á pie, y á caballo íbamos, y veníamos por ella." Rel. Terc. ap. Lorenzana, p. 260.



of horse and infantry, were quartered at the neighbouring post of Cojohuacan, which served to protect the rear of the encampment and to maintain its communications with the country. A similar disposition of forces took place in the other divisions of the army, under Alvarado and Sandoval, though the accommodations provided for the shelter of the troops on their causeways were not so substantial as those for the division of Cortés.

The Spanish camp was supplied with provisions from the friendly towns in the neighbourhood, and especially from Tezcuco.<sup>38</sup> They consisted of fish, the fruits of the country, particularly a sort of fig borne by the *tuna* (*cactus opuntia*), and a species of cherry, or something much resembling it, which grew abundantly at this season. But their principal food was the *tortillas*, cakes of Indian meal, still common in Mexico, for which bake-houses were established, under the care of the natives, in the garrison towns commanding the causeways.<sup>39</sup> The allies, as appears too probable, reinforced their frugal fare with an occasional banquet on human flesh, for which the battle-field unhappily afforded them too much facility, and which, however shocking to the feelings of Cortés, he did not consider himself in a situation, at that moment, to prevent.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The greatest difficulty under which the troops laboured, according to Diaz, was that of obtaining the requisite medicaments for their wounds. But this was in a great degree obviated by a Catalan soldier, who by virtue of his prayers and incantations wrought wonderful cures both on the Spaniards and their allies. The latter, as the more ignorant, flocked in crowds to the tent of this military Æsculapius, whose success was doubtless in a direct ratio to the faith of his patients. Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.

<sup>39</sup> Diaz mourns over this unsavoury diet. (Hist. de la Conquista, loc. cit.) Yet the Indian

fig is an agreeable, nutritious fruit; and the *tortilla*, made of maize flour, with a slight infusion of lime, though not precisely a *morceau friand*, might pass for very tolerable camp fare. According to the lively Author of "Life in Mexico," it is made now precisely as it was in the days of the Aztecs. If so, a cooking receipt is almost the only thing that has not changed in this country of revolutions.

<sup>40</sup> "Quo strages," says Martyr, "erat crudelior, eo magis copiose ac opipare cœnabant Guazuzingui & Tascaltecani, cæterique provinciales auxilarii, qui soliti sunt hostes in prælio cadentes intra suos ventres sepelire; nec vetare ausus

Thus the tempest, which had been so long mustering, broke at length, in all its fury, on the Aztec capital. Its unhappy inmates beheld the hostile legions encompassing them about, with their glittering files stretching as far as the eye could reach. They saw themselves deserted by their allies and vassals in their utmost need; the fierce stranger penetrating into their secret places, violating their temples, plundering their palaces, wasting the fair city by day, firing its suburbs by night, and intrenching himself in solid edifices under their walls, as if determined never to withdraw his foot while one stone remained upon another. All this they saw; yet their spirits were unbroken; and, though famine and pestilence were beginning to creep over them, they still showed the same determined front to their enemies. Cortés, who would gladly have spared the town and its inhabitants, beheld this resolution with astonishment. He intimated more than once, by means of the prisoners whom he released, his willingness to grant them fair terms of capitulation. Day after day he fully expected his proffers would be accepted. But day after day he was disappointed.<sup>41</sup> He had yet to learn how tenacious was the memory of the Aztecs, and thus, whatever might be the horrors of their present situation, and their fears for the future, they were all forgotten in their hatred of the white man.

fuisse Cortesius." (De Orbe Novo, dec. 5, cap. 8.) "Y los otros les mostraban los de su Ciudad hechos pedazos, diciéndoles, que los habian de cenar aquella noche, y almorzar otro dia, como de hecho lo hacian." (Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 256.) Yet one may well be startled by the assertion of Oviedo, that the carnivorous monsters fished up the bloated bodies of those drowned in the lake to swell their repast! "Ni podian ver los ojos de los Christianos, é Cathólicos, mas espantable é aborrecida cosa, que ver en el Real de los Amigos confederados el continuo exercicio de comer carne

asada, ó cocida de los Indios enemigos, é aun de los que mataban en las canoas, ó se ahogaban, é despues el agua los echaba en la superficie de la laguna, ó en la costa, no los dexaban de pescar, é aposentar en sus vientres." Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 24.

<sup>41</sup> "I confidently expected both on that and the preceding day that they would come with proposals of peace, as I had myself, whether victorious or otherwise, constantly made overtures to that end. But on their part we never perceived a sign of such intention." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 261.

## CHAPTER VI.

**General assault on the City—Defeat of the Spaniards.—Their disastrous condition.—Sacrifice of the Captives—Defection of the Allies.—Constancy of the Troops.**

1521.

FAMINE was now gradually working its way into the heart of the beleaguered city. It seemed certain that, with this strict blockade, the crowded population must in the end be driven to capitulate, though no arm should be raised against them. But it required time; and the Spaniards, though constant and enduring by nature, began to be impatient of hardships scarcely inferior to those experienced by the besieged. In some respects their condition was even worse, exposed as they were to the cold, drenching rains, which fell with little intermission, rendering their situation dreary and disastrous in the extreme.

In this state of things, there were many who would willingly have shortened their sufferings and taken the chance of carrying the place by a *coup de main*. Others thought it would be best to get possession of the great market of Tlatelolco, which, from its situation in the north-western part of the city, might afford the means of communication with the camps of both Alvarado and Sandoval. This place, encompassed by spacious porticoes, would furnish accommodations for a numerous host; and, once established in the capital, the Spaniards would be in a position to follow up the blow with far more effect than at a distance.

These arguments were pressed by several of the officers, particularly by Alderete, the royal treasurer, a person of much consideration, not only from his rank, but from the capacity and zeal he had shown in the

service. In deference to their wishes, Cortés summoned a council of war, and laid the matter before it. The treasurer's views were espoused by most of the high-mettled cavaliers, who looked with eagerness to any change of their present forlorn and wearisome life; and Cortés, thinking it, probably, more prudent to adopt the less expedient course than to enforce a cold and reluctant obedience to his own opinion, suffered himself to be overruled.<sup>1</sup>

A day was fixed for the assault, which was to be made simultaneously by the two divisions under Alvarado and the commander-in-chief. Sandoval was instructed to draw off the greater part of his forces from the northern causeway and to unite himself with Alvarado, while seventy picked soldiers were to be detached to the support of Cortés.

On the appointed morning, the two armies, after the usual celebration of mass, advanced along their respective causeways against the city.<sup>2</sup> They were supported, in addition to the brigantines, by a numerous fleet of Indian boats, which were to force a passage up the canals, and by a countless multitude of allies, whose very numbers served in the end to embarrass their operations. After clearing the suburbs, three avenues presented themselves, which all terminated in the square of Tlatelolco. The principal one, being of much greater width than the other two, might rather be called a causeway than a street, since it was flanked

<sup>1</sup> Such is the account explicitly given by Cortés to the emperor. (Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 264.) Bernal Diaz, on the contrary, speaks of the assault as first conceived by the general himself. (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 151.) Yet Diaz had not the best means of knowing; and Cortés would hardly have sent home a palpable misstatement that could have been so easily exposed.

<sup>2</sup> This punctual performance of mass by the army, in storm and

in sunshine, by day and by night, among friends and enemies, draws forth a warm eulogium from the archiepiscopal editor of Cortés: "En el Campo, en una Calzada, entre Enemigos, trabajando dia, y noche, nunca se omitia la Misa, páraque toda la obra se atribuyesse á Dios, y mas en unos Meses, en que incomodan las Aguas de el Cielo; y encima del Agua las Habitaciones, 6 malas Tiendas." Lorenzana, p. 266, nota.

by deep canals on either side. Cortés divided his force into three bodies. One of them he placed under Alderete, with orders to occupy the principal street. A second he gave in charge to Andrés de Tápia and Jorge de Alvarado; the former a cavalier of courage and capacity, the latter a younger brother of Don Pedro, and possessed of the intrepid spirit which belonged to that chivalrous family. These were to penetrate by one of the parallel streets, while the general himself, at the head of the third division, was to occupy the other. A small body of cavalry, with two or three field-pieces, was stationed as a reserve in front of the great street of Tacuba, which was designated as the rallying-point for the different divisions.<sup>3</sup>

Cortés gave the most positive instructions to his captains not to advance a step without securing the means of retreat by carefully filling up the ditches and the openings in the causeway. The neglect of this precaution by Alvarado, in an assault which he had made on the city but a few days before, had been attended with such serious consequences to his army that Cortés rode over, himself, to his officer's quarters, for the purpose of publicly reprimanding him for his disobedience of orders. On his arrival at the camp, however, he found that his offending captain had conducted the affair with so much gallantry, that the intended reprimand—though well deserved—subsided into a mild rebuke.<sup>4</sup>

The arrangements being completed, the three

<sup>3</sup> In the treasurer's division, according to the general's Letter, there were 70 Spanish foot, 7 or 8 horse, and 15,000 or 20,000 Indians; in Tápia's, 80 foot, and 10,000 allies; and in his own, 8 horse, 100 infantry, and "an infinite number of allies." (*Ibid.*, ubi supra.) The looseness of the language shows that a few thousands more or less were of no great

moment in the estimate of the Indian forces.

<sup>4</sup> "Otro día de mañana acordé de ir á su Real para le reprehender lo pasado. . . . Y visto, no les imputé tanta culpa, como antes parecía tener, y platicado cerca de lo que había de hacer, yo me volví á nuestro Real aquel día." *Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 263, 264.

divisions marched at once up the several streets. Cortés, dismounting, took the van of his own squadron, at the head of his infantry. The Mexicans fell back as he advanced, making less resistance than usual. The Spaniards pushed on, carrying one barricade after another, and carefully filling up the gaps with rubbish, so as to secure themselves a footing. The canoes supported the attack, by moving along the canals and grappling with those of the enemy; while numbers of the nimble-footed Tlascalans, scaling the terraces, passed on from one house to another, where they were connected, hurling the defenders into the streets below. The enemy, taken apparently by surprise, seemed incapable of withstanding for a moment the fury of the assault; and the victorious Christians, cheered on by the shouts of triumph which arose from their companions in the adjoining streets, were only the more eager to be first at the destined goal.

Indeed, the facility of his success led the general to suspect that he might be advancing too fast; that it might be a device of the enemy to draw them into the heart of the city and then surround or attack them in the rear. He had some misgivings, moreover, lest his too ardent officers, in the heat of the chase, should, notwithstanding his commands, have overlooked the necessary precaution of filling up the breaches. He accordingly brought his squadron to a halt, prepared to baffle any insidious movement of his adversary. Meanwhile he received more than one message from Alderete, informing him that he had nearly gained the market. This only increased the general's apprehension that, in the rapidity of his advance, he might have neglected to secure the ground. He determined to trust no eyes but his own, and, taking a small body of troops, proceeded at once to reconnoitre the route followed by the treasurer.

He had not proceeded far along the great street, or causeway, when his progress was arrested by an opening ten or twelve paces wide, and filled with water, at

least two fathoms deep, by which a communication was formed between the canals on the opposite sides. A feeble attempt had been made to stop the gap with the rubbish of the causeway, but in too careless a manner to be of the least service; and a few straggling stones and pieces of timber only showed that the work had been abandoned almost as soon as begun.\* To add to his consternation, the general observed that the sides of the causeway in this neighbourhood had been pared off, and, as was evident, very recently. He saw in all this the artifice of the cunning enemy, and had little doubt that his hot-headed officer had rushed into a snare deliberately laid for him. Deeply alarmed, he set about repairing the mischief as fast as possible, by ordering his men to fill up the yawning chasm.

But they had scarcely begun their labours, when the hoarse echoes of conflict in the distance were succeeded by a hideous sound of mingled yells and war-whoops, that seemed to rend the very heavens. This was followed by a rushing noise, as of the tread of thronging multitudes, showing that the tide of battle was turned back from its former course, and was rolling on towards the spot where Cortés and his little band of cavaliers were planted.

His conjecture proved too true. Alderete had followed the retreating Aztecs with an eagerness which increased with every step of his advance. He had carried the barricades which had defended the breach, without much difficulty, and, as he swept on, gave orders that the opening should be stopped. But the blood of the high-spirited cavaliers was warmed by the chase, and no one cared to be detained by the ignoble occupation of filling up the ditches, while he could

\* "Y hallé, que habian pasado una quebrada de la Calle, que era de diez, ó doce pasos de ancho; y el Agua, que por ella pasaba, era de hondura de mas de dos estados, y al tiempo que la pasáron habian echado en ella madera, y cañas de

carrizo, y como pasaban pocos á pocos, y con tiento, no se habia hundido la madera y cañas." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 268.—See also Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 48.

gather laurels so easily in the fight; and they all pressed on, exhorting and cheering one another with the assurance of being the first to reach the square of Tlatelolco. In this way they suffered themselves to be decoyed into the heart of the city; when suddenly the horn of Guatemozin—the sacred symbol, heard only in seasons of extraordinary peril—sent forth a long and piercing note from the summit of a neighbouring *teocalli*. In an instant, the flying Aztecs, as if maddened by the blast, wheeled about, and turned on their pursuers. At the same time, countless swarms of warriors from the adjoining streets and lanes poured in upon the flanks of the assailants, filling the air with the fierce, unearthly cries which had reached the ears of Cortés, and drowning, for a moment, the wild dissonance which reigned in the other quarters of the capital.\*

The army, taken by surprise, and shaken by the fury of the assault, was thrown into the utmost disorder. Friends and foes, white men and Indians, were mingled together in one promiscuous mass. Spears, swords, and war-clubs were brandished together in the air. Blows fell at random. In their eagerness to escape, they trod down one another. Blinded by the missiles which now rained on them from the *azoteas*, they staggered on, scarcely knowing in what direction, or fell, struck down by hands which they could not see. On they came, like a rushing torrent sweeping along some steep declivity, and rolling in one confused tide towards the open breach, on the farther side of which stood Cortés and his companions, horror-struck at the sight of the approaching ruin. The foremost

\* Gomara, Crónica, cap. 138.—Ixtililxochitl, Venida de los Españoles, p. 37.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 26.—Guatemozin's horn rang in the ears of Bernal Diaz for many a day after the battle. "Guatemuz, y manda tocar su corneta, q era vna señal q quando aquella se tocasse, era q auian de delear sus Capitanes de

manera, q hiziessen presa, ó morir sobre ello; y retumbaua el sonido, q se metia en los oidos, y de q lo oyéro aquellos sus esquadrones, y Capitanes: saber yo aquí dezir aora, con q rabia, y esfuerço se metian entre nosotros á nos echar mano, es cosa de espanto." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 152.



files soon plunged into the gulf, treading one another under the flood, some striving ineffectually to swim, others, with more success, to clamber over the heaps of their suffocated comrades. Many, as they attempted to scale the opposite sides of the slippery dike, fell into the water, or were hurried off by the warriors in the canoes, who added to the horrors of the rout by the fresh storm of darts and javelins which they poured on the fugitives.

Cortés, meanwhile, with his brave followers, kept his station undaunted on the other side of the breach. "I had made up my mind," he says, "to die, rather than desert my poor followers in their extremity!" With outstretched hands he endeavoured to rescue as many as he could from the watery grave, and from the more appalling fate of captivity. He as vainly tried to restore something like presence of mind and order among the distracted fugitives. His person was too well known to the Aztecs, and his position now made him a conspicuous mark for their weapons. Darts, stones, and arrows fell around him thick as hail, but glanced harmless from his steel helmet and armour of proof. At length a cry of "Malinche," "Malinche," arose among the enemy; and six of their number, strong and athletic warriors, rushing on him at once, made a violent effort to drag him on board their boat. In the struggle he received a severe wound in the leg, which, for the time, disabled it. There seemed to be no hope for him; when a faithful follower, Cristóval de Olea, perceiving his general's extremity, threw himself on the Aztecs, and with a blow cut off the arm of one savage, and then plunged his sword in the body of another. He was quickly supported by a comrade named Lerma, and by a Tlascalan chief, who, fighting over the prostrate body of Cortés, despatched three more of the assailants; though the heroic Olea paid

7 "É como el negocio fué tan de morir peleando." Rel. Terc., ap. súbito, y ví que mataban la Gente, Lorenzana, p. 268. determiné de me quedar allí, y

dearly for his self-devotion, as he fell mortally wounded by the side of his general.\*

The report soon spread among the soldiers that their commander was taken; and Quiñones, the captain of his guard, with several others, pouring in to the rescue, succeeded in disentangling Cortés from the grasp of his enemies, who were struggling with him in the water, and, raising him in their arms, placed him again on the causeway. One of his pages, meanwhile, had advanced some way through the press, leading a horse for his master to mount. But the youth received a wound in the throat from a javelin, which prevented him from effecting his object. Another of his attendants was more successful. It was Guzman, his chamberlain; but, as he held the bridle while Cortés was assisted into the saddle, he was snatched away by the Aztecs, and, with the swiftness of thought, hurried off by their canoes. The general still lingered, unwilling

\* *Ixtlilxochitl*, who would fain make his royal kinsman a sort of residuary legatee for all unappropriated, or even doubtful, acts of heroism, puts in a sturdy claim for him on this occasion. A painting, he says, on one of the gates of a monastery of Tlatelolco, long recorded the fact that it was the Tezcucan chief who saved the life of Cortés. (*Venida de los Españoles*, p. 38.) But Camargo gives the full credit of it to Olea, on the testimony of "a famous Tlascalan warrior," present in the action, who reported it to him. (*Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.) The same is stoutly maintained by Bernal Diaz, the townsman of Olea, to whose memory he pays a hearty tribute, as one of the best men and bravest soldiers in the army. (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 152, 204.) Saavedra, the poetic chronicler,—something more of chronicler than poet,—who came on the stage before all that had borne arms in the Conquest had left it, gives the laurel also to Olea, whose fate he

commemorates in verses that at least aspire to historic fidelity:

"Túvole con las manos abraçado,  
Y Francisco de Olea el valeroso,  
Vn valiente Español, y su criado,  
Le tiró vn tajo brauo y riguroso:  
Las dos manos á cercen le ha  
cortado,  
Y él le libró del trance trabajoso.  
Huuó muy gran rumor, porque  
dezian,  
Que ya en prision amarga le  
tenian.

"Llegáron otros Indios arriscados,  
Y á Olea matáron en vn punto,  
Cercáron á Cortés por todos lados,  
Y al miserable cuerpo ya difunto:  
Y viendo sus sentidos recobrados,  
Puso mano á la espada y daga  
junto.  
Antonio de Quiñones llegó luego,  
Capitan de la guarda ardiendo en  
fuego."

EL PEREGRINO INDIANO,  
Canto 20.

to leave the spot while his presence could be of the least service. But the faithful Quiñones, taking his horse by the bridle, turned his head from the breach, exclaiming, at the same time, that "his master's life was too important to the army to be thrown away there."<sup>9</sup>

Yet it was no easy matter to force a passage through the press. The surface of the causeway, cut up by the feet of men and horses, was knee-deep in mud, and in some parts was so much broken that the water from the canals flowed over it. The crowded mass, in their efforts to extricate themselves from their perilous position, staggered to and fro like a drunken man. Those on the flanks were often forced by the lateral pressure of their comrades down the slippery sides of the dike, where they were picked up by the canoes of the enemy, whose shouts of triumph proclaimed the savage joy with which they gathered in every new victim for the sacrifice. Two cavaliers, riding by the general's side, lost their footing, and rolled down the declivity into the water. One was taken and his horse killed. The other was happy enough to escape. The valiant ensign, Corral, had a similar piece of good fortune. He slipped into the canal, and the enemy felt sure of their prize, when he again succeeded in recovering the causeway, with the tattered banner of Castile still flying above his head. The barbarians set up a cry of disappointed rage as they lost possession of a trophy to which the people of Anahuac attached, as we have seen, the highest importance, hardly inferior in their eyes to the capture of the commander-in-chief himself.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> "É aquel Capitan que estaba con el General, que se decia Antonio de Quiñones, dixole: Vamos, Señor, de aquí, y salvemos vuestra Persona, pues que ya esto está de manera, que es morir desesperado atender; é sin vos, ninguno de nosotros puede escapar, que no es esfuerço, sino poquedad, porfiar

aquí otra cosa." Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 26.

<sup>10</sup> It may have been the same banner which is noticed by Mr. Bullock as treasured up in the Hospital of Jesus, "where," says he, "we beheld the identical embroidered standard under which the great captain wrested this im-

Cortés at length succeeded in regaining the firm ground, and reaching the open place before the great street of Tacuba. Here, under a sharp fire of the artillery, he rallied his broken squadrons, and, charging at the head of the little body of horse, which, not having been brought into action, were still fresh, he beat off the enemy. He then commanded the retreat of the two other divisions. The scattered forces again united; and the general, sending forward his Indian confederates, took the rear with a chosen body of cavalry to cover the retreat of the army, which was effected with but little additional loss.<sup>11</sup>

Andres de Tápia was despatched to the western causeway to acquaint Alvarado and Sandoval with the failure of the enterprise. Meanwhile the two captains had penetrated far into the city. Cheered by the triumphant shouts of their countrymen in the adjacent streets, they had pushed on with extraordinary vigour, that they might not be outstripped in the race of glory. They had almost reached the market-place, which lay nearer to their quarters than to the general's, when they heard the blast from the dread horn of Guatemozin,<sup>12</sup> followed by the overpowering yell of the barbarians, which had so startled the ears of Cortés; till at length the sounds of the receding conflict died away in the distance. The two captains now understood that the day must have gone hard with their country-

nense empire from the unfortunate Montezuma." *Six Months in Mexico*, vol. i. chap. 10.

<sup>11</sup> For this disastrous affair, besides the Letter of Cortés, and the Chronicle of Diaz, so often quoted, see Sahagún, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 33,—Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS.,—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 138,—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 94,—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 26, 48.

<sup>12</sup> "El resonido de la corneta de Guatemuz"—Astolfo's magic horn was not more terrible :

"Dico che 'l corno è di sì orribil suono,  
Ch' ovunque s' oda, fa fuggir la gente.  
Non può trovarsi al mondo un cor sì buono,  
Che possa non fuggir come lo sente.  
Rumor di vento e di tremuoto,  
e 'l tuono,  
A par del suon di questo, era niente."  
ORLANDO FURIOSO, Canto 15,  
st. 15.

men. They soon had further proof of it, when the victorious Aztecs, returning from the pursuit of Cortés, joined their forces to those engaged with Sandoval and Alvarado, and fell on them with redoubled fury. At the same time they rolled on the ground two or three of the bloody heads of the Spaniards, shouting the name of "Malinche." The captains, struck with horror at the spectacle,—though they gave little credit to the words of the enemy,—instantly ordered a retreat. Indeed, it was not in their power to maintain their ground against the furious assaults of the besieged, who poured on them, swarm after swarm, with a desperation of which, says one who was there, "although it seems as if it were now present to my eyes, I can give but a faint idea to the reader. God alone could have brought us off safe from the perils of that day."<sup>13</sup> The fierce barbarians followed up the Spaniards to their very intrenchments. But here they were met, first by the cross-fire of the brigantines, which, dashing through the palisades planted to obstruct their movements, completely enfiladed the causeway, and next by that of the small battery erected in front of the camp, which, under the management of a skilful engineer, named Medrano, swept the whole length of the defile. Thus galled in front and on flank, the shattered columns of the Aztecs were compelled to give way and take shelter under the defences of the city.

The greatest anxiety now prevailed in the camp regarding the fate of Cortés; for Tápia had been detained on the road by scattered parties of the enemy, whom Guatemozin had stationed there to interrupt the communication between the camps. He arrived at length, however, though bleeding from several wounds. His intelligence, while it reassured the Spaniards as to the

<sup>13</sup> "Por q̄ yo no lo sé aquí escriuir q̄ aora q̄ me pongo á pensar en ello, es como si visiblemente lo viesse, mas bueluo á dezir, y así es verdad, q̄ si Dios no nos diera

esfuerzo, según estauamos todos heridos: él nos saluo, q̄ de otra manera no nos podíamos llegar á nuestros ranchos." Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 152.

general's personal safety, was not calculated to allay their uneasiness in other respects.

Sandoval, in particular, was desirous to acquaint himself with the actual state of things and the further intentions of Cortés. Suffering as he was from three wounds, which he had received in that day's fight, he resolved to visit in person the quarters of the commander-in-chief. It was mid-day—for the busy scenes of the morning had occupied but a few hours—when Sandoval remounted the good steed on whose strength and speed he knew he could rely. It was a noble animal, well known throughout the army, and worthy of its gallant rider, whom it had carried safe through all the long marches and bloody battles of the Conquest.<sup>14</sup> On the way he fell in with Guatemozin's scouts, who gave him chase, and showered around him volleys of missiles, which, fortunately, found no vulnerable point in his own harness or that of his well-barbed charger.

On arriving at the camp, he found the troops there much worn and dispirited by the disaster of the morning. They had good reason to be so. Besides the killed, and a long file of wounded, sixty-two Spaniards, with a multitude of allies, had fallen alive into the hands of the enemy—an enemy who was never known to spare a captive. The loss of two field-pieces and seven horses crowned their own disgrace and the triumph of the Aztecs. This loss, so insignificant in European warfare, was a great one here, where both horses and artillery, the most powerful arms of war against the barbarians, were not to be procured without the greatest cost and difficulty.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> This renowned steed, who might rival the Babieca of the Cid, was named Motilla, and, when one would pass unqualified praise on a horse, he would say, "He is as good as Motilla." So says that prince of chroniclers, Diaz, who takes care that neither beast nor man shall be defrauded of his fair guerdon in these campaigns against

the infidel. He was of a chestnut colour, it seems, with a star in his forehead, and, luckily for his cre'it, with only one foot white. See Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 152, 205.

<sup>15</sup> The cavaliers might be excused for not wantonly venturing their horses, if, as Diaz asserts, they could only be replaced at an expense of

Cortés, it was observed, had borne himself throughout this trying day with his usual intrepidity and coolness. The only time he was seen to falter was when the Mexicans threw down before him the heads of several Spaniards, shouting at the same time, "Sandoval," "Tonatiuh," the well-known epithet of Alvarado. At the sight of the gory trophies he grew deadly pale; but, in a moment recovering his usual confidence, he endeavoured to cheer up the drooping spirits of his followers. It was with a cheerful countenance that he now received his lieutenant; but a shade of sadness was visible through this outward composure, showing how the catastrophe of the *punte cuidada*, "the sorrowful bridge," as he mournfully called it, lay heavy at his heart.

To the cavalier's anxious inquiries as to the cause of the disaster, he replied, "It is for my sins that it has befallen me, son Sandoval;" for such was the affectionate epithet with which Cortés often addressed his best-beloved and trusty officer. He then explained to him the immediate cause, in the negligence of the treasurer. Further conversation followed, in which the general declared his purpose to forego active hostilities for a few days. "You must take my place," he continued, "for I am too much crippled at present to discharge my duties. You must watch over the safety of the camps. Give especial heed to Alvarado's. He is a gallant soldier, I know it well; but I doubt the Mexican hounds may, some hour, take him at disadvantage."<sup>16</sup> These few words showed the general's own estimation of his two lieutenants; both equally

eight hundred or a thousand dollars apiece: "Porque costaua en aquella sazón vn caualllo ochocientos pesos, y aun algunos costauan á mas de mil." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 151. See, also, *ante*, Book II. chap. 3, note 14.

"Mira pues veis que yo no puedo ir á todas partes, á vos os encomiendo estos trabajos, pues

veis q estoy herido y coxo; ruego os pongais cobro en estos tres reales; bien sé q Pedro de Alvarado, y sus Capitanes, y soldados aurán batallado, y hecho como caualleros, mas temo el gran poder de estos perros no les ayan desbaratado." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 152.

brave and chivalrous, but the one uniting with these qualities the circumspection so essential to success in perilous enterprises, in which the other was signally deficient. The future conqueror of Guatemala had to gather wisdom, as usual, from the bitter fruits of his own errors. It was under the training of Cortés that he learned to be a soldier. The general, having concluded his instructions, affectionately embraced his lieutenant, and dismissed him to his quarters.

It was late in the afternoon when he reached them ; but the sun was still lingering above the western hills, and poured his beams wide over the Valley, lighting up the old towers and temples of Tenochtitlan with a mellow radiance, that little harmonised with the dark scenes of strife in which the city had so lately been involved. The tranquillity of the hour, however, was on a sudden broken by the strange sounds of the great drum in the temple of the war-god,—sounds which recalled the *noche triste*, with all its terrible images, to the minds of the Spaniards, for that was the only occasion on which they had ever heard them.<sup>17</sup> They intimated some solemn act of religion within the unhallowed precincts of the *teocalli*; and the soldiers, startled by the mournful vibrations, which might be heard for leagues across the Valley, turned their eyes to the quarter whence they proceeded. They there beheld a long procession winding up the huge sides of the pyramid ; for the camp of Alvarado was pitched scarcely a mile from the city, and objects are distinctly visible at a great distance in the transparent atmosphere of the table-land.

As the long file of priests and warriors reached the flat summit of the *teocalli*, the Spaniards saw the figures of several men stripped to their waists, some of whom, by the whiteness of their skins, they recognised as their own countrymen. They were the victims for

<sup>17</sup> Vn atambor de muy triste sonido, enfin como instrumento de lemonios, y retumbaua tanto, que se oia dos, ó tres leguas." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, loc cit.



sacrifice. Their heads were gaudily decorated with coronals of plumes, and they carried fans in their hands. They were urged along by blows, and compelled to take part in the dances in honour of the Aztec war-god. The unfortunate captives, then stripped of their sad finery, were stretched, one after another, on the great stone of sacrifice. On its convex surface their breasts were heaved up conveniently for the diabolical purpose of the priestly executioner, who cut asunder the ribs by a strong blow with his sharp razor of *itzli*, and, thrusting his hand into the wound, tore away the heart, which, hot and reeking, was deposited on the golden censer before the idol. The body of the slaughtered victim was then hurled down the steep stairs of the pyramid, which, it may be remembered, were placed at the same angle of the pile, one flight below another; and the mutilated remains were gathered up by the savages beneath, who soon prepared with them the cannibal repast which completed the work of abomination!<sup>18</sup>

We may imagine with what sensations the stupefied Spaniards must have gazed on this horrid spectacle, so near that they could almost recognise the persons of their unfortunate friends, see the struggles and writhings of their bodies, hear—or fancy that they heard—their screams of agony! yet so far removed that they could render them no assistance. Their limbs trembled

<sup>18</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 48.—“Sacándoles los corazones, sobre una piedra que era como un pilar cortado, tan grueso como un hombre y algo mas, y tan alto como medio estadio; allí á cada uno echado de espaldas sobre aquella piedra, que se llama Techcatl, uno le tiraba por un brazo, y otro por el otro, y tambien por las piernas otros dos, y venia uno de aquellos Sátrapas, con un pedernal, como un hierro de lanza enbastado,

en un palo de dos palmos de largo, le daba un golpe con ambas manos en el pecho; y sacando aquel pedernal, por la misma llaga metia la mano, y arrancábale el corazon, y luego fregaba con él la boca del ídolo; y echaba á rodar el cuerpo por las gradas abajo, que serian como cinquenta ó sesenta gradas, por allí abajo iba quebrando las piernas y los brazos, y dando cabezasosc on la cabeza, hasta que llegaba abajo *en vivo*.” Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, c.p. 35.

beneath them, as they thought what might one day be their own fate; and the bravest among them, who had hitherto gone to battle as careless and light-hearted as to the banquet or the ball-room, were unable, from this time forward, to encounter their ferocious enemy without a sickening feeling, much akin to fear, coming over them.<sup>19</sup>

Such was not the effect produced by this spectacle on the Mexican forces, gathered at the end of the causeway. Like vultures maddened by the smell of distant carrion, they set up a piercing cry, and, as they shouted that "such should be the fate of all their enemies," swept along in one fierce torrent over the dike. But the Spaniards were not to be taken by surprise; and, before the barbarian horde had come within their lines, they opened such a deadly fire from their battery of heavy guns, supported by the musketry and cross-bows, that the assailants were compelled to fall back slowly, but fearfully mangled, to their former position.

The five following days passed away in a state of inaction, except, indeed, so far as was necessary to repel the sorties made from time to time by the militia of the capital. The Mexicans, elated with their success, meanwhile, abandoned themselves to jubilee; singing, dancing, and feasting on the mangled relics of their wretched victims. Guatemozin sent several heads of the Spaniards, as well as of the horses, round the

<sup>19</sup> At least, such is the honest confession of Captain Diaz, as stout-hearted a soldier as any in the army. He consoles himself, however, with the reflection that the tremor of his limbs intimated rather an excess of courage than a want of it, since it arose from a lively sense of the great dangers into which his daring spirit was about to hurry him! The passage in the original affords a good specimen of the inimitable *naïveté* of the old chronicler: "Digan agora

todos aquellos cauallero, que desto del militar entienden, y se han hallado en trances peligrosos de muerte, á que fin echarán mi temor, si es á mucha flaqueza de animo, ó á mucho esfuerço, porque como he dicho, sentia yo en mi pensamiento, que auia de poner por mi persona, batallando en parte que por fuerça auia de temer la muerte mas que otras vezes, y por esto me temblaua el coraçon, y temia la muerte." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 156.

country, calling on his old vassals to forsake the banners of the white men, unless they would share the doom of the enemies of Mexico. The priests now cheered the young monarch and the people with the declaration that the dread Huitzilopochtli, their offended deity, appeased by the sacrifices offered up on his altars, would again take the Aztecs under his protection, and deliver their enemies, before the expiration of eight days, into their hands.<sup>20</sup>

This comfortable prediction, confidently believed by the Mexicans, was thundered in the ears of the besieging army in tones of exultation and defiance. However it may have been contemned by the Spaniards, it had a very different effect on their allies. The latter had begun to be disgusted with a service so full of peril and suffering, and already protracted far beyond the usual term of Indian hostilities. They had less confidence than before in the Spaniards. Experience had shown that they were neither invincible nor immortal, and their recent reverses made them even distrust the ability of the Christians to reduce the Aztec metropolis. They recalled to mind the ominous words of Xicotencatl, that "so sacrilegious a war could come to no good for the people of Anahuac." They felt that their arm was raised against the gods of their country. The prediction of the oracle fell heavy on their hearts. They had little doubt of its fulfilment, and were only eager to turn away the bolt from their own heads by a timely secession from the cause.

They took advantage, therefore, of the friendly cover of night to steal away from their quarters. Company after company deserted in this manner, taking the direction of their respective homes. Those belonging to the great towns of the Valley, whose allegiance was

<sup>20</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 2, cap. 20.—Ixtilxochitl, Venida de los Españoles, pp. 41, 42.—"Y nos dezian, que de al á ocho dias no auia de quedar ninguno de

nosotros á vida, porque assi se lo auian prometido la noche antes sus Dioses." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 153.

the most recent, were the first to cast it off. Their example was followed by the older confederates, the militia of Cholula, Tepeaca, Tezcuco, and even the faithful Tlascal. There were, it is true, some exceptions to these, and among them Ixtlilxochitl, the young lord of Tezcuco, and Chichemecatl, the valiant Tlascalan chieftain, who, with a few of their immediate followers, still remained true to the banner under which they had enlisted. But their number was insignificant. The Spaniards beheld with dismay the mighty array, on which they relied for support, thus silently melting away before the breath of superstition. Cortés alone maintained a cheerful countenance. He treated the prediction with contempt, as an invention of the priests, and sent his messengers after the retreating squadrons, beseeching them to postpone their departure, or at least to halt on the road, till the time, which would soon elapse, should show the falsehood of the prophecy.

The affairs of the Spaniards at this crisis must be confessed to have worn a gloomy aspect. Deserted by their allies, with their ammunition nearly exhausted, cut off from the customary supplies from the neighbourhood, harassed by unintermitting vigils and fatigues, smarting under wounds, of which every man in the army had his share, with an unfriendly country in their rear and a mortal foe in front, they might well be excused for faltering in their enterprise. They found abundant occupation by day in foraging the country, and in maintaining their position on the causeways against the enemy, now made doubly daring by success and by the promises of their priests; while at night their slumbers were disturbed by the beat of the melancholy drum, the sounds of which, booming far over the waters, tolled the knell of their murdered comrades. Night after night fresh victims were led up to the great altar of sacrifice; and, while the city blazed with the illumination of a thousand bonfires on the terraced roofs of the dwellings and in the areas of the

temples, the dismal pageant, showing through the fiery glare like the work of the ministers of hell, was distinctly visible from the camp below. One of the last of the sufferers was Guzman, the unfortunate chamberlain of Cortés, who lingered in captivity eighteen days before he met his doom.<sup>21</sup>

Yet in this hour of trial the Spaniards did not falter. Had they faltered, they might have learned a lesson of fortitude from some of their own wives, who continued with them in the camp, and who displayed a heroism, on this occasion, of which history has preserved several examples. One of these, protected by her husband's armour, would frequently mount guard in his place when he was wearied. Another, hastily putting on a soldier's *escaupil* and seizing a sword and lance, was seen, on one occasion, to rally their retreating countrymen and lead them back against the enemy. Cortés would have persuaded these Amazonian dames to remain at Tlascalala; but they proudly replied, "It was the duty of Castilian wives not to abandon their husbands in danger, but to share it with them,—and die with them, if necessary." And well did they do their duty.<sup>22</sup>

Amidst all the distresses and multiplied embarrassments of their situation, the Spaniards still remained

<sup>21</sup> Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 36.—Ixtlilxochitl, Venida de los Españoles, pp. 41, 42.—The Castilian scholar will see that I have not drawn on my imagination for the picture of these horrors: "Digamos aora lo que los Mexicanos hazian de noche en sus grandes, y altos Cues; y ea, q tañian su maldito atambor, que dixie otra vez que era el de mas maldito sonido, y mas triste q se podia inuëtar, y sonaua muy lexos; y tañian otros peores instrumentos. En fin, cosas diabólicas, y teniã grandes lumbres, y dauã grãdissimos gritos, y siluos, y en aquel instãte estauan sacrificando de nuestros cõpañeros, de los q tomãro á Cortés, que supimos

q sacrificãron diez dias arreo, hasta que los acabãron, y el postrero dexãro á Christoual de Guzman, q viuo lo tuuiéron diez y ocho dias, segun dixéro tres Capitanes Mexicanos q prẽdimos. Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 153.

<sup>22</sup> "Que no era bien, que Mujeres Castellanas dexasen á sus Maridos, iendo á la Guerra, i que adonde ellos muriesen, moririan ellas." (Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 22). The historian has embalmed the names of several of these heroines in his pages, who are, doubtless, well entitled to share the honours of the Conquest: Beatriz de Palacios, María de Estrada, Juana Martin, Isabel Rodriguez, and Beatriz Bermudez.

true to their purpose. They relaxed in no degree the severity of the blockade. Their camps still occupied the only avenues to the city; and their batteries, sweeping the long defiles at every fresh assault of the Aztecs, mowed down hundreds of the assailants. Their brigantines still rode on the waters, cutting off the communication with the shore. It is true, indeed, the loss of the auxiliary canoes left a passage open for the occasional introduction of supplies to the capital.<sup>23</sup> But the whole amount of these supplies were small; and its crowded population, while exulting in their temporary advantage and the delusive assurances of their priests, were beginning to sink under the withering grasp of an enemy within, more terrible than the one which lay before their gates.

<sup>23</sup> Herrera, *Hist. General*, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 22.

## CHAPTER VII.

Successes of the Spaniards.—Fruitless offers to Guatemozin.—Buildings razed to the ground.—Terrible famine.—The troops gain the Market Place.—Battering-engine.

1521.

THUS passed away the eight days prescribed by the oracle; and the sun which rose upon the ninth beheld the fair city still beset on every side by the inexorable foe. It was a great mistake of the Aztec priests—one not uncommon with false prophets, anxious to produce a startling impression on their followers—to assign so short a term for the fulfilment of their prediction.<sup>1</sup>

The Tezcucan and Tlascalcan chiefs now sent to acquaint their troops with the failure of the prophecy, and to recall them to the Christian camp. The Tlascalans, who had halted on the way, returned, ashamed of their credulity, and with ancient feelings of animosity heightened by the artifice of which they had been the dupes. Their example was followed by many of the other confederates, with the levity natural to a people whose convictions are the result not of reason, but of superstition. In a short time the Spanish general found himself at the head of an auxiliary force which, if not so numerous as before, was more than adequate to all his purposes. He received them with politic benignity; and, while he reminded them that they had been guilty of a great crime in thus abandoning their commander, he was willing to overlook it

<sup>1</sup> And yet the priests were not so much to blame, if, as Solís, assures us, "the Devil went about very industriously in those days, in-

sinuating into the ears of his flock what he could not into their hearts." Conquista, lib. 5, cap. 22.

in consideration of their past services. They must be aware that these services were not necessary to the Spaniards, who had carried on the siege with the same vigour during their absence as when they were present. But he was unwilling that those who had shared the dangers of the war with him should not also partake its triumphs, and be present at the fall of their enemy, which he promised, with a confidence better founded than that of the priests in their prediction, should not be long delayed.

Yet the menaces and machinations of Guatemozin were still not without effect in the distant provinces. Before the full return of the confederates, Cortés received an embassy from Cuernavaca, ten or twelve leagues distant, and another from some friendly towns of the Otomies, still farther off, imploring his protection against their formidable neighbours, who menaced them with hostilities as allies of the Spaniards. As the latter were then situated, they were in a condition to receive succour much more than to give it.<sup>2</sup> Most of the officers were, accordingly, opposed to granting a request compliance with which must still further impair their diminished strength. But Cortés knew the importance, above all, of not betraying his own inability to grant it. "The greater our weakness," he said, "the greater need have we to cover it under a show of strength."<sup>3</sup>

He immediately detached Tápia with a body of about a hundred men in one direction, and Sandoval with a somewhat larger force in the other, with orders that their absence should not in any event be prolonged beyond ten days.<sup>4</sup> The two captains executed their

<sup>2</sup> "Y teníamos necesidad antes de ser socorridos, que de dar socorro." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> "God knows," says the general, "the peril in which we all stood; pero como nos convenia mostrar mas esfuerço y ánimo, que nunca,

y morir peleando, disimulabamos nuestro flaqueza así con los Amigos como con los Enemigos." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> Tápia's force consisted of 10 horse and 80 foot; the chief alguacil, as Sandoval was styled, had



commissions promptly and effectually. They each met and defeated his adversary in a pitched battle, laid waste the hostile territories, and returned within the time prescribed. They were soon followed by ambassadors from the conquered places, soliciting the alliance of the Spaniards; and the affair terminated by an accession of new confederates, and, what was more important, a conviction in the old that the Spaniards were both willing and competent to protect them.

Fortune, who seldom dispenses her frowns or her favours single-handed, further showed her good will to the Spaniards at this time, by sending a vessel into Vera Cruz laden with ammunition and military stores. It was part of the fleet destined for the Florida coast by the romantic old knight, Ponce de Leon. The cargo was immediately taken by the authorities of the port, and forwarded, without delay, to the camp, where it arrived most seasonably, as the want of powder, in particular, had begun to be seriously felt.<sup>6</sup> With strength thus renovated, Cortés determined to resume active operations, but on a plan widely differing from that pursued before.

In the former deliberations on the subject, two courses, as we have seen, presented themselves to the general. One was to intrench himself in the heart of the capital and from this point carry on hostilities; the other was the mode of proceeding hitherto followed. Both were open to serious objections, which he hoped would be obviated by the one now adopted. This was to advance no step without securing the entire safety of the army, not only on its immediate retreat, but in its future inroads. Every breach in the causeway,

18 horse and 100 infantry. Ibid., loc. cit.—Also, Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 26.

<sup>6</sup> "Pólvora y Ballestas, de que teníamos muy extrema necesidad." (Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 278.) It was probably the expedition in which Ponce de

Leon lost his life; an expedition to the very land which the chivalrous cavalier had himself first visited in quest of the Fountain of Health. The story is pleasantly told by Irving, as the reader may remember, in his "Companions of Columbus."

every canal in the streets, was to be filled up in so solid a manner that the work should not be again disturbed. The materials for this were to be furnished by the buildings, every one of which, as the army advanced, whether public or private, hut, temple, or palace, was to be demolished! Not a building in their path was to be spared. They were all indiscriminately to be levelled, until, in the Conqueror's own language, "the water should be converted into dry land," and a smooth and open ground be afforded for the manœuvres of the cavalry and artillery!<sup>6</sup>

Cortés came to this terrible determination with great difficulty. He sincerely desired to spare the city, "the most beautiful thing in the world,"<sup>7</sup> as he enthusiastically styles it, and which would have formed the most glorious trophy of his conquest. But in a place where every house was a fortress and every street was cut up by canals so embarrassing to his movements, experience proved it was vain to think of doing so and becoming master of it. There was as little hope of a peaceful accommodation with the Aztecs, who, so far from being broken by all they had hitherto endured, and the long perspective of future woes, showed a spirit as haughty and implacable as ever.<sup>8</sup>

The general's intentions were learned by the Indian allies with unbounded satisfaction; and they answered his call for aid by thousands of pioneers, armed with their *coas*, or hoes of the country, all testifying the greatest alacrity in helping on the work of destruction.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The calm and simple manner in which the *Conquistador*, as usual, states this in his *Commentaries*, has something appalling in it from its very simplicity: Acordé de tomar un medio para nuestra seguridad, y para poder mas estrechar á los Enemigos; y fué, que como fuésemos ganando por las Calles de la Ciudad, que fuesen derrocando todas las Casas de ellas, del un lado, y del otro: por manera, que no fuésemos un paso adelante, sin

lo dejar todo asolado, y lo que era Agua, hacerlo Tierra-firme, aunque hobiesse toda la dilacion, que se pudiesse seguir." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 279.

<sup>7</sup> "Porque era la mas hermosa cosa del Mundo." Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>8</sup> "Mas antes en el pelear, y en todos sus ardidés, los hallabamos con mas ánimo, que nunca." Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>9</sup> Yet we shall hardly credit the Tezucan historian's assertion that

In a short time the breaches in the great causeways were filled up so effectually that they were never again molested. Cortés himself set the example by carrying stones and timber with his own hands.<sup>10</sup> The buildings in the suburbs were then thoroughly levelled, the canals were filled up with the rubbish, and a wide space around the city was thrown open to the manoeuvres of the cavalry, who swept over it free and unresisted. The Mexicans did not look with indifference on these preparations to lay waste their town and leave them bare and unprotected against the enemy. They made incessant efforts to impede the labours of the besiegers; but the latter, under cover of their guns, which kept up an unintermitting fire, still advanced in the work of desolation.<sup>11</sup>

The gleam of fortune which had so lately broken out on the Mexicans again disappeared; and the dark mist, after having been raised for a moment, settled on the doomed capital more heavily than before. Famine, with all her hideous train of woes, was making rapid strides among its accumulated population. The stores provided for the siege were exhausted. The casual supply of human victims, or that obtained by some straggling pirogue from the neighbouring shores, was too inconsiderable to be widely felt.<sup>12</sup> Some forced a

a hundred thousand Indians flocked to the camp for this purpose! "Viniesen todos los labradores con sus coas para este efecto con toda brevedad: . . . llegaron *mas de cien mil de ellos*." Ixtlilxochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 153.

<sup>11</sup> Sahagun, who gathered the story from the actors, and from the aspect of the scene before the devastation had been wholly repaired, writes with the animation of an eye-witness: "La guerra por agua y por tierra fué tan porfiada y tan sangrienta, que era espanto de verla, y no hay posibilidad, para

decir las particularidades que pasaban; eran tan espesas las saetas, y dardos, y piedras, y palos, que se arrojaban los unos á los otros, que quitaban la claridad del sol; era tan grande la vocería y grita, de hombres y mugeres, y niños que voceaban y lloraban, que era cosa de grima; era tan grande la polvareda, y ruido, en derrocar y quemar casas, y robar lo que en ellas habia, y cautivar niños y mugeres, que parecia un juicio." *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 38.

<sup>12</sup> The flesh of the Christians failed to afford them even the customary nourishment, since the Mexicans said it was intolerably

scanty sustenance from a mucilaginous substance gathered in small quantities on the surface of the lake and canals.<sup>13</sup> Others appeased the cravings of appetite by devouring rats, lizards, and the like loathsome reptiles, which had not yet deserted the starving city. Its days seemed to be already numbered. But the page of history has many an example to show that there are no limits to the endurance of which humanity is capable, when animated by hatred and despair.

With the sword thus suspended over it, the Spanish commander, desirous to make one more effort to save the capital, persuaded three Aztec nobles, taken in one of the late actions, to bear a message from him to Guatemozin; though they undertook it with reluctance, for fear of the consequences to themselves. Cortés told the emperor that all had now been done that brave men could do in defence of their country. There remained no hope, no chance of escape, for the Mexicans. Their provisions were exhausted; their communications were cut off; their vassals had deserted them; even their gods had betrayed them. They stood alone, with the nations of Anahuac banded against them. There was no hope but in immediate surrender. He besought the young monarch to take compassion on his brave subjects, who were daily perishing before his eyes; and on the fair city, whose stately buildings were fast crumbling into ruins. "Return to the allegiance," he concludes, "which you once proffered to the sovereign of Castile. The past shall be forgotten. The persons and property, in short, all the rights, of the Aztecs shall be respected.

bitter; a miracle considered by Captain Diaz as expressly wrought for this occasion. *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 153.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, ubi supra.—When dried in the sun, this slimy deposit had

a flavour not unlike that of cheese, and formed part of the food of the poorer classes at all times, according to Clavigero. *Stor. del Messico*, tom. ii. p. 222.\*

---

\* [This was the *ahuahutle* before described. See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 109 : note.—ED.]

You shall be confirmed in your authority, and Spain will once more take your city under her protection."<sup>14</sup>

The eye of the young monarch kindled, and his dark cheek flushed with sudden anger, as he listened to proposals so humiliating. But, though his bosom glowed with the fiery temper of the Indian, he had the qualities of a "gentle cavalier," says one of his enemies, who knew him well.<sup>15</sup> He did no harm to the envoys; but, after the heat of the moment had passed off, he gave the matter a calm consideration, and called a council of his wise men and warriors to deliberate upon it. Some were for accepting the proposals, as offering the only chance of preservation. But the priests took a different view of the matter. They knew that the ruin of their own order must follow the triumph of Christianity. "Peace was good," they said, "but not with the white men." They reminded Guatemozin of the fate of his uncle Montezuma, and the requital he had met with for all his hospitality; of the seizure and imprisonment of Cacama, the cacique of Tezcuco; of the massacre of the nobles by Alvarado; of the insatiable avarice of the invaders, which had stripped the country of its treasures; of their profanation of the temples; of the injuries and insults which they had heaped without measure on the people and their religion. "Better," they said, "to trust in the promises of their own gods, who had so long watched over the nation. Better, if need be, give up our lives at once for our country, than drag them out in slavery and suffering among the false strangers."<sup>16</sup>

The eloquence of the priests, artfully touching the various wrongs of his people, roused the hot blood

<sup>14</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 154.

<sup>15</sup> "Mas como el Guatemuz era mancebo, y muy gentil-hombre y de buena disposicion." Ibid., ubi supra.

<sup>16</sup> "Mira primero lo que nuestros Dioses te han prometido, toma buen

consejo sobre ello y no te fies de Malinche, ni de sus palabras, que mas vale que todos muramos en esta ciudad peleando, que no vernos en poder de quiẽ nos harãn esclavos, y nos atormentarãn." Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 154.

of Guatemozin. "Since it is so," he abruptly exclaimed, "let us think only of supplying the wants of the people. Let no man, henceforth, who values his life, talk of surrender. We can at least die like warriors." <sup>17</sup>

The Spaniards waited two days for the answer to their embassy. At length it came, in a general sortie of the Mexicans, who, pouring through every gate of the capital, like a river that has burst its banks, swept on, wave upon wave, to the very intrenchments of the besiegers, threatening to overwhelm them by their numbers. Fortunately, the position of the latter on the dikes secured their flanks, and the narrowness of the defile gave their small battery of guns all the advantages of a larger one. The fire of artillery and musketry blazed without intermission along the several causeways, belching forth volumes of sulphurous smoke, that, rolling heavily over the waters, settled dark around the Indian city and hid it from the surrounding country. The brigantines thundered, at the same time, on the flanks of the columns, which, after some ineffectual efforts to maintain themselves, rolled back in wild confusion, till their impotent fury died away in sullen murmurs within the capital.

Cortés now steadily pursued the plan he had laid down for the devastation of the city. Day after day the several armies entered by their respective quarters, Sandoval probably directing his operations against the north-eastern district. The buildings, made of the porous *tetzontli*, though generally low, were so massy and extensive, and the canals were so numerous, that their progress was necessarily slow. They, however, gathered fresh accessions of strength every day from the numbers who flocked to the camp from the sur-

<sup>17</sup> "Y entonces el Guatemuz me dio enojado les dixo: Pues así quereis que sea, guardad mucho el maiz, y bastimentos que tenemos, y muramos todos peleando; y desde aquí adelante ninguno sea osado á

me demandar pazes, si no yo le mataré: y allí todos prometieron de pelear noches, y dias, y morir en la defensa de su ciudad." Ibid., ubi supra.

rounding country, and who joined in the work of destruction with a hearty good will which showed their eagerness to break the detested yoke of the Aztecs. The latter raged with impotent anger as they beheld their lordly edifices, their temples, all they had been accustomed to venerate, thus ruthlessly swept away; their canals, constructed with so much labour and what to them seemed science, filled up with rubbish; their flourishing city, in short, turned into a desert, over which the insulting foe now rode triumphant. They heaped many a taunt on the Indian allies. "Go on," they said, bitterly: "the more you destroy, the more you will have to build up again hereafter. If we conquer, you shall build for us; and if your white friends conquer, they will make you do as much for them."<sup>18</sup> The event justified the prediction.

In their rage they rushed blindly on the corps which covered the Indian pioneers. But they were as often driven back by the impetuous charge of the cavalry, or received on the long pikes of Chinantla, which did good service to the besiegers in their operations. At the close of day, however, when the Spaniards drew off their forces, taking care to send the multitudinous host of confederates first from the ground, the Mexicans usually rallied for a more formidable attack. Then they poured out from every lane and by-way, like so many mountain streams, sweeping over the broad level cleared by the enemy, and falling impetuously on their flanks and rear. At such times they inflicted considerable loss in their turn, till an ambush, which Cortés laid for them among the buildings adjoining the great temple, did them so much mischief that they were compelled to act with more reserve.

At times the war displayed something of a chivalrous

<sup>18</sup> "Los de la Ciudad como veian tanto estrago, por esforzarse, decian á nuestros Amigos, que no ficiessen sino quemar, y destruir, que ellos se las harian tornar á hacer de

nuevo, porque si ellos eran vencedores, ya ellos sabian, que habia de ser assi, y si no que las habian de hacer para nosotros." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 236.

character, in the personal rencontres of the combatants. Challenges passed between them, and especially between the native warriors. These combats were usually conducted on the *azoteas*, whose broad and level surface afforded a good field of fight. On one occasion, a Mexican of powerful frame, brandishing a sword and buckler which he had won from the Christians, defied his enemies to meet him in single fight. A young page of Cortés', named Nunez, obtained his master's permission to accept the vaunting challenge of the Aztec, and, springing on the *azotea*, succeeded, after a hard struggle, in discomfiting his antagonist, who fought at a disadvantage with weapons in which he was unpractised, and, running him through the body, brought off his spoils in triumph and laid them at the general's feet.<sup>19</sup>

The division of Cortés had now worked its way as far north as the great street of Tacuba, which opened a communication with Alvarado's camp, and near which stood the palace of Guatemozin. It was a spacious stone pile, that might well be called a fortress. Though deserted by its royal master, it was held by a strong body of Aztecs, who made a temporary defence, but of little avail against the battering enginery of the besiegers. It was soon set on fire, and its crumbling walls were levelled in the dust, like those other stately edifices of the capital, the boast and admiration of the Aztecs, and some of the fairest fruits of their civilization. "It was a sad thing to witness their destruction," exclaims Cortés; "but it was part of our plan of operations, and we had no alternative."<sup>20</sup>

These operations had consumed several weeks, so

<sup>19</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 282-284.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 1, cap. 22, lib. 2, cap. 2.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 140.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 26.—Ixtlil-xochitl, Venida de los Españoles, p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> "No se entendió sino en quemar, y hallanar Casas, que era lástima cierto de lo ver; pero como no nos convenia hacer otra cosa, eramos forzado seguir aquella orden." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, p. 286.



that it was now drawing towards the latter part of July. During this time the blockade had been maintained with the utmost rigour, and the wretched inhabitants were suffering all the extremities of famine. Some few stragglers were taken, from time to time, in the neighbourhood of the Christian camp, whither they had wandered in search of food. They were kindly treated, by command of Cortés, who was in hopes to induce others to follow their example, and thus to afford a means of conciliating the inhabitants, which might open the way to their submission. But few were found willing to leave the shelter of the capital, and they preferred to take their chance with their suffering countrymen rather than trust themselves to the mercies of the besiegers.

From these few stragglers, however, the Spaniards heard a dismal tale of woe respecting the crowded population in the interior of the city. All the ordinary means of sustenance had long since failed, and they now supported life as they could, by means of such roots as they could dig from the earth, by gnawing the bark of trees, by feeding on the grass,—on anything, in short, however loathsome, that could allay the craving of appetite. Their only drink was the brackish water of the soil saturated with the salt lake.<sup>21</sup> Under this unwholesome diet, and the diseases engendered by it, the population was gradually wasting away. Men sickened and died every day, in all the excruciating torments produced by hunger, and the wan and emaciated survivors seemed only to be waiting for their time.

The Spaniards had visible confirmation of all this as they penetrated deeper into the city and approached the district of Tlatelolco, now occupied by the be-

<sup>21</sup> "No tenían agua dulce para beber, ni para de ninguna manera de comer; bebían del agua salada y hedionda, comían ratones y lagartijas, y cortezas de árboles, y otras cosas no comestibles; y de

esta causa enfermáron muchos, y murieron muchos." Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 39.—Also, Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 289.

sieged. They found the ground turned up in quest of roots and weeds, the trees stripped of their green stems, their foliage, and their bark. Troops of famished Indians flitted in the distance, gliding like ghosts among the scenes of their former residence. Dead bodies lay unburied in the streets and court-yards, or filled up the canals. It was a sure sign of the extremity of the Aztecs; for they held the burial of the dead as a solemn and imperative duty. In the early part of the siege they had religiously attended to it. In its later stages they were still careful to withdraw the dead from the public eye, by bringing their remains within the houses. But the number of these, and their own sufferings, had now so fearfully increased that they had grown indifferent to this, and they suffered their friends and their kinsmen to lie and moulder on the spot where they drew their last breath! <sup>22</sup>

As the invaders entered the dwellings, a more appalling spectacle presented itself;—the floors covered with the prostrate forms of the miserable inmates, some in the agonies of death, others festering in their corruption; men, women, and children inhaling the poisonous atmosphere, and mingled promiscuously together; mothers with their infants in their arms perishing of hunger before their eyes, while they were unable to afford them the nourishment of nature; men crippled by their wounds, with their bodies frightfully mangled, vainly attempting to crawl away, as the enemy entered. Yet even in this state they scorned to ask for mercy,

<sup>22</sup> "Y es verdad y juro amen, que toda la laguna, y casas, y barbacos estauan llenas de cuerpos, y cabeças de hombres muertos, que yo no sé de que manera lo escriua." (Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 156.) Clavigero considers that it was a scheme of the Mexicans to leave the dead unburied, in order that the stench might annoy and drive off the Spaniards. (Stor. del Messico,

tom. iii. p. 231, nota.) But this policy would have operated much more to the detriment of the besieged than of the besiegers, whose presence in the capital was but transitory. It is much more natural to refer it to the same cause which has led to a similar conduct under similar circumstances elsewhere, whether occasioned by pestilence or famine.

and glared on the invaders with the sullen ferocity of the wounded tiger that the huntsmen have tracked to his forest cave. The Spanish commander issued strict orders that mercy should be shown to these poor and disabled victims. But the Indian allies made no distinction. An Aztec, under whatever circumstances, was an enemy; and, with hideous shouts of triumph, they pulled down the burning buildings on their heads, consuming the living and the dead in one common funeral pile!

Yet the sufferings of the Aztecs, terrible as they were, did not incline them to submission. There were many, indeed, who, from greater strength of constitution, or from the more favourable circumstances in which they were placed, still showed all their wonted energy of body and mind, and maintained the same undaunted and resolute demeanour as before. They fiercely rejected all the overtures of Cortés, declaring they would rather die than surrender, and adding, with a bitter tone of exultation, that the invaders would be at least disappointed in their expectations of treasure, for it was buried where they could never find it!<sup>23</sup>

The women, it is said, shared in this desperate—it should rather be called heroic—spirit. They were indefatigable in nursing the sick and dressing their wounds; they aided the warriors in battle, by supplying them with the Indian ammunition of stones and arrows, prepared their slings, strung their bows, and displayed, in short, all the constancy and courage shown by the noble maidens of Saragossa in our day, and by those of Carthage in the days of antiquity.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Gonzalo de las Casas, Defensa, MS., cap. 28.—Martyr, De Orbe Novo, dec. 5, cap. 8.—Ixtilxochitl, Venida de los Españoles, p. 45.—Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 289.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 29.

<sup>24</sup> "Muchas cosas acaecieron en este cerco, que entre otras genera-

ciones estobieran discantadas é tenidas en mucho, en especial de las Mugeres de Temixtitan, de quien ninguna mencion se ha fecho. Y soy certificado, que fué cosa maravillosa y para espantar, y la prontitud y constancia que tobiéron en servir á sus maridos, y en curar los heridos, é en el labrar de las piedras

Cortés had now entered one of the great avenues leading to the market-place of Tlatelolco, the quarter towards which the movements of Alvarado were also directed. A single canal only lay in his way; but this was of great width and stoutly defended by the Mexican archery. At this crisis, the army one evening, while in their entrenchments on the causeway, were surprised by an uncommon light that arose from the huge *teocalli* in that part of the city which, being at the north, was the most distant from their own position. This temple, dedicated to the dread war-god, was inferior only to the pyramid in the great square; and on it the Spaniards had more than once seen their unhappy countrymen led to slaughter. They now supposed that the enemy were employed in some of their diabolical ceremonies,—when the flame, mounting higher and higher, showed that the sanctuaries themselves were on fire. A shout of exultation at the sight broke forth from the assembled soldiers, as they assured one another that their countrymen under Alvarado had got possession of the building.

It was indeed true. That gallant officer, whose position on the western causeway placed him near the district of Tlatelolco, had obeyed his commander's instructions to the letter, razing every building to the ground in his progress, and filling up the ditches with their ruins. He at length found himself before the great *teocalli* in the neighbourhood of the market. He ordered a company, under a cavalier named Gutierre de Badajoz, to storm the place, which was defended by a body of warriors, mingled with priests, still more wild and ferocious than the soldiery. The garrison, rushing down the winding terraces, fell on the assailants with such fury as compelled them to retreat in confusion and with some loss. Alvarado ordered another detachment to their support. This last was engaged, at the moment, with a body of Aztecs, who

para los que tiraban con hondas, é en otros oficios para mas que mu-  
vol. II. geres." Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 35, cap. 48.

hung on its rear as it wound up the galleries of the *teocalli*. Thus hemmed in between two enemies, above and below, the position of the Spaniards was critical. With sword and buckler, they plunged desperately on the ascending Mexicans, and drove them into the courtyard below, where Alvarado plied them with such lively volleys of musketry as soon threw them into disorder and compelled them to abandon the ground. Being thus rid of annoyance in the rear, the Spaniards returned to the charge. They drove the enemy up the heights of the pyramid, and, reaching the broad summit, a fierce encounter followed in mid-air,—such an encounter as takes place where death is the certain consequence of defeat. It ended, as usual, in the discomfiture of the Aztecs, who were either slaughtered on the spot still wet with the blood of their own victims, or pitched headlong down the sides of the pyramid.

The area was covered with the various symbols of the barbarous worship of the country, and with two lofty sanctuaries, before whose grinning idols were displayed the heads of several Christian captives who had been immolated on their altars. Although overgrown by their long, matted hair and bushy beards, the Spaniards could recognize, in the livid countenances, their comrades who had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Tears fell from their eyes as they gazed on the melancholy spectacle and thought of the hideous death which their countrymen had suffered. They removed the sad relics with decent care, and after the Conquest deposited them in consecrated ground, on a spot since covered by the Church of the Martyrs.<sup>25</sup>

They completed their work by firing the sanctuaries, that the place might be no more polluted by these abominable rites. The flame crept slowly up the lofty pinnacles, in which stone was mingled with wood, till

<sup>25</sup> Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, Rel. Terc. de Cortés ap. Lorenzana, pp. 287–289.  
MS., lib. 33, cap. 29.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 155.—

at length, bursting into one bright blaze, it shot up its spiral volume to such a height that it was seen from the most distant quarters of the Valley. It was this which had been hailed by the soldiery of Cortés, and it served as the beacon-light to both friend and foe, intimating the progress of the Christian arms.

The commander-in-chief and his division, animated by the spectacle, made, in their entrance on the following day, more determined efforts to place themselves alongside of their companions under Alvarado. The broad canal, above noticed as the only impediment now lying in his way, was to be traversed; and on the farther side the emaciated figures of the Aztec warriors were gathered in numbers to dispute the passage, like the gloomy shades that wander—as ancient poets tell us—on the banks of the infernal river. They poured down, however, a storm of missiles, which were no shades, on the heads of the Indian labourers while occupied with filling up the wide gap with the ruins of the surrounding buildings. Still they toiled on in defiance of the arrowy shower, fresh numbers taking the place of those who fell. And when at length the work was completed, the cavalry rode over the rough plain at full charge against the enemy, followed by the deep array of spearmen, who bore down all opposition with their invincible phalanx.

The Spaniards now found themselves on the same ground with Alvarado's division. Soon afterwards, that chief, attended by several of his staff, rode into their lines, and cordially embraced his countrymen and companions in arms, for the first time since the beginning of the siege. They were now in the neighbourhood of the market. Cortés, taking with him a few of his cavaliers, galloped into it. It was a vast enclosure, as the reader has already seen, covering many an acre.<sup>20</sup> Its dimensions were suited to the immense

<sup>20</sup> The *tianguis* still continued of great dimensions, though with faded magnificence, after the Conquest,

when it is thus noticed by Father Sahagun :—" Entráron en la plaza ó Tianguis de esta Tlaltitlulco (lu-

multitudes who gathered there from all parts of the Valley in the flourishing days of the Aztec monarchy. It was surrounded by porticoes and pavilions for the accommodation of the artisans and traders who there displayed their various fabrics and articles of merchandise. The flat roofs of the piazzas were now covered with crowds of men and women, who gazed in silent dismay on the steel-clad horsemen, that profaned these precincts with their presence for the first time since their expulsion from the capital. The multitude, composed for the most part, probably, of unarmed citizens, seemed taken by surprise ; at least, they made no show of resistance ; and the general, after leisurely viewing the ground, was permitted to ride back unmolested to the army.

On arriving there, he ascended the *teocalli*, from which the standard of Castile, supplanting the memorials of Aztec superstition, was now triumphantly floating. The Conqueror, as he strode among the smoking embers on the summit, calmly surveyed the scene of desolation below. The palaces, the temples, the busy marts of industry and trade, the glittering canals, covered with their rich freights from the surrounding country, the royal pomp of groves and gardens, all the splendours of the imperial city, the capital of the Western World, for ever gone,—and in their place a barren wilderness ! How different the spectacle which the year before had met his eye, as it wandered over the same scenes from the heights of the neighbouring *teocalli*, with Montezuma at his side ! Seven-eighths of the city were laid in ruins, with the occasional exception, perhaps, of some colossal temple which it

gar muy espacioso mucho mas de lo que ahora es), el cual se podia llamar emporio de toda esta nueva España : al cual venian á tratar gentes de toda esta nueva España, y aun de los Reinos á ella contiguos, y donde se vendian y compraban todas cuantas cosas hay en

toda esta tierra, y en los Reinos de Quahtimalla y Xalisco (cosa cierto mucho de ver), yo lo ví por muchos años morando en esta Casa del Señor Santiago aunque ya no era tanto como antes de la Conquista." Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 37.

would have required too much time to demolish.<sup>27</sup> The remaining eighth, comprehending the district of Tlatelolco, was all that now remained to the Aztecs, whose population—still large after all its losses—was crowded into a compass that would hardly have afforded accommodation for a third of their numbers. It was the quarter lying between the great northern and western causeways, and is recognized in the modern capital as the *Barrio de San Jago* and its vicinity. It was the favourite residence of the Indians after the Conquest,<sup>28</sup> though at the present day thinly covered with humble dwellings, forming the straggling suburbs, as it were, of the metropolis. Yet it still affords some faint vestiges of what it was in its prouder days; and the curious antiquary, and occasionally the labourer, as he turns up the soil, encounters a glittering fragment of obsidian, or the mouldering head of a lance or arrow, or some other warlike relic, attesting that on this spot the retreating Aztecs made their last stand for the independence of their country.<sup>29</sup>

On the day following, Cortés, at the head of his battalions, made a second entry into the great *tianquez*. But this time the Mexicans were better prepared for his coming. They were assembled in considerable force in the spacious square. A sharp encounter followed; but it was short. Their strength was not equal to their spirit, and they melted away before the rolling fire of musketry, and left the Spaniards masters of the enclosure.

<sup>27</sup> "É yo miré dende aquella Torre, lo que teníamos ganado de la Ciudad, que sin duda do ocho partes teníamos ganado las siete." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 289.

<sup>28</sup> Toribio, Hist. de los Ind., MS., Parte 3, cap. 7. — The remains of the ancient foundations may still be discerned in this quarter, while in every other *etiam perière ruinas!*

<sup>29</sup> Bustamante, the Mexican

editor of Sahagun, mention that he has now in his possession several of these military spoils. "Toda la llanura del Santuario de nuestra Señora de los Angeles y de Santiago Tlatilolco se ve sembrada de fragmentos de lanzas cortantes, de macanas, y flechas de piedra obsidiana, de que usaban los Mexicanos ó sea Chinapos, y yo he recogido no pocos que conservo en mi poder." Hist. de Nueva-España, lib. 12, nota 21.



The first act was to set fire to some temples, of no great size, within the market-place, or more probably on its borders. As the flames ascended, the Aztecs, horror-struck, broke forth into piteous lamentations at the destruction of the deities on whom they relied for protection.<sup>30</sup>

The general's next step was at the suggestion of a soldier named Sotelo, a man who had served under the Great Captain in the Italian wars, where he professed to have gathered knowledge of the science of engineering, as it was then practised. He offered his services to construct a sort of catapult, a machine for discharging stones of great size, which might take the place of the regular battering-train in demolishing the buildings. As the ammunition, notwithstanding the liberal supplies which from time to time had found their way into the camp, now began to fail, Cortés eagerly acceded to a proposal so well suited to his exigencies. Timber and stone were furnished, and a number of hands were employed, under the direction of the self-styled engineer, in constructing the ponderous apparatus, which was erected on a solid platform of masonry, thirty paces square and seven or eight feet high, that covered the centre of the market-place. This was a work of the Aztec princes, and was used as a scaffolding on which mountebanks and jugglers might exhibit their marvellous feats for the amusement of the populace, who took great delight in these performances.<sup>31</sup>

The erection of the machine consumed several days, during which hostilities were suspended, while the artisans were protected from interruption by a strong

\* "Y como comenzó á arder, levantóse una llama tan alta que parecia llegar al cielo, al espectáculo de esta quema, todos los hombres y mugeres que se habian acogido á las tiendas que cercaban todo el Tianguex comenzaron á llorar á voz en grito, que fué cosa de espanto oírlos; porque quemado aquel delubro satánico luego en-

tendieron que habian de ser del todo destruidos y robados." Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 37.

<sup>31</sup> Vestiges of the work are still visible, according to M. de Humboldt, within the limits of the porch of the chapel of St. Jago. Essai politique, tom. ii. p. 44.

corps of infantry. At length the work was completed; and the besieged, who with silent awe had beheld from the neighbouring *azoteas* the progress of the mysterious engine which was to lay the remainder of their capital in ruins, now looked with terror for its operation. A stone of huge size was deposited on the timber. The machinery was set in motion; and the rocky fragment was discharged with a tremendous force from the catapult. But, instead of taking the direction of the Aztec buildings, it rose high and perpendicularly into the air, and, descending whence it sprung, broke the ill-omened machine into splinters! It was a total failure. The Aztecs were released from their apprehensions, and the soldiery made many a merry jest on the catastrophe, somewhat at the expense of their commander, who testified no little vexation at the disappointment, and still more at his own credulity.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 155.—*Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 290.—

Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 37.

## CHAPTER VIII

**Dreadful sufferings of the Besieged.—Spirit of Guatemozin.—Murderous Assault.—Capture of Guatemozin.—Evacuation of the City.—Termination of the Siege.—Reflections.**

1521.

THERE was no occasion to resort to artificial means to precipitate the ruin of the Aztecs. It was accelerated every hour by causes more potent than those arising from mere human agency. There they were, —pent up in their close and suffocating quarters, nobles, commoners, and slaves, men, women, and children, some in houses, more frequently in hovels, —for this part of the city was not the best, —others in the open air in canoes, or in the streets, shivering in the cold rains of night, and scorched by the burning heat of day.<sup>1</sup> An old chronicler mentions the fact of two women of rank remaining three days and nights up to their necks in the water among the reeds, with only a handful of maize for their support.<sup>2</sup> The ordinary means of sustaining life were long since gone. They wandered about in search of anything, however unwholesome or revolting, that might mitigate the fierce gnawings of hunger. Some hunted for insects and worms on the borders of the lake, or gathered the salt weeds and moss from its bottom, while at times they might be seen casting a wistful look at the green

<sup>1</sup> "Estaban los tristes Mejicanos, hombres y mugeres, niños y niñas, viejos y viejas, heridos y enfermos, en un lugar bien estrecho, y bien apretados los unos con los otros, y con grandísima falta de bastimentos, y al calor del Sol, y al frío de la noche, y cada hora esperando la

muerte." Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Torquemada had the anecdote from a nephew of one of the Indian matrons, then a very old man himself. *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 102.

hills beyond, which many of them had left to share the fate of their brethren in the capital.

To their credit, it is said by the Spanish writers that they were not driven, in their extremity, to violate the laws of nature by feeding on one another.<sup>3</sup> But, unhappily, this is contradicted by the Indian authorities, who state that many a mother, in her agony, devoured the offspring which she had no longer the means of supporting. This is recorded of more than one siege in history; and it is the more probable here, where the sensibilities must have been blunted by familiarity with the brutal practices of the national superstition.<sup>4</sup>

But all was not sufficient, and hundreds of famished wretches died every day from extremity of suffering. Some dragged themselves into the houses, and drew their last breath alone and in silence. Others sank down in the public streets. Wherever they died, there they were left. There was no one to bury or to remove them. Familiarity with the spectacle made men indifferent to it. They looked on in dumb despair, waiting for their own turn. There was no complaint, no lamentation, but deep, unutterable woe.

If in other quarters of the town the corpses might be seen scattered over the streets, here they were gathered in heaps. "They lay so thick," says Bernal Diaz, "that one could not tread except among the bodies."<sup>5</sup> "A man could not set his foot down,"

<sup>3</sup> Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, ubi supra.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 156.

<sup>4</sup> "De los niños, no quedó nadie, que las mismas madres y padres los comían (que era gran lástima de ver, y mayormente de sufrir)." (Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 39.) The historian derived his accounts from the Mexicans themselves, soon after the event.—One is reminded of the terrible denunciations of Moses: "The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not ad-

venture to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward . . . her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them, for want of all things, secretly, in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates." *Deuteronomy*, chap. 28, vs. 56, 57.

<sup>5</sup> "No podíamos andar sino entre cuerpos, y cabeças de Indios muertos." *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 156.

says Cortés, yet more strongly, "unless on the corpse of an Indian."<sup>6</sup> They were piled one upon another, the living mingled with the dead. They stretched themselves on the bodies of their friends, and lay down to sleep there. Death was everywhere. The city was a vast charnel-house, in which all was hastening to decay and decomposition. A poisonous steam arose from the mass of putrefaction, under the action of alternate rain and heat, which so tainted the whole atmosphere that the Spaniards, including the general himself, in their brief visits to the quarter, were made ill by it, and it bred a pestilence that swept off even greater numbers than the famine.<sup>7</sup>

Men's minds were unsettled by these strange and accumulated horrors. They resorted to all the superstitious rites prescribed by their religion, to stay the pestilence. They called on their priests to invoke the gods in their behalf. But the oracles were dumb, or gave only gloomy responses. Their deities had deserted them, and in their place they saw signs of celestial wrath, telling of still greater woes in reserve. Many, after the siege, declared that, among other prodigies, they beheld a stream of light, of a blood-red colour, coming from the north in the direction of Tepejacac, with a rushing noise like that of a whirlwind, which swept round the district of Tlatelolco, darting out sparkles and flakes of fire, till it shot far into the centre of the lake!<sup>8</sup> In the disordered state of their nerves, a mysterious fear took possession of

<sup>6</sup> "No tenían donde estar sino sobre los cuerpos muertos de los suyos." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 291.

<sup>7</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 2, cap. 8.—Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 41.—Gonzalo de las Casas, Defensa, MS., cap. 28.

<sup>8</sup> "Un torbellino de fuego como sangre embuelto en brasas y en cantallas, que partía de hacia Tepoa

cac (que es donde está ahora Santa María de Guadalupe) y fué haciendo gran ruido, hacia donde estaban acorralados los Mejicanos y Tlaltlulcanos; y dió una vuelta para enredador de ellos, y no dicen si los empeció algo, sino que habiendo dado aquella vuelta, se entró por la laguna adelante; y allí desapareció." Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, MS., lib. 12, cap. 40

their senses. Prodigies were of familiar occurrence, and the most familiar phenomena of nature were converted into prodigies.<sup>9</sup> Stunned by their calamities, reason was bewildered, and they became the sport of the wildest and most superstitious fancies.

In the midst of these awful scenes, the young emperor of the Aztecs remained, according to all accounts, calm and courageous. With his fair capital laid in ruins before his eyes, his nobles and faithful subjects dying around him, his territory rent away, foot by foot, till scarce enough remained for him to stand on, he rejected every invitation to capitulate, and showed the same indomitable spirit as at the commencement of the siege. When Cortés, in the hope that the extremities of the besieged would incline them to listen to an accommodation, persuaded a noble prisoner to bear to Guatemozin his proposals to that effect, the fierce young monarch, according to the general, ordered him at once to be sacrificed.<sup>10</sup> It is a Spaniard, we must remember, who tells the story.

Cortés, who had suspended hostilities for several days, in the vain hope that the distresses of the Mexicans would bend them to submission, now determined to drive them to it by a general assault. Cooped up as they were within a narrow quarter of the city, their position favoured such an attempt. He commanded Alvarado to hold himself in readiness, and directed Sandoval,—who, besides the causeway, had charge of the fleet, which lay off the Tlatelolcan district—to support the attack by a cannonade on the houses near the water. He then led his forces into the city, or rather across the horrid waste that now encircled it.

On entering the Indian precincts, he was met by several of the chiefs, who, stretching forth their ema-

<sup>9</sup> "Inclinatis ad credendum animis," says the philosophic Roman historian, "loco ominum etiam fortuita." Tacitus, Hist., lib. 2, sec. 1.

<sup>10</sup> "Y como lo llevaron delante

de Guatimucín su Señor, y él le comenzó á hablar sobre la Paz, dizque luego lo mandó matar y sacrificar." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 293.

ciated arms, exclaimed, "You are the children of the Sun. But the Sun is swift in his course. Why are you, then, so tardy? Why do you delay so long to put an end to our miseries? Rather kill us at once, that we may go to our god Huitzilopochtli, who waits for us in heaven to give us rest from our sufferings!"<sup>11</sup>

Cortés was moved by their piteous appeal, and answered that he desired not their death, but their submission. "Why does your master refuse to treat with me," he said, "when a single hour will suffice for me to crush him and all his people?" He then urged them to request Guatemozin to confer with him, with the assurance that he might do it in safety, as his person should not be molested.

The nobles, after some persuasion, undertook the mission; and it was received by the young monarch in a manner which showed—if the anecdote before related of him be true—that misfortune had at length asserted some power over his haughty spirit. He consented to the interview, though not to have it take place on that day, but the following, in the great square of Tlatelolco. Cortés, well satisfied, immediately withdrew from the city and resumed his position on the causeway.

The next morning he presented himself at the place appointed, having previously stationed Alvarado there with a strong corps of infantry, to guard against treachery. The stone platform in the centre of the square was covered with mats and carpets, and a banquet was prepared to refresh the famished monarch and his nobles. Having made these arrangements, he awaited the hour of the interview.

But Guatemozin, instead of appearing himself, sent his nobles, the same who had brought to him the

<sup>11</sup> "Que pues ellos me tenían por Hijo del Sol, y el Sol en tanta brevedad como era en un día y una noche daba vuelta á todo el Mundo, que porque yo así brevemente no los acababa de matar, y los quitaba

de penar tanto, porque ya ellos tenían deseos de morir, y irse al Cielo para su Ochilobus [Huitzilopochtli], que los estaba esperando para descansar." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 292.

general's invitation, and who now excused their master's absence on the plea of illness. Cortés, though disappointed, gave a courteous reception to the envoys, considering that it might still afford the means of opening a communication with the emperor. He persuaded them, without much entreaty, to partake of the good cheer spread before them, which they did with a voracity that told how severe had been their abstinence. He then dismissed them with a seasonable supply of provisions for their master, pressing him to consent to an interview, without which it was impossible their differences could be adjusted.

The Indian envoys returned in a short time, bearing with them a present of fine cotton fabrics, of no great value, from Guatemozin, who still declined to meet the Spanish general. Cortés, though deeply chagrined, was unwilling to give up the point. "He will surely come," he said to the envoys, "when he sees that I suffer you to go and come unharmed, you who have been my steady enemies, no less than himself, throughout the war. He has nothing to fear from me."<sup>12</sup> He again parted with them, promising to receive their answer the following day.

On the next morning the Aztec chiefs, entering the Christian quarters, announced to Cortés that Guatemozin would confer with him at noon in the market-place. The general was punctual at the hour; but without success. Neither monarch nor ministers appeared there. It was plain that the Indian prince did not care to trust the promises of his enemy. A thought of Montezuma may have passed across his mind. After he had waited three hours, the general's patience was exhausted, and, as he learned that the Mexicans were

<sup>12</sup> "Y yo les torné á repetir, que no sabia la causa, porque él se recelaba venir ante mí, pues veía que á ellos, que yo sabia q habian sido los causadores principales de la Guerra, y que la habian sustentado, les hacia buen tratamiento, que los

dejaba ir, y venir seguramente, sin recibir enojo alguno; que les rogaba, que le tornassen á hablar, y mirassen mucho en esto de su venida, pues á él le convenia, y yo lo hacia por su provecho." Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, pp. 294, 295.



busy in preparations for defence, he made immediate dispositions for the assault.<sup>13</sup>

The confederates had been left without the walls; for he did not care to bring them within sight of the quarry before he was ready to slip the leash. He now ordered them to join him, and, supported by Alvarado's division, marched at once into the enemy's quarters. He found them prepared to receive him. Their most able-bodied warriors were thrown into the van, covering their feeble and crippled comrades. Women were seen occasionally mingling in the ranks, and, as well as children, thronged the *azoteas*, where, with famine-stricken visages and haggard eyes, they scowled defiance and hatred on their invaders.

As the Spaniards advanced, the Mexicans set up a fierce war-cry, and sent off clouds of arrows with their accustomed spirit, while the women and boys rained down darts and stones from their elevated position on the terraces. But the missiles were sent by hands too feeble to do much damage; and, when the squadrons closed, the loss of strength became still more sensible in the Aztecs. Their blows fell feebly and with doubtful aim, though some, it is true, of stronger constitution, or gathering strength from despair, maintained to the last a desperate fight.

The arquebusiers now poured in a deadly fire. The brigantines replied by successive volleys, in the opposite quarter. The besieged, hemmed in, like deer surrounded by the huntsmen, were brought down on every side. The carnage was horrible. The ground was heaped up with slain, until the maddened combatants were obliged to climb over the human mounds to get at one another. The miry soil was saturated with blood, which ran off like water and dyed the canals

<sup>13</sup> The testimony is most emphatic and unequivocal to these repeated efforts on the part of Cortés to bring the Aztecs peaceably to terms. Besides his own Letter to the emperor, see Bernal Diaz,

cap. 155,—Herrera, Hist. general, lib. 2, cap. 6, 7,—Torquemada, Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 100,—Ixtlilxochitl, Venida de los Españoles, pp. 44-48,—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 29, 30.

themselves with crimson.<sup>14</sup> All was uproar and terrible confusion. The hideous yells of the barbarians, the oaths and execrations of the Spaniards, the cries of the wounded, the shrieks of women and children, the heavy blows of the Conquerors, the death-struggle of their victims, the rapid, reverberating echoes of musketry, the hissing of innumerable missiles, the crash and crackling of blazing buildings, crushing hundreds in their ruins, the blinding volumes of dust and sulphurous smoke shrouding all in their gloomy canopy, made a scene appalling even to the soldiers of Cortés, steeled as they were by many a rough passage of war, and by long familiarity with blood and violence. "The piteous cries of the women and children, in particular," says the general, "were enough to break one's heart."<sup>15</sup> He commanded that they should be spared, and that all who asked it should receive quarter. He particularly urged this on the confederates, and placed Spaniards among them to restrain their violence.<sup>16</sup> But he had set an engine in motion too terrible to be controlled. It were as easy to curb the hurricane in its fury, as the passions of an infuriated horde of savages. "Never did I see so pitiless a race," he exclaims, "or anything wearing the form of man so destitute of humanity."<sup>17</sup> They made no distinction of sex or age, and in this hour of vengeance seemed to be requiring

<sup>14</sup> "Corrian Arroios de Sangre por las Calles, como pueden correr de Agua, quando llueve, y con impetu, y fuerza." Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 103.

<sup>15</sup> "Era tanta la grita, y lloro de los Niños, y Mugeres, que no habia Persona, á quien no quebrantasse el corazon." (*Rel. Terc.*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 296.) They were a rash and stiff-necked race, exclaims his reverend editor, the archbishop, with a charitable commentary! "*Gens duræ cervicis gens absque consilio.*" Nota.

<sup>16</sup> "Como la gente de la Cíudad se salia á los nuestros, habia el

general proveido, que por todas las calles estubiesen Españoles para estorvar á los amigos, que no mataban aquellos tristes, que eran sin número. É tambien dixo á todos los amigos capitanes, que no consintiesen á su gente que mataban á ninguno de los que salian." Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 30.

<sup>17</sup> "La qual crueldad nunca en Generacion tan recia se vió, ni tan fuera de toda órden de naturaleza, como en los Naturales de estas partes." *Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 296.

the hoarded wrongs of a century. At length, sated with slaughter, the Spanish commander sounded a retreat. It was full time, if, according to his own statement,—we may hope it is an exaggeration,—forty thousand souls had perished!<sup>18</sup> Yet their fate was to be envied, in comparison with that of those who survived.

Through the long night which followed, no movement was perceptible in the Aztec quarter. No light was seen there, no sound was heard, save the low moaning of some wounded or dying wretch, writhing in his agony. All was dark and silent,—the darkness of the grave. The last blow seemed to have completely stunned them. They had parted with hope, and sat in sullen despair, like men waiting in silence the stroke of the executioner. Yet, for all this, they showed no disposition to submit. Every new injury had sunk deeper into their souls, and filled them with a deeper hatred of their enemy. Fortune, friends, kindred, home,—all were gone. They were content to throw away life itself, now that they had nothing more to live for.

Far different was the scene in the Christian camp, where, elated with their recent successes, all was alive with bustle and preparation for the morrow. Bonfires were seen blazing along the causeways, lights gleamed from tents and barracks, and the sounds of music and merriment, borne over the waters, proclaimed the joy of the soldiers at the prospect of so soon terminating their wearisome campaign.

On the following morning the Spanish commander again mustered his forces, having decided to follow up the blow of the preceding day before the enemy should have time to rally, and at once to put an end to the war. He had arranged with Alvarado, on the evening previous, to occupy the market-place of Tlatelolco;

<sup>18</sup> Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, ubi supra.—Ixtlilxochitl says, 50,000 were slain and taken in this

dreadful onslaught. Venida de los Españoles, p. 48.

and the discharge of an arquebuse was to be the signal for a simultaneous assault. Sandoval was to hold the northern causeway, and, with the fleet, to watch the movements of the Indian emperor, and to intercept the flight to the main land, which Cortés knew he meditated. To allow him to effect this would be to leave a formidable enemy in his own neighbourhood, who might at any time kindle the flame of insurrection throughout the country. He ordered Sandoval, however, to do no harm to the royal person, and not to fire on the enemy at all, except in self-defence.<sup>19</sup>

It was the memorable thirteenth of August, 1521, the day of St. Hippolytus,—from this circumstance selected as the patron saint of modern Mexico,—that Cortés led his warlike array for the last time across the black and blasted environs which lay around the Indian capital. On entering the Aztec precincts, he paused, willing to afford its wretched inmates one more chance of escape before striking the fatal blow. He obtained an interview with some of the principal chiefs, and expostulated with them on the conduct of their prince. “He surely will not,” said the general, “see you all perish, when he can so easily save you.” He then urged them to prevail on Guatemozin to hold a conference with him, repeating the assurances of his personal safety.

The messengers went on their mission, and soon returned with the *cihuacoatl* at their head, a magistrate of high authority among the Mexicans. He said, with a melancholy air, in which his own disappointment was visible, that “Guatemozin was ready to die where he was, but would hold no interview with the Spanish commander;” adding, in a tone of resignation, “it is for you to work your pleasure.” “Go, then,” replied

<sup>19</sup> “Adonde estan retraidos el Guatemuz con toda la flor de sus Capitanes, y personas mas nobles que en Mexico auiá, y le mandó que no matase ni hiriese á nin-

VOL. II.

gunos Indios, salvo si no le diessen guerra, é que aunque se la diessen, que solamente se defendiesse.” Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 156.

the stern Conqueror, "and prepare your countrymen for death. Their hour is come."<sup>20</sup>

He still postponed the assault for several hours. But the impatience of his troops at this delay was heightened by the rumour that Guatemozin and his nobles were preparing to escape with their effects in the *piraguas* and canoes which were moored on the margin of the lake. Convinced of the fruitlessness and impolicy of further procrastination, Cortés made his final dispositions for the attack, and took his own station on an *azotea* which commanded the theatre of operations.

When the assailants came into the presence of the enemy, they found them huddled together in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the causeways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness to their appearance which still further heightened the ferocity of their expression, as they glared on their enemy with eyes in which hate was mingled with despair. When the Spaniards had approached within bowshot, the Aztecs let off a flight of impotent missiles, showing to the last the resolute spirit, though they had lost the strength, of their better days. The fatal signal was then given by the discharge of an arquebuse,—speedily followed by peals of heavy ordnance, the rattle of fire-arms, and the hellish shouts of the confederates as they sprang upon their victims. It is unnecessary to stain the page with a repetition of the horrors of the preceding day. Some of the wretched Aztecs threw themselves into the water and were picked up by the canoes. Others sank and were suffocated in the canals. The number of these

<sup>20</sup> "Y al fin me dijo, que en ninguna manera el Señor vernia ante mí; y antes queria por allá morir, y que á él pesaba mucho de esto, que hiciesse yo lo que quisiesse; y como vi en esto su determinacion,

yo le dije; que se bolviessse á los suyos, y que él, y ellos se aparejassen, porque los queria combatir, y acabar de matar, y así se fué." Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 298.

became so great that a bridge was made of their dead bodies, over which the assailants could climb to the opposite banks. Others again, especially the women, begged for mercy, which, as the chroniclers assure us, was everywhere granted by the Spaniards, and, contrary to the instructions and entreaties of Cortés, everywhere refused by the confederates.<sup>21</sup>

While this work of butchery was going on, numbers were observed pushing off in the barks that lined the shore, and making the best of their way across the lake. They were constantly intercepted by the brigantines, which broke through the flimsy array of boats, sending off their volleys to the right and left, as the crews of the latter hotly assailed them. The battle raged as fiercely on the lake as on the land. Many of the Indian vessels were shattered and overturned. Some few, however, under cover of the smoke, which rolled darkly over the waters, succeeded in clearing themselves of the turmoil, and were fast nearing the opposite shore.

Sandoval had particularly charged his captains to keep an eye on the movements of any vessel in which it was at all probable that Guatemozin might be concealed. At this crisis, three or four of the largest *piraguas* were seen skimming over the water and making their way rapidly across the lake. A captain, named Garci Holguin, who had command of one of the best sailers in the fleet, instantly gave them chase. The wind was favourable, and every moment he gained on the fugitives, who pulled their oars with a vigour that despair alone could have given. But it was in vain; and, after a short race, Holguin, coming alongside of one of the *piraguas*, which, whether from its appearance or from information he had received, he conjectured might bear the Indian emperor, ordered

<sup>21</sup> Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 30.—Ixtililxochitl, Venida de los Españoles, p. 48.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 2,

cap. 7.—Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 297, 298.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 142.

his men to level their cross-bows at the boat. But, before they could discharge them, a cry arose from those in it that their lord was on board. At the same moment a young warrior, armed with buckler and *maquahuítl*, rose up, as if to beat off the assailants. But, as the Spanish captain ordered his men not to shoot, he dropped his weapons, and exclaimed, "I am Guatemozin. Lead me to Malinche; I am his prisoner; but let no harm come to my wife and my followers."<sup>22</sup>

Holguin assured him that his wishes should be respected, and assisted him to get on board the brigantine, followed by his wife and attendants. These were twenty in number, consisting of Coanaco, the deposed lord of Tezcuco, the lord of Tlacopan, and several other caciques and dignitaries, whose rank, probably, had secured them some exemption from the general calamities of the siege. When the captives were seated on the deck of his vessel, Holguin requested the Aztec prince to put an end to the combat by commanding his people in the other canoes to surrender. But, with a dejected air, he replied, "It is not necessary. They will fight no longer, when they see that their prince is taken." He spoke truth. The news of Guatemozin's capture spread rapidly through the fleet, and on shore, where the Mexicans were still engaged in conflict with their enemies. It ceased, however, at once. They made no further resistance; and those on the water

\* Ixtlilxochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, p. 49.—"No me tiren, que yo soy el Rey de México, y desta tierra, y lo que te ruego es, que no me llegues á mi muger, ni á mis hijos; ni á ninguna muger, ni á ninguna cosa de lo que aquí traygo, sino que me tomes á mi, y me lleves á Malinche." (Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap.

156.) M. de Humboldt has taken much pains to identify the place of Guatemozin's capture,—now become dry land,—which he considers to have been somewhere between the Garita de Peralvillo, the square of Santiago, Tlaltelolco, and the bridge of Amazac. *Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 76.\*

\* [According to an old tradition, it was on the Puente del Cabildo, which is within the limits designated by Humboldt. Alaman, *Conquista de Mejico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 203, note.—Ed.]

quickly followed the brigantines, which conveyed their captive monarch to land. It seemed as if the fight had been maintained thus long the better to divert the enemy's attention and cover their master's retreat.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile, Sandoval, on receiving tidings of the capture, brought his own brigantine alongside of Holguin's and demanded the royal prisoner to be surrendered to him. But the captain claimed him as his prize. A dispute arose between the parties, each anxious to have the glory of the deed, and perhaps the privilege of commemorating it on his escutcheon. The controversy continued so long that it reached the ears of Cortés, who, in his station on the *azotea*, had learned with no little satisfaction the capture of his enemy. He instantly sent orders to his wrangling officers to bring Guatemozin before him, that he might adjust the difference between them.<sup>24</sup> He charged them, at the same time, to treat their prisoner with respect. He then made preparations for the interview, caused the terrace to be carpeted with crimson cloth and matting, and a table to be spread with provisions, of which the unhappy Aztecs stood so much in need.<sup>25</sup> His lovely Indian mistress, Doña Marina, was present to act as interpreter. She had stood by his side through all the

<sup>23</sup> For the preceding account of the capture of Guatemozin, told with little discrepancy, though with more or less minuteness, by the different writers, see Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, ubi supra,—*Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, p. 299,—Gonzalo de las Casas, *Defensa*, MS.,—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 30,—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. 4, cap. 101.

<sup>24</sup> The general, according to Diaz, rebuked his officers for their ill-timed contention, reminding them of the direful effects of a similar quarrel between Marius and Sylla respecting Jugurtha. (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 166.) This piece of pedantry savours much more of the old chronicler than his com-

mander. The result of the whole—not an uncommon one in such cases—was that the emperor granted to neither of the parties, but to Cortés, the exclusive right of commemorating the capture of Guatemozin on his escutcheon. He was permitted to bear three crowns of gold on a sable field, one above the other two, in token of his victory over the three lords of Mexico, Montezuma, his brother Cuiclahua, and Guatemozin. A copy of the instrument containing the grant of the arms of Cortés may be found in the "*Disertaciones históricas*" of Alaman, tom. ii. apénd. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, lib. 12, cap. 40, MS.



troubled scenes of the Conquest, and she was there now to witness its triumphant termination.

Guatemozin, on landing, was escorted by a company of infantry to the presence of the Spanish commander. He mounted the *azotea* with a calm and steady step, and was easily to be distinguished from his attendant nobles, though his full, dark eye was no longer lighted up with its accustomed fire, and his features wore an expression of passive resignation, that told little of the fierce and fiery spirit that burned within. His head was large, his limbs well proportioned, his complexion fairer than that of his bronze-coloured nation, and his whole deportment singularly mild and engaging.<sup>26</sup>

Cortés came forward with a dignified and studied courtesy to receive him. The Aztec monarch probably knew the person of his conqueror,\* for he first broke silence by saying, "I have done all that I could to defend myself and my people. I am now reduced to this state. You will deal with me, Malinche, as you list." Then, laying his hand on the hilt of a poniard stuck in the general's belt, he added, with vehemence, "Better despatch me with this, and rid me of life at once."<sup>27</sup> Cortés was filled with admiration at the proud

\* For the portrait of Guatemozin I again borrow the faithful pencil of Diaz, who knew him—at least his person—well: "Guatemuz era de muy gentil disposicion, assi de cuerpo, como de fayciones, y la cata algo larga, y alegre, y los ojos mas parecian que quando miraua, que eran con grauedad, y halagüeños, y no auia falta en ellos, y era de edad de veinte y tres, ó veinte y quatro años, y el color tiraua mas á blanco, que al color y matiz de essotros Indios morenos." *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 156.

<sup>27</sup> "Llegóse á mí, y díjome en su

lengua: que ya él habia hecho todo, lo que de su parte era obligado para defenderse á sí, y á los suyos, hasta venir en aquel estado; que ahora ficiesse de él lo que yo quisiesse; y puso la mano en un puñal, que yo tenia, diciéndome, que le dicesse de puñaladas, y le matasse." (*Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 300.) This remarkable account by the Conqueror himself is confirmed by Diaz, who does not appear to have seen this letter of his commander. *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 156.

---

[\* It was unnecessary to qualify the statement, as they had often seen each other at the court of Montezuma. *Alaman, Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 211, note.—Ed.]

bearing of the young barbarian, showing in his reverses a spirit worthy of an ancient Roman. "Fear not," he replied, "you shall be treated with all honour. You have defended your capital like a brave warrior. A Spaniard knows how to respect valour even in an enemy."<sup>28</sup> He then inquired of him where he had left the princess his wife; and being informed that she still remained under protection of a Spanish guard on board the brigantine, the general sent to have her escorted to his presence.

She was the youngest daughter of Montezuma, and was hardly yet on the verge of womanhood. On the accession of her cousin Guatemozin to the throne, she had been wedded to him as his lawful wife.<sup>29</sup> She is celebrated by her contemporaries for her personal charms; and the beautiful princess Tecuichpo is still commemorated by the Spaniards, since from her by a subsequent marriage are descended some of the illustrious families of their own nation.<sup>30</sup> She was kindly received by Cortés, who showed her the respectful attentions suited to her rank. Her birth, no doubt, gave her an additional interest in his eyes, and he may have felt some touch of compunction as he gazed on the daughter of the unfortunate Montezuma. He invited his royal captives to partake of the refreshments which their exhausted condition rendered so necessary. Meanwhile the Spanish commander made his dispositions for the night, ordering Sandoval to escort the prisoners to Cojohuacan, whither he proposed himself immediately to follow. The other captains, Olid and

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., cap. 156.—Also Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS, lib. 33, cap. 48,—and Martyr (*De Orbe Novo*, dec. 5, cap. 8), who, by the epithet of *magnanimo regi*, testifies the admiration which Guatemozin's lofty spirit excited in the court of Castile.

<sup>29</sup> The ceremony of marriage, which distinguished the "lawful wife" from the concubine, is des-

cribed by Don Thuan Cano, in his conversation with Oviedo. According to this, it appears that the only legitimate offspring which Montezuma left at his death was a son and a daughter, this same princess.—See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.

<sup>30</sup> For a further account of Montezuma's daughter, see Book VII., chapter iii. of this History.

Alvarado, were to draw off their forces to their respective quarters. It was impossible for them to continue in the capital, where the poisonous effluvia from the unburied carcases loaded the air with infection. A small guard only was stationed to keep order in the wasted suburbs. It was the hour of vespers when Guatemozin surrendered,<sup>31</sup> and the siege might be considered as then concluded. The evening set in dark, and the rain began to fall before the several parties had evacuated the city.<sup>32</sup>

During the night, a tremendous tempest, such as the Spaniards had rarely witnessed, and such as is known only within the tropics, burst over the Mexican Valley. The thunder, reverberating from the rocky amphitheatre of hills, bellowed over the waste of waters, and

\* The event is annually commemorated—or rather was, under the colonial government—by a solemn procession round the walls of the city. It took place on the 13th of August, the anniversary of the surrender, and consisted of the principal cavaliers and citizens on horseback, headed by the viceroy, and displaying the venerable standard of the Conqueror.\*

\* Toribio, *Hist. de los Ind.*, MS., Parte 3, cap. 7.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS., lib. 12, cap. 42.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 156.—“The lord of Mexico having surrendered,” says Cortés, in his letter to the emperor, “the war, by the blessing of Heaven, was brought to an end, on Wednesday, the 13th day of August, 1521. So that from the day when we first sat down before the city, which was the 30th of May, until its final occupation,

seventy-five days elapsed.” (*Rel. Terc.*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 300.) It is not easy to tell what event occurred on May 30th to designate the beginning of the siege. Clavigero considers it the occupation of Cojohuacan by Olid. (*Stor. del Messico*, tom. iii. p. 196.) But I know not on what authority. Neither Bernal Diaz, nor Herrera, nor Cortés, so fixes the date. Indeed, Clavigero says that Alvarado and Olid left Tezcuco May 20th, while Cortés says May 10th. Perhaps Cortés dates from the time when Sandoval established himself on the northern causeway, and when the complete investment of the capital began. Bernal Diaz, more than once, speaks of the siege as lasting three months, computing, probably, from the time when his own division, under Alvarado, took up its position at Tacuba.

---

[\* It was the royal standard, not that of Cortés, which was carried on this occasion. The celebration was suppressed by a decree of the cortes of Cadiz in 1812. *Alaman, Conquista de Méjico*, trad. de Vega, tom. ii. p. 212, note.—Ed.]

shook the *teocallis* and crazy tenements of Tenochtitlan—the few that yet survived—to their foundations. The lightning seemed to cleave asunder the vault of heaven, as its vivid flashes wrapped the whole scene in a ghastly glare, for a moment, to be again swallowed up in darkness. The war of elements was in unison with the fortunes of the ruined city. It seemed as if the deities of Anahuac, scared from their ancient abodes, were borne along shrieking and howling in the blast, as they abandoned the fallen capital to its fate!<sup>33</sup>

On the day following the surrender, Guatemozin requested the Spanish commander to allow the Mexicans to leave the city and to pass unmolested into the open country. To this Cortés readily assented, as, indeed, without it he could take no steps for purifying the capital. He gave his orders, accordingly, for the evacuation of the place, commanding that no one, Spaniard or confederate, should offer violence to the Aztecs or in any way obstruct their departure. The whole number of these is variously estimated at from thirty to seventy thousand, besides women and children, who had survived the sword, pestilence, and famine.<sup>34</sup> It is certain they were three days in defiling along the several causeways,—a mournful train;<sup>35</sup> husbands and wives, parents and children, the sick and the wounded, leaning on one another for support, as they feebly

<sup>33</sup> It did not, apparently, disturb the slumbers of the troops, who had been so much deafened by the incessant noises of the siege that, now these had ceased, "we felt," says Díaz, in his homely way, "like men suddenly escaped from a belfry, where we had been shut up for months with a chime of bells ringing in our ears!" Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.

<sup>34</sup> Herrera (Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 2, cap. 7) and Torquemada (Monarch. Ind., lib. 4, cap. 101) estimate them at 30,000. Ixtlilxochitl says that 60,000 fighting-men

laid down their arms (Venida de los Españoles, p. 49); and Oviedo swells the amount still higher, to 70,000. (Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 48).—After the losses of the siege, these numbers are startling.

<sup>35</sup> "Digo que en tres dias con sus noches iban todas tres calçadas llenas de Indios, é Indias, y muchachos, llenas de bote en bote, que nunca dexauan de salir, y tan flacos, y suzios, é amarillos, é hediondos, que era lástima de los ver." Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 156.

tottered along, squalid, and but half covered with rags, that disclosed at every step hideous gashes, some recently received, others festering from long neglect, and carrying with them an atmosphere of contagion. Their wasted forms and famine-stricken faces told the whole history of the siege; and, as the straggling files gained the opposite shore, they were observed to pause from time to time, as if to take one more look at the spot so lately crowned by the imperial city, once their pleasant home, and endeared to them by many a glorious recollection.

On the departure of the inhabitants, measures were immediately taken to purify the place, by means of numerous fires kept burning day and night, especially in the infected quarter of Tlatelolco, and by collecting the heaps of dead, which lay mouldering in the streets, and consigning them to the earth. Of the whole number who perished in the course of the siege it is impossible to form any probable computation. The accounts range widely, from one hundred and twenty thousand, the lowest estimate, to two hundred and forty thousand.<sup>36</sup> The number of the Spaniards who

<sup>36</sup> Cortés estimates the losses of the enemy in the three several assaults at 67,000, which with 50,000 whom he reckons to have perished from famine and disease would give 117,000. (Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, p. 298, et alibi.) But this is exclusive of those who fell previously to the commencement of the vigorous plan of operations for demolishing the city. Ixtlilxochitl, who seldom allows any one to beat him in figures, puts the dead, in round numbers, at 240,000, comprehending the flower of the Aztec nobility. (Venida de los Españoles, p. 51.) Bernal Diaz observes, more generally, "I have read the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, but I doubt if there was as great mortality there as in this siege; for there was assembled in

the city an immense number of Indian warriors from all the provinces and towns subject to Mexico, the most of whom perished." (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 156.) "I have conversed," says Oviedo, "with many hidalgos and other persons, and have heard them say that the number of the dead was incalculable,—greater than that at Jerusalem, as described by Josephus." (Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 30, cap. 30.) As the estimate of the Jewish historian amounts to 1,100,000 (Antiquities of the Jews, Eng. trans., book vii. chap. xvii.), the comparison may stagger the most accommodating faith. It will be safer to dispense with arithmetic where the data are too loose and slippery to afford a foothold for getting at truth.

fell was comparatively small, but that of the allies must have been large, if the historian of Tezcuco is correct in asserting that thirty thousand perished of his own countrymen alone.<sup>37</sup> That the number of those destroyed within the city was immense cannot be doubted, when we consider that, besides its own redundant population, it was thronged with that of the neighbouring towns, who, distrusting their strength to resist the enemy, sought protection within its walls.

The booty found there—that is, the treasures of gold and jewels, the only booty of much value in the eyes of the Spaniards—fell far below their expectations. It did not exceed, according to the general's statement, a hundred and thirty thousand *castellanos* of gold, including the sovereign's share, which, indeed, taking into account many articles of curious and costly workmanship, voluntarily relinquished by the army, greatly exceeded his legitimate fifth.<sup>38</sup> Yet the Aztecs must have been in possession of a much larger treasure, if it were only the wreck of that recovered from the Spaniards on the night of the memorable flight from Mexico. Some of the spoil may have been sent away from the capital, some spent in preparations for defence, and more of it buried in the earth, or sunk in the water of the lake. Their menaces were not without a meaning. They had, at least, the satisfaction of disappointing the avarice of their enemies.

Cortés had no further occasion for the presence of his Indian allies. He assembled the chiefs of the different squadrons, thanked them for their services, noticed their valour in flattering terms, and, after distributing presents among them, with the assurance that his master the emperor would recompense their fidelity yet more largely, dismissed them to their own homes.

<sup>37</sup> *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Venida de los Españoles*, p. 51.

<sup>38</sup> *Rel. Terc.*, ap. *Lorenzana*, p. 301.—Oviedo goes into some further particulars respecting the

amount of the treasure, and especially of the imperial fifth, to which I shall have occasion to advert hereafter. *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 31.

They carried off a liberal share of the spoils of which they had plundered the dwellings,—not of a kind to excite the cupidity of the Spaniards,—and returned in triumph, short-sighted triumph! at the success of their expedition and the downfall of the Aztec dynasty.

Great, also, was the satisfaction of the Spaniards at this brilliant termination of their long and laborious campaign. They were, indeed, disappointed at the small amount of treasure found in the conquered city. But the soldier is usually too much absorbed in the present to give much heed to the future; and, though their discontent showed itself afterwards in a more clamorous form, they now thought only of their triumph, and abandoned themselves to jubilee. Cortés celebrated the event by a banquet, as sumptuous as circumstances would permit, to which all the cavaliers and officers were invited. Loud and long was their revelry, which was carried to such an excess as provoked the animadversion of Father Olmedo, who intimated that this was not the fitting way to testify their sense of the favours shown them by the Almighty. Cortés admitted the justice of the rebuke, but craved some indulgence for a soldier's license in the hour of victory. The following day was appointed for the commemoration of their successes in a more suitable manner.

A procession of the whole army was then formed, with Father Olmedo at its head. The soiled and tattered banners of Castile, which had waved over many a field of battle, now threw their shadows on the peaceful array of the soldiery, as they slowly moved along, rehearsing the litany, and displaying the image of the Virgin and the blessed symbol of man's redemption. The reverend father pronounced a discourse, in which he briefly reminded the troops of their great cause for thankfulness to Providence for conducting them safe through their long and perilous pilgrimage; and, dwelling on the responsibility incurred by their present position, he besought them not to abuse the

rights of conquest, but to treat the unfortunate Indians with humanity. The sacrament was then administered to the commander-in-chief and the principal cavaliers, and the services concluded with a solemn thanksgiving to the God of battles, who had enabled them to carry the banner of the Cross triumphant over this barbaric empire.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, after a siege of nearly three months' duration, unmatched in history for the constancy and courage of the besieged, seldom surpassed for the severity of its sufferings, fell the renowned capital of the Aztecs. Unmatched, it may be truly said, for constancy and courage, when we recollect that the door of capitulation on the most honourable terms was left open to them throughout the whole blockade, and that, sternly rejecting every proposal of their enemy, they, to a man, preferred to die rather than surrender. More than three centuries had elapsed since the Aztecs, a poor and wandering tribe from the far Northwest, had come on the plateau. There they built their miserable collection of huts on the spot—as tradition tells us—prescribed by the oracle. Their conquests, at first confined to their immediate neighbourhood, gradually covered the Valley, then, crossing the mountains, swept over the broad extent of the table-land, descended its precipitous sides, and rolled onwards to the Mexican Gulf and the distant confines of Central America. Their wretched capital, meanwhile, keeping pace with the enlargement of territory, had grown into a flourishing city, filled with buildings, monuments of art, and a numerous population, that gave it the first rank among the capitals of the Western World. At this crisis came over another race from the remote East, strangers like themselves, whose coming had also been predicted by the oracle, and, appearing on the

<sup>39</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 2, cap. 8.—Bernal Díaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 156.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, MS.,

lib. 12, cap. 42.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 30.—Ixtlilxochitl, *Venida de los Españoles*, pp. 51, 52.



plateau, assailed them in the very zenith of their prosperity, and blotted them out from the map of nations for ever! The whole story has the air of fable rather than of history! a legend of romance,—a tale of the genii!

Yet we cannot regret the fall of an empire which did so little to promote the happiness of its subjects or the real interests of humanity. Notwithstanding the lustre thrown over its latter days by the glorious defence of its capital, by the mild munificence of Montezuma, by the dauntless heroism of Guatemozin, the Aztecs were emphatically a fierce and brutal race, little calculated, in their best aspects, to excite our sympathy and regard. Their civilization, such as it was, was not their own, but reflected, perhaps imperfectly, from a race whom they had succeeded in the land. It was, in respect to the Aztecs, a generous graft on a vicious stock, and could have brought no fruit to perfection. They ruled over their wide domains with a sword, instead of a sceptre. They did nothing to ameliorate the condition or in any way promote the progress of their vassals. Their vassals were serfs, used only to minister to their pleasure, held in awe by armed garrisons, ground to the dust by imposts in peace, by military conscriptions in war. They did not, like the Romans, whom they resembled in the nature of their conquests, extend the rights of citizenship to the conquered. They did not amalgamate them into one great nation, with common rights and interests. They held them as aliens,—even those who in the Valley were gathered round the very walls of the capital. The Aztec metropolis, the heart of the monarchy, had not a sympathy, not a pulsation, in common with the rest of the body politic. It was a stranger in its own land.

The Aztecs not only did not advance the condition of their vassals, but, morally speaking, they did much to degrade it. How can a nation where human sacrifices prevail, and especially when combined with cannibalism, further the march of civilization? How can the interests of humanity be consulted, where man

is levelled to the rank of the brutes that perish? The influence of the Aztecs introduced their gloomy superstition into lands before unacquainted with it, or where, at least it was not established in any great strength. The example of the capital was contagious. As the latter increased in opulence, the religious celebrations were conducted with still more terrible magnificence; in the same manner as the gladiatorial shows of the Romans increased in pomp with the increasing splendour of the capital. Men became familiar with scenes of horror and the most loathsome abominations. Women and children—the whole nation—became familiar with and assisted at them. The heart was hardened, the manners were made ferocious, the feeble light of civilization, transmitted from a milder race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims, throughout the empire, were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets! The whole land was converted into vast human shambles! The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time.

Whether these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether, with the Protestant, we are content to find a warrant for it in the natural rights and demands of civilization, or, with the Roman Catholic, in the good pleasure of the Pope,—on the one or other of which grounds the conquests by most Christian nations in the East and the West have been defended—it is unnecessary to discuss, as it has already been considered in a former chapter. It is more material to inquire whether, assuming the right, the conquest of Mexico was conducted with a proper regard to the claims of humanity. And here we must admit that, with all allowance for the ferocity of the age and the laxity of its principles, there are passages which every Spaniard who cherishes the fame of his countrymen would be glad to see expunged from their history; passages not to be vindicated on the score of self-defence, or of necessity of

any kind, and which must for ever leave a dark spot on the annals of the Conquest. And yet, taken as a whole, the invasion, up to the capture of the capital, was conducted on principles less revolting to humanity than most, perhaps than any, of the other conquests of the Castilian crown in the New World.

It may seem slight praise to say that the followers of Cortés used no blood-hounds to hunt down their wretched victims, as in some other parts of the Continent, nor exterminated a peaceful and submissive population in mere wantonness of cruelty, as in the Islands. Yet it is something that they were not so far infected by the spirit of the age, and that their swords were rarely stained with blood unless it was indispensable to the success of their enterprise. Even in the last siege of the capital, the sufferings of the Aztecs, terrible as they were, do not imply any unusual cruelty in the victors; they were not greater than those inflicted on their own countrymen at home, in many a memorable instance, by the most polished nations, not merely of ancient times, but of our own. They were the inevitable consequences which follow from war when, instead of being confined to its legitimate field, it is brought home to the hearthstone, to the peaceful community of the city,—its burghers untrained to arms, its women and children yet more defenceless. In the present instance, indeed, the sufferings of the besieged were in a great degree to be charged on themselves,—on their patriotic but desperate self-devotion. It was not the desire, as certainly it was not the interest, of the Spaniards to destroy the capital or its inhabitants. When any of these fell into their hands, they were kindly entertained, their wants supplied, and every means taken to infuse into them a spirit of conciliation; and this, too, it should be remembered, in despite of the dreadful doom to which they consigned their Christian captives. The gates of a fair capitulation were kept open, though unavailing, to the last hour.

The right of conquest necessarily implies that of using whatever force may be necessary for overcoming resistance to the assertion of that right. For the Spaniards to have done otherwise than they did would have been to abandon the siege, and, with it, the conquest of the country. To have suffered the inhabitants, with their high-spirited monarch, to escape, would but have prolonged the miseries of war by transferring it to another and more inaccessible quarter. They literally, so far as the success of the expedition was concerned, had no choice. If our imagination is struck with the amount of suffering in this and in similar scenes of the Conquest, it should be borne in mind that it was a natural result of the great masses of men engaged in the conflict. The amount of suffering does not of itself show the amount of cruelty which caused it; and it is but justice to the Conquerors of Mexico to say that the very brilliancy and importance of their exploits have given a melancholy celebrity to their misdeeds, and thrown them into somewhat bolder relief than strictly belongs to them. It is proper that thus much should be stated, not to excuse their excesses, but that we may be enabled to make a more impartial estimate of their conduct as compared with that of other nations under similar circumstances, and that we may not visit them with peculiar obloquy for evils which necessarily flow from the condition of war.<sup>40</sup> I have not drawn a veil over these evils; for

\* By none has this obloquy been poured with such unsparing hand on the heads of the old Conquerors as by their own descendants, the modern Mexicans. Ixtlilxochitl's editor, Bustamante, concludes an animated invective against the invaders with recommending that a monument should be raised on the spot—now dry land—where Guatemozin was taken, which as the proposed inscription itself intimates, should “devote to eternal execra-

VOL. II.

tion the detested memory of these banditti!” (Venida de los Españoles, p. 52, nota.) One would suppose that the pure Aztec blood, uncontaminated by a drop of Castilian, flowed in the veins of the indignant editor and his compatriots, or at least that their sympathies for the conquered race would make them anxious to restate them in their ancient rights. Notwithstanding these bursts of generous indignation, however,

▲▲

the historian should not shrink from depicting in their true colours the atrocities of a condition over which success is apt to throw a false halo of glory, but which, bursting asunder the strong bonds of human fellowship, purchases its triumphs by arming the hand of man against his brother, makes a savage of the civilized, and kindles the fires of hell in the bosom of the savage.

Whatever may be thought of the Conquest in a moral view, regarded as a military achievement it must fill us with astonishment. That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and, in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior;—that they should have done this without knowledge of the language or of the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were;—that, though nearly overwhelmed in their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should have still pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesitatingly into the midst of their enemies;—that, so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilization, they should have been but the more confirmed in their original design;—that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and, when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and, after a system of operations pursued with consummate policy and daring, have

which plentifully season the writings of the Mexicans of our day, we do not find that the Revolution, or any of its numerous brood of

*pronunciamientos*, has resulted in restoring to them an acre of their ancient territory.

succeeded in overturning the capital and establishing their sway over the country;—that all this should have been so effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous,—too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history.

Yet this must not be understood too literally; for it would be unjust to the Aztecs themselves, at least to their military prowess, to regard the Conquest as directly achieved by the Spaniards alone. This would indeed be to arm the latter with the charmed shield of Ruggiero, and the magic lance of Astolfo, overturning its hundreds at a touch. The Indian empire was in a manner conquered by Indians. The first terrible encounter of the Spaniards with the Tlascalans, which had nearly proved their ruin, did in fact insure their success. It secured to them a strong native support on which to retreat in the hour of trouble, and round which they could rally the kindred races of the land for one great and overwhelming assault. The Aztec monarchy fell by the hands of its own subjects, under the direction of European sagacity and science. Had it been united, it might have bidden defiance to the invaders. As it was, the capital was dissevered from the rest of the country, and the bolt, which might have passed off comparatively harmless had the empire been cemented by a common principle of loyalty and patriotism, now found its way into every crack and crevice of the ill-compacted fabric and buried it in its own ruins. Its fate may serve as a striking proof that a government which does not rest on the sympathies of its subjects cannot long abide; that human institutions, when not connected with human prosperity and progress, must fall,—if not before the increasing light of civilization, by the hand of violence; by violence from within, if not from without. And who shall lament their fall?

---

With the events of this Book terminates the history, by Solís, of the *Conquista de Méjico*; a history, in many points of view, the most remarkable in the Castilian language. Don Antonio de Solís was born of a respectable family, in October, 1610, at Alcalá de Henares, the nursery of science, and the name of which is associated in Spain with the brightest ornaments of both church and state. Solís, while very young, exhibited the sparks of future genius, especially in the vivacity of his imagination and a sensibility to the beautiful. He showed a decided turn for dramatic composition, and produced a comedy, at the age of seventeen, which would have reflected credit on a riper age. He afterwards devoted himself with assiduity to the study of ethics, the fruits of which are visible in the moral reflections which give a didactic character to the lightest of his compositions.

At the usual age he entered the University of Salamanca, and went through the regular course of the canon and civil law. But the imaginative spirit of Solís took much more delight in the soft revels of the Muses than in the severe discipline of the schools; and he produced a number of pieces for the theatre, much esteemed for the richness of the diction and for the ingenious and delicate texture of the intrigue. His taste for dramatic composition was, no doubt, nourished by his intimacy with the great Calderon, for whose dramas he prepared several *loas*, or prologues. The amiable manners and brilliant acquisitions of Solís recommended him to the favour of the Conde de Oropesa, Viceroy of Navarre, who made him his secretary. The letters written by him while in the service of this nobleman, and afterwards, have some of them been given to the public, and are much commended for the suavity and elegance of expression characteristic of all the writings of their author.

The increasing reputation of Solís attracted the notice of the Court, and in 1661 he was made secretary of the queen dowager,—an office which he had declined under Philip the Fourth,—and he was also preferred to the still more important post of Historiographer of the Indies, an appointment which stimulated his ambition to a bold career, different from anything he had yet attempted. Five years after this event, at the age of fifty-six, he made a most important change in his way of life, by embracing the religious profession, and was admitted to priest's orders in 1666. From this time he discontinued his addresses to the comic Muse, and, if we may credit his biographers, even refused, from conscientious scruples, to engage in the composition of the religious dramas, styled *autos sacramentales*, although the field was now opened to him by the death of the poet Calderon. But such tenderness of conscience it seems difficult to reconcile with the publication of his various comedies, which took place in 1681. It is certain, however, that he devoted himself zealously to his new profession, and to the historical studies in which his office of chronicler had engaged him. At length the fruits of these studies were given to the world in his *Conquista de Méjico*, which appeared at Madrid in 1684. He designed, it is said, to continue the work to the times after the Conquest. But, if so, he was unfortunately prevented by his death, which occurred about two years after the publication of his history, on the 13th of April, 1686. He died at the age of seventy-six, much regarded for his virtues and admired for his genius, but in that poverty with which genius and virtue are too often requited.

The miscellaneous poems of Solís were collected and published a few years after his death, in one volume quarto; which has since been reprinted. But his great work, that on which his fame is permanently to

rest, is his *Conquista de Méjico*. Notwithstanding the field of history had been occupied by so many eminent Spanish scholars, there was still a new career open to Solís. His predecessors, with all their merits, had shown a strange ignorance of the principles of art. They had regarded historical writing not as a work of art, but as a science. They had approached it on that side only, and thus divorced it from its legitimate connection with *belles-lettres*. They had thought only of the useful, and nothing of the beautiful; had addressed themselves to the business of instruction, not to that of giving pleasure; to the man of letters, studious to hive up knowledge, not to the man of leisure, who turns to books as a solace or a recreation. Such writers are never in the hands of the many,—not even of the cultivated many. They are condemned to the closet of the student, painfully toiling after truth, and little mindful of the coarse covering under which she may be wrapped. Some of the most distinguished of the national historiographers, as, for example, Herrera and Zurita, two of the greatest names in Castile and Aragon, fall under this censure. They display acuteness, strength of argument, judicious criticism, wonderful patience and industry in accumulating details for their varied and voluminous compilations; but in all the graces of composition—in elegance of style, skilful arrangement of the story, and selection of incidents—they are lamentably deficient. With all their high merits, intellectually considered, they are so defective on the score of art that they can neither be popular, nor revered as the great classics of the nation.

Solís saw that the field was unappropriated by his predecessors, and had the address to avail himself of it. Instead of spreading himself over a vast range, where he must expend his efforts on cold and barren generalities, he fixed his attention on one great theme,—one that, by its picturesque accompaniments, the romantic incidents of the story, the adventurous character of the actors and their exploits, was associated with many a proud and patriotic feeling in the bosom of the Spaniard,—one, in fine, that, by the brilliant contrast it afforded of European civilization to the barbaric splendours of an Indian dynasty, was remarkably suited to the kindling imagination of the poet. It was accordingly under its poetic aspect that the eye of Solís surveyed it. He distributed the whole subject with admirable skill, keeping down the subordinate parts, bringing the most important into high relief, and by a careful study of its proportions giving an admirable symmetry to the whole. Instead of bewildering the attention by a variety of objects, he presented to it one great and predominant idea, which shed its light, if I may so say, over his whole work. Instead of the numerous episodes, leading, like so many blind galleries, to nothing, he took the student along a great road, conducting straight towards the mark. At every step which we take in the narrative, we feel ourselves on the advance. The story never falters or stands still. That admirable *liaison* of the parts is maintained, by which one part is held to another, and each preceding event prepares the way for that which is to follow. Even those occasional interruptions, the great stumbling-block of the historian, which cannot be avoided, in consequence of the important bearing which the events that cause them have on the story, are managed with such address that, if the interest is suspended, it is never snapped. Such halting-places, indeed, are so contrived as to afford a repose not unwelcome after the stirring scenes in which the reader has been long involved; as the traveller, exhausted by the fatigues of his journey, finds refreshment at places which in their own character have little to recommend them.



The work, thus conducted, affords the interest of a grand spectacle,—of some well-ordered drama, in which scene succeeds to scene, act to act, each unfolding and preparing the mind for the one that is to follow, until the whole is consummated by the grand and decisive *dénouement*. With this *dénouement*, the fall of Mexico, Solís has closed his history, preferring to leave the full impression unbroken on the reader's mind rather than to weaken it by prolonging the narrative to the Conqueror's death. In this he certainly consulted effect.

Solís used the same care in regard to style that he showed in the arrangement of his story. It is elaborated with the nicest art, and displays that varied beauty and brilliancy which remind us of those finely variegated woods which, under a high polish, display all the rich tints that lie beneath the surface. Yet this style finds little favour with foreign critics, who are apt to condemn it as tumid, artificial, and verbose. But let the foreign critic beware how he meddles with style, that impalpable essence which surrounds thought as with an atmosphere, giving to it its life and peculiar tone of colour, differing in different nations, like the atmospheres which envelop the different planets of our system, and which require to be comprehended that we may interpret the character of the objects seen through their medium. None but a native can pronounce with any confidence upon style, affected as it is by so many casual and local associations that determine its propriety and its elegance. In the judgment of eminent Spanish critics, the style of Solís claims the merits of perspicuity, copiousness, and classic elegance. Even the foreigner will not be insensible to its power of conveying a living picture to the eye. Words are the colours of the writer, and Solís uses them with the skill of a consummate artist; now displaying the dark tumult of battle, and now refreshing the mind by scenes of quiet magnificence or of soft luxury and repose.

Solís formed himself to some extent on the historical models of antiquity. He introduced set speeches into the mouths of his personages, speeches of his own composing. The practice may claim high authority among moderns as well as ancients, especially among the great Italian historians. It has its advantages, in enabling the writer to convey in a dramatic form the sentiments of the actors, and thus to maintain the charm of historic illusion by never introducing the person of the historian. It has also another advantage, that of exhibiting the author's own sentiments under cover of his hero's,—a more effective mode than if they were introduced as his own. But to one trained in the school of the great English historians the practice has something in it unsatisfactory and displeasing. There is something like deception in it. The reader is unable to determine what are the sentiments of the characters and what those of the author. History assumes the air of romance, and the bewildered student wanders about in an uncertain light, doubtful whether he is treading on fact or fiction.

It is open to another objection, when, as it frequently does, it violates the propriety of costume. Nothing is more difficult than to preserve the keeping of the piece when the new is thus laid on the old,—the imitation of the antique on the antique itself. The declamations of Solís are much prized as specimens of eloquence. But they are too often misplaced; and the rude characters in whose mouths they are inserted are as little in keeping with them as were the Roman heroes with the fashionable wig and sword with which they strutted on the French stage in Louis the Fourteenth's time.

As to the value of the researches made by Solís in the compilation of

his work it is not easy to speak, for the page is supported by none of the notes and references which enable us to track the modern author to the quarry whence he has drawn his materials. It was not the usage of the age. The people of that day, and, indeed, of preceding times, were content to take the author's word for his facts. They did not require to know why he affirmed this thing or doubted that; whether he built his story on the authority of a friend or of a foe, of a writer of good report or of evil report. In short, they did not demand a reason for their faith. They were content to take it on trust. This was very comfortable to the historian. It saved him a world of trouble in the process, and it prevented the detection of error, or, at least, of negligence. It prevented it with all who did not carefully go over the same ground with himself. They who have occasion to do this with Solís will probably rise from the examination with no very favourable idea of the extent of his researches; they will find that, though his situation gave him access to the most valuable repositories in the kingdom, he rarely ascends to original documents, but contents himself with the most obvious and accessible; that he rarely discriminates between the contemporary testimony and that of later date; in a word, that in all that constitutes the *scientific* value of history he falls far below his learned predecessor Herrera,—rapid as was the composition of this last.

Another objection that may be made to Solís is his bigotry, or rather his fanaticism. This defect, so repugnant to the philosophic spirit which should preside over the labours of the historian, he possessed, it is true, in common with many of his countrymen. But in him it was carried to an uncommon height; and it was peculiarly unfortunate, since his subject, being the contest between the Christian and the Infidel, naturally drew forth the full display of this failing. Instead of regarding the benighted heathen with the usual measure of aversion in which they were held in the Peninsula after the subjugation of Granada, he considered them as part of the grand confederacy of Satan, not merely breathing the spirit and acting under the invisible influence of the Prince of Darkness, but holding personal communication with him. He seems to have regarded them, in short, as his regular and organized militia. In this view, every act of the unfortunate enemy was a crime. Even good acts were misrepresented, or referred to evil motives; for how could goodness originate with the Spirit of Evil? No better evidence of the results of this way of thinking need be given than that afforded by the ill-favoured and unauthorized portrait which the historian has left us of Montezuma,—even in his dying hours. The war of the Conquest was, in short, in the historian's eye, a conflict between light and darkness, between the good principle and the evil principle, between the soldiers of Satan and the chivalry of the Cross. It was a Holy War, in which the sanctity of the cause covered up the sins of the Conquerors, and every one—the meanest soldier who fell in it—might aspire to the crown of martyrdom. With sympathies thus preoccupied, what room was there for that impartial criticism which is the life of history?

The historian's overweening partiality to the Conquerors is still further heightened by those feelings of patriotism—a bastard patriotism—which, identifying the writer's own glory with that of his countrymen, makes him blind to their errors. This partiality is especially shown in regard to Cortés, the hero of the piece. The lights and shadows of the picture are all disposed with reference to this principal character. The good is ostentatiously paraded before us, and the bad is winked out of sight. Solís does not stop here, but, by the artful gloss which makes the worse

appear the better cause, he calls on us to admire his hero sometimes for his very transgressions. No one, not even Gomara himself, is such a wholesale encomiast of the great Conqueror; and, when his views are contradicted by the statements of honest Diaz, Solís is sure to find a motive for the discrepancy in some sinister purpose of the veteran. He knows more of Cortés, of his actions and his motives, than his companion in arms or his admiring chaplain.

In this way Solís has presented a beautiful image of his hero,—but it is a hero of romance; a character without a blemish. An eminent Castilian critic has commended him for “having conducted his history with so much art that it has become a panegyric.” This may be true; but, if history be panegyric, panegyric is not history.

Yet, with all these defects,—the existence of which no candid critic will be disposed to deny,—the History of Solís has found such favour with his own countrymen that it has been printed and reprinted, with all the refinements of editorial luxury. It has been translated into the principal languages of Europe; and such is the charm of its composition, and its exquisite finish as a work of art, that it will doubtless be as imperishable as the language in which it is written, or the memory of the events which it records.

At this place also we are to take leave of Father Sahagun, who has accompanied us through our narrative. As his information was collected from the traditions of the natives, the contemporaries of the Conquest, it has been of considerable importance in corroborating or contradicting the statements of the Conquerors. Yet its value in this respect is much impaired by the wild and random character of many of the Aztec traditions,—so absurd, indeed, as to carry their own refutation with them. Where the passions are enlisted, what is too absurd to find credit?

The Twelfth Book—as it would appear from his Preface, the Ninth Book originally—of his *Historia de la Nueva-España* is devoted to the account of the Conquest. In 1585, thirty years after the first draft, he re-wrote this part of his great work, moved to it, as he tells us, “by the desire to correct the defects of the first account, in which some things had found their way that had better been omitted, and other things omitted which were well deserving of record.”\* It might be supposed that the obloquy which the missionary had brought on his head by his honest recital of the Aztec traditions would have made him more circumspect in his *refacimento* of his former narrative. But I have not found it so, or that there has been any effort to mitigate the statements that bore hardest on his countrymen. As this manuscript copy must have been that which the author himself deemed the most correct, since it is his last revision, and as it is more copious than the printed narrative, I have been usually guided by it.

Señor Bustamante is mistaken in supposing that the edition of this Twelfth Book, which he published in Mexico in 1829, is from the reformed copy of Sahagun. The manuscript cited in these pages is undoubtedly a transcript of that copy. For in the Preface to it, as we have seen, the author himself declares it. In the intrinsic value of the two drafts there is, after all, but little difference.

\* “En el libro nono, donde se trata esta Conquista, se hiciéron ciertos defectos; y fué, que algunas cosas se pusieron en la narracion de esta Conquista que fueron mal puestas; y otras se callaron, que fueron mal calladas. Por esta causa, este año de mil quinientos ochenta y cinco, enmende este Libro.” MS.

## BOOK VII.

[CONCLUSION.]

### SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF CORTÉS.

---

#### CHAPTER I.

**Torture of Guatemozin.—Submission of the Country.—Rebuilding of the Capital.—Mission to Castile.—Complaints against Cortés.—He is confirmed in his authority.**

1521-1522.

THE history of the Conquest of Mexico terminates with the surrender of the capital. But the history of the Conquest is so intimately blended with that of the extraordinary man who achieved it, that there would seem to be an incompleteness in the narrative if it were not continued to the close of his personal career. This part of the subject has been very imperfectly treated by preceding writers. I shall therefore avail myself of the authentic materials in my possession to give a brief sketch of the brilliant but checkered fortunes which marked the subsequent career of Cortés.

The first ebullition of triumph was succeeded in the army by very different feelings, as they beheld the scanty spoil gleaned from the conquered city, and as they brooded over the inadequate compensation they were to receive for all their toils and sufferings. Some of the soldiers of Narvaez, with feelings of bitter disappointment, absolutely declined to accept their shares. Some murmured audibly against the general, and others against Guatemozin, who, they said, could reveal, if he chose, the place where the treasures were secreted. The white walls of the barracks were covered with

epigrams and pasquinades levelled at Cortés, whom they accused of taking "one fifth of the booty as commander-in-chief, and another fifth as king." As Guatemozin refused to make any revelation in respect to the treasure, or rather declared there was none to make, the soldiers loudly insisted on his being put to the torture. But for this act of violence, so contrary to the promise of protection recently made to the Indian prince, Cortés was not prepared; and he resisted the demand, until the men, instigated, it is said, by the royal treasurer, Alderete, accused the general of a secret understanding with Guatemozin, and of a design to defraud the Spanish sovereigns and themselves. These unmerited taunts stung Cortés to the quick, and in an evil hour he delivered the Aztec prince into the hands of his enemies, to work their pleasure on him.

But the hero who had braved death in its most awful forms was not to be intimidated by bodily suffering. When his companion, the cacique of Tacuba, who was put to the torture with him, testified his anguish by his groans, Guatemozin coldly rebuked him by exclaiming, "And do you think I, then, am taking my pleasure in my bath?"<sup>1</sup> At length Cortés, ashamed of the base part he was led to play, rescued the Aztec prince from his tormentors before it was too late,—not, however, before it was too late for his own honour, which has suffered an indelible stain from this treatment of his royal prisoner.

All that could be wrung from Guatemozin by the extremity of his sufferings was the confession that much gold had been thrown into the water. But, although the best divers were employed, under the eye of Cortés himself, to search the oozy bed of the lake, only a few articles of inconsiderable value were drawn from it. They had better fortune in searching a pond in Guate-

<sup>1</sup> "¡Estoi yo en algun deleite, ó baño!" (Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 145.) The literal version is not so poetical

as "the bed of flowers," into which this exclamation of Guatemozin is usually rendered.

mozin's gardens, where a sun, as it is called, probably one of the Aztec calendar wheels, made of pure gold, of great size and thickness, was discovered. The cacique of Tacuba had confessed that a quantity of treasure was buried in the ground at one of his own villas. But when the Spaniards carried him to the spot he alleged that "his only motive for saying so was the hope of dying on the road!" The soldiers, disappointed in their expectations, now, with the usual caprice of an unlicensed mob, changed their tone, and openly accused their commander of cruelty to his captive. The charge was well deserved,—but not from them.\*

The tidings of the fall of Mexico were borne on the wings of the winds over the plateau, and down the broad sides of the Cordilleras. Many envoys made their appearance from the remote Indian tribes, anxious to learn the truth of the astounding intelligence and to gaze with their own eyes on the ruins of the detested city. Among these were ambassadors from the kingdom of Michoacán, a powerful and independent state, inhabited by one of the kindred Nahuatlac races, and lying between the Mexican Valley and the Pacific. The embassy was soon followed by the king of the country in person, who came in great state to the Castilian quarters. Cortés received him with equal parade, astonished him by the brilliant evolutions of his cavalry and by the thunders of his ordnance, and escorted him in one of the brigantines round the fallen city, whose pile of smouldering palaces and temples was all that now remained of the once dread capital of Anahuac. The Indian monarch gazed with silent awe on the scene of desolation, and eagerly craved the protection of the invincible beings who had caused it.†

\* The most particular account of this disgraceful transaction is given by Bernal Diaz, one of those selected to accompany the lord of Tacuba to his villa. (*Hist. de la*

*Conquista*, cap. 157.) He notices the affair with becoming indignation, but excuses Cortés from a voluntary part in it.

† *Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lo-

His example was followed by ambassadors from the remote regions which had never yet had intercourse with the Spaniards. Cortés, who saw the boundaries of his empire thus rapidly enlarging, availed himself of the favourable dispositions of the natives to ascertain the products and resources of their several countries.

Two small detachments were sent into the friendly tate of Michoacán, through which country they penetrated to the borders of the great Southern ocean. No European had as yet descended on its shores so far north of the equator. The Spaniards eagerly advanced into its waters, erected a cross on the sandy margin, and took possession of it, with all the usual formalities, in the name of their Catholic Majesties. On their return, they visited some of the rich districts towards the north, since celebrated for their mineral treasures, and brought back samples of gold and Californian pearls, with an account of their discovery of the ocean. The imagination of Cortés was kindled, and his soul swelled with exultation, at the splendid prospects which their discoveries unfolded. "Most of all," he writes to the emperor, "do I exult in the tidings brought me of the Great Ocean. For in it, as cosmographers, and those learned men who know most about the Indies, inform us, are scattered the rich isles teeming with gold and spices and precious stones."<sup>4</sup>

renzana, p. 303.—The simple statement of the Conqueror contrasts strongly with the pompous narrative of Herrera, (*Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib 3, cap. 3), and with that of Father Cavo, who may have drawn a little on his own imagination. "Cortés en una canoa ricamente entapizada, llevó á el Rey Vehichilze, y á los nobles de Michoacan á México. Este es uno de los palacios de Mochtezuma (les decia); allí está el gran templo de Huitzilopuctli; estas ruinas son del grande edificio de Quauhtemoc, aquellos de la gran plaza del mercado. Conmovido Vehichilze de

este espectáculo se le saltaron las lágrimas." *Los tres Siglos de México* (México, 1836), tom. i. p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> "Que todos los que tienen alguna ciencia, y experiencia en la Navegacion de las Indias, han tenido por muy cierto, que descubriendo por estas Partes la Mar del Sur, se habian de hallar muchas Islas ricas de Oro, y Perlas, y Piedras preciosas, y Especería, y se habian de descubrir y hallar otros muchos secretos y cosas admirables." *Rel. Terc. de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 302, 303.

He at once sought a favourable spot for a colony on the shores of the Pacific, and made arrangements for the construction of four vessels to explore the mysteries of these unknown seas. This was the beginning of his noble enterprises for discovery in the Gulf of California.

Although the greater part of Anahuac, overawed by the successes of the Spaniards, had tendered their allegiance, there were some, especially on the southern slopes of the Cordilleras, who showed a less submissive disposition. Cortés instantly sent out strong detachments under Sandoval and Alvarado to reduce the enemy and establish colonies in the conquered provinces. The highly coloured reports which Alvarado, who had a quick scent for gold, gave of the mineral wealth of Oaxaca, no doubt operated with Cortés in determining him to select this region for his own particular domain.

The commander-in-chief, with his little band of Spaniards, now daily recruited by reinforcements from the Islands, still occupied the quarters of Cojohuacan, which they had taken up at the termination of the siege. Cortés did not immediately decide in what quarter of the Valley to establish the new capital which was to take the place of the ancient Tenochtitlan. The situation of the latter, surrounded by water and exposed to occasional inundations, had some obvious disadvantages. But there was no doubt that in some part of the elevated and central plateau of the Valley the new metropolis should be built, to which both European and Indian might look up as to the head of the colonial empire of Spain. At length he decided on retaining the site of the ancient city, moved to it, as he says, "by its past renown, and the memory"—not an enviable one, surely—"in which it was held among the nations;" and he made preparations for the reconstruction of the capital on a scale of magnificence which should, in his own language, "raise her to the



rank of Queen of the surrounding provinces, in the same manner as she had been of yore."<sup>5</sup>

The labour was to be performed by the Indian population, drawn from all quarters of the Valley, and including the Mexicans themselves, great numbers of whom still lingered in the neighbourhood of their ancient residence. At first they showed reluctance, and even symptoms of hostility, when called to this work of humiliation by their conquerors. But Cortés had the address to secure some of the principal chiefs in his interests, and under their authority and direction the labour of their countrymen was conducted. The deep groves of the Valley and the forests of the neighbouring hills supplied cedar, cypress, and other durable woods for the interior of the buildings, and the quarries of *tetzontli* and the ruins of the ancient edifices furnished abundance of stone. As there were no beasts of draught employed by the Aztecs, an immense number of hands was necessarily required for the work. All within the immediate control of Cortés were pressed into the service. The spot so recently deserted now swarmed with multitudes of Indians of various tribes, and with Europeans, the latter directing, while the others laboured. The prophecy of the Aztecs was accomplished.<sup>6</sup> And the work of reconstruction went forward with a rapidity like that shown by an Asiatic despot, who concentrates the population of an empire on the erection of a favourite capital.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "Y crea Vuestra Magestad, que cada día se irá ennobleciendo en tal manera, que como antes fué Principal, y Señora de todas estas Provincias, que lo será tambien de aquí adelante." Rel. Terc., de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 307.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 8.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 32.—Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.—Gomara, Crónica, cap. 162.—"En la cual (la edificación de la ciudad)

los primeros años andaba mas gente que en la edificación del templo de Jerusalem, porque era tanta la gente que andaba en las obras, que apenas podia hombre romper por algunas calles y calzadas, aunque son muy anchas." (Toribio, Hist. de los Indios, MS., Parte 1, cap. 1.) Ixtlilxochitl supplies any blank which the imagination might leave, by filling it up with 400,000, as the number of natives employed in this work by Cortés! Venida de los Españoles, p. 60.

Yet the condition of Cortés, notwithstanding the success of his arms, suggested many causes for anxiety. He had not received a word of encouragement from home,—not a word, indeed, of encouragement or censure. In what light his irregular course was regarded by the government or the nation was still matter of painful uncertainty. He now prepared another Letter to the emperor, the Third in the published series, written in the same simple and energetic style which has entitled his Commentaries, as they may be called, to a comparison with those of Cæsar. It was dated at Cojohuacan, May 15th, 1522, and in it he recapitulated the events of the final siege of the capital, and his subsequent operations, accompanied by many sagacious reflections, as usual, on the character and resources of the country. With this letter he purposed to send the royal fifth of the spoils of Mexico, and a rich collection of fabrics, especially of gold and jewelry wrought into many rare and fanciful forms. One of the jewels was an emerald, cut in a pyramidal shape, of so extraordinary a size that the base was as broad as the palm of the hand! \* The collection was

\* "Sirviéron al Emperador con muchos piedras, i entre ellas con una esmeralda fina, como la palma, pero quadrada, i que se remataba en punta como pirámide." Gomara, Crónica, cap. 146.) Martyr confirms the account of this wonderful

emerald, which, he says, "was reported to the king and council to be nearly as broad as the palm of the hand, and which those who had seen it thought could not be procured for any sum." De Orbe Novo, dec 8, cap. 4.\*

---

\* [Alaman, however, denies that this stone was an emerald, or that any true emeralds were found by the Conquerors in Mexico, notwithstanding the frequent mention of them in contemporary relations. "There are no emeralds," he says, "in our republic; and the stones mistaken for them at the time of the Conquest were jade or serpentine." As an evidence of the ignorance on this subject common in Europe at a former period, he cites the famous instance of the *Sacro Catino* at Genoa, regarded for ages as an emerald of priceless value, but now proved to be an imitation. (Disertaciones históricas, tom. i. p. 161.) It is certain that no emeralds are now found in any part of North America. Yet the Conquerors would seem to have been more discriminating than Señor Alaman represents them. They distinguished the *chalchivill*, supposed to have been jade, from the emerald, and rejected as valueless

still further augmented by specimens of many of the natural products, as well as of animals peculiar to the country.\*

The army wrote a letter to accompany that of Cortés, in which they expatiated on his manifold services and besought the emperor to ratify his proceedings and confirm him in his present authority. The important mission was intrusted to two of the general's confidential officers, Quiñones and Avila. It proved to be unfortunate. The agents touched at the Azores, where Quiñones lost his life in a brawl. Avila, resuming his voyage, was captured by a French privateer, and the rich spoils of the Aztecs went into the treasury of his Most Christian Majesty. Francis the First gazed with pardonable envy on the treasures which his Imperial rival drew from his colonial domains; and he intimated

\* [Cortés availed himself of the same opportunity by which the royal fifth was despatched, to send costly or curious presents to numerous individuals and churches in Spain. For this fact I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. George Sumner, who, when in Spain, made a visit to the Archives of Simancas, from which he has furnished me with some interesting particulars for the period on which I am engaged. In a file endorsed *Papeles de Cortés* he met with a list, without date, but evidently belonging to the year 1522, of the gold, plumage, and ornaments sent by Cortés to the different persons and institutions in Spain. "The policy of Cortés and his clear-sightedness," Mr. Sumner justly remarks, "are well shown by this.

Not a church, not a shrine of any fame, throughout Spain, has been forgotten. To Santa María del Antigua in Sevilla, a rich offering of gold and of plumage; to Santa María del Pilar in Zaragoza, the same; another again to San Jago de Compostella; and one to the Cartuja of Seville, in which the bones of Columbus were then lying. There are plumages and gold for every place of importance. Then the bishops and men of power are not forgotten; for to them also are rich presents sent. In a time when there were no gazettes to trumpet one's fame, what surer way to notoriety than this? What surer way, in Spain, for gaining that security which Cortés so much needed?"

---

other green stones prized by the natives. The case of the *Sacro Catino* does not apply, since it is not pretended that the Mexicans possessed the art of imitating precious stones by means of paste. The fact, therefore, that the emeralds sent and taken to Europe by Cortés were there recognized as genuine affords a presumptive proof in their favour, which has been generally accepted as sufficient by modern writers on the subject.—Ed.]

his discontent by peevishly expressing a desire "to see the clause in Adam's testament which entitled his brothers of Castile and Portugal to divide the New World between them." Avila found means, through a private hand, of transmitting his letters, the most important part of his charge, to Spain, where they reached the court in safety.<sup>10</sup>

While these events were passing, affairs in Spain had been taking an unfavourable turn for Cortés. It may seem strange that the brilliant exploits of the Conqueror of Mexico should have attracted so little notice from the government at home. But the country was at that time distracted by the dismal feuds of the *comunidades*. The sovereign was in Germany, too much engrossed by the cares of the empire to allow leisure for those of his own kingdom. The reins of government were in the hands of Adrian, Charles's preceptor; a man whose ascetic and studious habits better qualified him to preside over a college of monks than to fill, as he successively did, the most important posts in Christendom,—first as Regent of Castile, afterwards as Head of the Church. Yet the slow and hesitating Adrian could not have so long passed over in silence the important services of Cortés, but for the hostile interference of Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, sustained by Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, the chief person in the Spanish colonial department. This prelate, from his elevated station, possessed paramount authority in all matters relating to the Indies, and he had exerted it from the first, as we have already seen, in a manner most prejudicial to the interests of Cortés. He had now the address to obtain a warrant from the regent, which was designed to ruin the Conqueror at the very moment when his great enterprise had been crowned with success. The instrument, after recapitulating the offences of Cortés in regard to Velasquez, appoints a commissioner with full power

<sup>10</sup> Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 8, cap. 4.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 169.

to visit the country, to institute an inquiry into the general's conduct, to suspend him from his functions, and even to seize his person and sequester his property, until the pleasure of the Castilian court could be known. The warrant was signed by Adrian, at Burgos, on the 11th of April, 1521, and countersigned by Fonseca.<sup>11</sup>

The individual selected for the delicate task of apprehending Cortés and bringing him to trial on the theatre of his own discoveries and in the heart of his own camp was named Cristóval de Tápia, *veedor*, or inspector, of the gold founderies in St. Domingo. He was a feeble, vacillating man, as little competent to cope with Cortés in civil matters as Narvaez had shown himself to be in military.

The commissioner, clothed in his brief authority, landed, in December, at Villa Rica. But he was coldly received by the magistrates of the city. His credentials were disputed, on the ground of some technical informality. It was objected, moreover, that his commission was founded on obvious misrepresentations to the government; and, notwithstanding a most courteous and complimentary epistle which he received from Cortés, congratulating him, as an old friend, on his arrival, the *veedor* soon found that he was neither to be permitted to penetrate far into the country nor to exercise any control there. He loved money; and, as Cortés knew the weak side of his "old friend," he proposed to purchase his horses, slaves, and equipage, at a tempting price. The dreams of disappointed ambition were gradually succeeded by those of avarice; and the discomfited commissioner consented to re-embark for Cuba, well freighted with gold, if not with

<sup>11</sup> The instrument also conferred similar powers in respect to an inquiry into Narvaez's treatment of the licentiate Ayllon. The whole document is cited in a deposition drawn up by the notary, Alonso de Vergara, setting forth the proceed-

ings of Tápia and the municipality of Villa Rica, dated at Cempoalla, December 24, 1521. The MS. forms part of the collection of Don Vargas Ponce, in the Archives of the Academy of History at Madrid.

glory, and provided with fresh matter of accusation against the high-handed measures of Cortés.<sup>12</sup>

Thus left in undisputed possession of authority, the Spanish commander went forward with vigour in his plans for the settlement of his conquests. The Panuchese, a fierce people on the borders of the Panuco, on the Atlantic coast, had taken up arms against the Spaniards. Cortés marched at the head of a considerable force into their country, defeated them in two pitched battles, and, after a severe campaign, reduced the warlike tribe to subjection.

A subsequent insurrection was punished with greater severity. They rose on the Spaniards, massacred five hundred of their oppressors, and menaced with destruction the neighbouring settlement of San Estevan. Cortés ordered Sandoval to chastise the insurgents; and that officer, after a campaign of incredible hardship, completely routed the barbarians, captured four hundred of their chiefs, and, after the affected formalities of a trial, sentenced every man of them to the stake or the gibbet. "By which means," says Cortés, "God be praised! the safety of the Spaniards was secured, and the province once more restored to tranquillity and peace."<sup>13</sup> He had omitted to mention in his letter his ungenerous treatment of Guatemozin. But the undisguised and *naïve* manner, so to speak, in which he details these circumstances to the emperor, shows that he attached no discredit to the deed. It was the just recompense of *rebellion*; a word that has been made the apology for more atrocities than any other word,—save *religion*.

During this interval the great question in respect to

<sup>12</sup> Relacion de Vergara, MS.—Rel. Terc. de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 309–314.—Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 158.—The *regidores* of Mexico and other places remonstrated against Cortés leaving the Valley to meet Tâpia, on the ground that his presence was necessary to overawe the na-

tives. (MS., Coyoacan, Dec. 12, 1521.) The general acquiesced in the force of a remonstrance which it is not improbable was made at his own suggestion.

<sup>13</sup> "Como ya (loado nuestro Señor) estaba toda la Provincia muy pacífica, y segura." Rel. Quarta de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 367.

Cortés and the colony had been brought to a decisive issue. The general must have succumbed under the insidious and implacable attacks of his enemies, but for the sturdy opposition of a few powerful friends zealously devoted to his interests. Among them may be mentioned his own father, Don Martin Cortés, a discreet and efficient person,<sup>14</sup> and the duke de Bejar, a powerful nobleman, who from an early period had warmly espoused the cause of Cortés. By their representations the timid regent was at length convinced that the measures of Fonseca were prejudicial to the interests of the crown, and an order was issued interdicting him from further interference in any matters in which Cortés was concerned.

While the exasperated prelate was chafing under this affront, both the commissioners Tápia and Narvaez arrived in Castile. The latter had been ordered to Cojohuacan after the surrender of the capital, where his cringing demeanour formed a striking contrast to the swaggering port which he had assumed on first entering the country. When brought into the presence of Cortés, he knelt down, and would have kissed his hand, but the latter raised him from the ground, and, during his residence in his quarters, treated him with every mark of respect. The general soon afterwards permitted his unfortunate rival to return to Spain, where he proved, as might have been anticipated, a most bitter and implacable enemy.<sup>15</sup>

These two personages, reinforced by the discontented prelate, brought forward their several charges against Cortés with all the acrimony which mortified vanity and the thirst of vengeance could inspire. Adrian was no longer in Spain, having been called to the chair of St. Peter; but Charles the Fifth, after his long absence,

<sup>14</sup> The Muñoz collection of MSS. contains a power of attorney given by Cortés to his father, authorizing him to manage all negotiations with the emperor and with private

persons, to conduct all law-suits on his behalf, to pay over and receive money, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 158.

had returned to his dominions, in July, 1522. The royal ear was instantly assailed with accusations of Cortés on the one hand and his vindication on the other, till the young monarch, perplexed, and unable to decide on the merits of the question, referred the whole subject to the decision of a board selected for the purpose. It was drawn partly from the members of his privy council, and partly from the Indian department, with the Grand Chancellor of Naples as its president, and constituted altogether a tribunal of the highest respectability for integrity and wisdom.<sup>16</sup>

By this learned body a patient and temperate hearing was given to the parties. The enemies of Cortés accused him of having seized and finally destroyed the fleet intrusted to him by Velasquez and fitted out at the governor's expense; of having afterwards usurped powers in contempt of the royal prerogative; of the unjustifiable treatment of Narvaez and Tápia, when they had been lawfully commissioned to supersede him; of cruelty to the natives, and especially to Guatemozin; of embezzling the royal treasures, and remitting but a small part of its dues to the crown; of squandering the revenues of the conquered countries in useless and wasteful schemes, and particularly in rebuilding the capital on a plan of unprecedented extravagance; of pursuing, in short, a system of violence and extortion, without respect to the public interest or any other end than his own selfish aggrandizement.

In answer to these grave charges, the friends of Cortés adduced evidence to show that he had defrayed with his own funds two-thirds of the cost of the expedition. The powers of Velasquez extended only to traffic, not to establish a colony. Yet the interest of the crown required the latter. The army had there-

<sup>16</sup> Sayas, *Annales de Aragon* (Zaragoza, 1666), cap. 63, 78.—It is a sufficient voucher for the respectability of this court that we find in it the name of Dr. Galindes

de Carbajal, an eminent Castilian jurist, grown gray in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose confidence he enjoyed to the highest degree.



fore necessarily assumed this power to themselves; but, having done so, they had sent intelligence of their proceedings to the emperor and solicited his confirmation of them. The rupture with Narvaez was that commander's own fault; since Cortés would have met him amicably, had not the violent measures of his rival, threatening the ruin of the expedition, compelled him to an opposite course. The treatment of Tápia was vindicated on the grounds alleged to that officer by the municipality at Cempoalla. The violence to Guatemozin was laid at the door of Alderete, the royal treasurer, who had instigated the soldiers to demand it. The remittances to the crown, it was clearly proved, so far from falling short of the legitimate fifth, had considerably exceeded it. If the general had expended the revenues of the country on costly enterprises and public works, it was for the interest of the country that he did so, and he had incurred a heavy debt by straining his own credit to the utmost for the same great objects. Neither did they deny that, in the same spirit, he was now rebuilding Mexico on a scale suited to the metropolis of a vast and opulent empire.

They enlarged on the opposition he had experienced throughout his whole career from the governor of Cuba, and still more from the bishop of Burgos, which latter functionary, instead of affording him the aid to have been expected, had discouraged recruits, stopped his supplies, sequestered such property as from time to time he had sent to Spain, and falsely represented his remittances to the crown as coming from the governor of Cuba. In short, such and so numerous were the obstacles thrown in his path that Cortés had been heard to say "he had found it more difficult to contend against his own countrymen than against the Aztecs." They concluded with expatiating on the brilliant results of his expedition, and asked if the council were prepared to dishonour the man who, in the face of such obstacles and with scarcely other resources than what he found in himself, had won an empire

for Castile such as was possessed by no European potentate!<sup>17</sup>

This last appeal was irresistible. However irregular had been the manner of proceeding, no one could deny the grandeur of the results. There was not a Spaniard that could be insensible to such services, or that would not have cried out "Shame!" at an ungenerous requital of them. There were three Flemings in the council; but there seems to have been no difference of opinion in the body. It was decided that neither Velasquez nor Fonseca should interfere further in the concerns of New Spain. The difficulties of the former with Cortés were regarded in the nature of a private suit; and, as such, redress must be sought by the regular course of law. The acts of Cortés were confirmed in their full extent. He was constituted Governor, Captain-General, and Chief Justice of New Spain, with power to appoint to all offices, civil and military, and to order any person to leave the country whose residence there he might deem prejudicial to the interests of the crown. This judgment of the council was ratified by Charles the Fifth, and the commission investing Cortés with these ample powers was signed by the emperor at Valladolid, October 15th, 1522. A liberal salary was provided, to enable the governor of New Spain to maintain his office with suitable dignity. The favour of his sovereign was rendered still more welcome by a letter of the same date, written by him to the general, in which, after expatiating on the services of Cortés, he declares it to be his intention to make him such a requital as they well deserve.<sup>18</sup> The

<sup>17</sup> Sayas, *Annales de Aragon*, cap. 78.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 3.—Probanza en la Villa Segura, MS.—Declaraciones de Puertocarrero y de Montejo, MS.

<sup>18</sup> "[E porque soy certificado de lo mucho que vos en ese descubrimiento é conquista y en tornar á ganar la dicha ciudad é provincias

habeis fecho é trabajado, de que me he tenido é tengo por muy servido, é tengo la voluntad que es razon para vos favorecer y hacer la merced que vuestros servicios y trabajos merecen."—The whole letter is inserted by Alaman in his *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. 1. apénd. 2 p. 144, et seq.]

principal officers were recompensed with honours and substantial emoluments; and the troops, together with some privileges grateful to the vanity of the soldier, received the promise of liberal grants of land. The emperor still further complimented them by a letter written to the army with his own hand, in which he acknowledged its services in the fullest manner.<sup>19</sup>

From this hour the influence of Fonseca in the Indian department was at an end. He did not long survive his chagrin, as he died in the following year. No man was in a situation to do more for the prosperity of his country than the bishop of Burgos. For more than thirty years, ever since the first dawn of discovery under Columbus, he had held supreme control over colonial affairs; and it lay with him, therefore, in an especial degree, to give ardour to enterprise, and to foster the youthful fortunes of the colonies. But he lay like a blight upon them. He looked with an evil eye on the most illustrious of the Spanish discoverers, and sought only to throw impediments in their career. Such had been his conduct towards Columbus, and such to Cortés. By a wise and generous policy, he might have placed his name among the great lights of his age. As it was, he only served to bring these into greater lustre by contrast with his own dark and malignant nature. His career shows the overweening ascendancy which the ecclesiastical profession possessed in Castile in the sixteenth century; when it could raise a man to so important a station, for which he was totally unfit, and keep him there after he had proved himself to be so.<sup>20</sup>

The messengers who bore the commission of Cortés

<sup>19</sup> *Nombramiento de Gobernador y Capitan General y Justicia Mayor de Nueva-España*, MS.—Also Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 168.

<sup>20</sup> The character of Fonseca has been traced by the same hand which has traced that of Columbus. (*Irving's Life and Voyages of Co-*

*lumbus*, Appendix, No. 32.) Side by side they will go down to posterity in the beautiful page of the historian, though the characters of the two individuals have been inscribed with pens as different from each other as the golden and iron pen which Paolo Giovio tells us he employed in his compositions.

to Mexico touched on their way at Cuba, where the tidings were proclaimed by sound of trumpet. It was a death-blow to the hopes of Velasquez. Exasperated by the failure of his schemes, impoverished by the expense of expeditions of which others had reaped the fruits, he had still looked forward to eventual redress, and cherished the sweet hope of vengeance,—long delayed. That hope was now gone. There was slight chance of redress, he well knew, in the tedious and thorny litigation of the Castilian courts. Ruined in fortune, dishonoured before the nation, the haughty spirit of the governor was humbled in the dust. He would take no comfort, but fell into a sullen melancholy, and in a few months died—if report be true—of a broken heart.<sup>21</sup>

The portrait usually given of Velasquez is not favourable. Yet Las Casas speaks kindly of him, and, when his prejudices are not involved, there can be no better authority. But Las Casas knew him when, in his earlier days, the missionary first landed in Cuba. The governor treated him with courtesy, and even confidence; and it was natural that the condescension of a man of high family and station should have made its impression on the feelings of the poor ecclesiastic. In most accounts he is depicted as a haughty, irascible person, jealous of authority and covetous of wealth. He quarrelled with Grijalva, Cortés' predecessor, apparently without cause. With as little reason, he broke with Cortés before he left the port. He proposed objects to himself in their nature incompatible. He proposed that others should fight his battles, and that he should win the laurels; that others should make discoveries, and that he should reap the fruits of them. None but a weak mind would have conformed to his conditions, and a weak mind could not have effected his objects. His appointment of Cortés put him in a false position for the rest of his life. His efforts to retrieve his position only made things worse. The

<sup>21</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 15<sup>p</sup>

appointment of Cortés to the command was scarcely a greater error than the subsequent appointment of Narvaez and of Tápia. The life of Velasquez was a series of errors.

Narvaez had no better fate than his friend the governor of Cuba. In the hope of retrieving his fortunes, he continued to pursue his adventurous career, and embarked in an expedition to Honduras. It was his last; and Las Casas, who had little love for the Conquerors, and who had watched the acts of cruelty perpetrated by Narvaez, concludes the notice of his death with the assurance that the "devil took possession of his soul."

The announcement of the emperor's commission confirming Cortés in the supreme authority of New Spain was received there with general acclamation. The army rejoiced in having at last secured not merely an amnesty for their irregular proceedings, but a distinct acknowledgment of their services. The nomination of Cortés to the supreme command put his mind at ease as to the past, and opened to him a noble theatre for future enterprise. The soldiers congratulated themselves on the broad powers conferred on their commander, and, as they reckoned up their scars and their services, indulged in golden dreams and the most vague and visionary expectations. It is not strange that their expectations should have been disappointed.

## CHAPTER II.

**Modern Mexico.—Settlement of the Country.—Condition of the Natives.  
—Christian Missionaries.—Cultivation of the Soil.—Voyages and  
Expeditions.**

1522-1524.

IN less than four years from the destruction of Mexico, a new city had risen on its ruins, which, if inferior to the ancient capital in extent, surpassed it in magnificence and strength. It occupied so exactly the same site as its predecessor, that the *plaza mayor*, or great square, was the same spot which had been covered by the huge *teocalli* and the palace of Montezuma; while the principal streets took their departure as before from this central point, and, passing through the whole length of the city, terminated at the principal causeways. Great alterations, however, took place in the fashion of the architecture. The streets were widened, many of the canals were filled up, and the edifices were constructed on a plan better accommodated to European taste and the wants of a European population.

On the site of the temple of the Aztec war-god rose the stately cathedral dedicated to St. Francis;<sup>1</sup> and, as if to complete the triumphs of the Cross, the foundations were laid with the broken images of the Aztec gods.<sup>2</sup> In a corner of the square, on the ground once covered by the House of Birds, stood a Franciscan

<sup>1</sup> [According to Señor Alaman, the cathedral, instead of being dedicated to Saint Francis, was consecrated to the Assumption of the

Virgin. *Conquista de Méjico* (transl. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 254.]

<sup>2</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 8.

convent, a magnificent pile, erected a few years after the Conquest by a lay brother, Pedro de Gante, a natural son, it is said, of Charles the Fifth.<sup>3</sup> In an opposite quarter of the same square Cortés caused his own palace to be constructed. It was built of hewn stone, and seven thousand cedar beams are said to have been used for the interior.<sup>4</sup> The government afterwards appropriated it to the residence of the viceroys; and the Conqueror's descendants, the dukes of Monteleone, were allowed to erect a new mansion in another part of the *plaza*, on the spot which, by an ominous coincidence, had been covered by the palace of Montezuma.<sup>5</sup>

The houses occupied by the Spaniards were of stone, combining with elegance a solid strength which made them capable of defence like so many fortresses.<sup>6</sup> The Indian buildings were for the most part of an inferior quality. They were scattered over the ancient district of Tlatelolco, where the nation had made its last stand for freedom. This quarter was also provided with a spacious cathedral;<sup>7</sup> and thirty inferior churches attested the care of the Spaniards for the spiritual welfare of the natives.<sup>8</sup> It was in watching over his Indian flock, and in the care of the hospitals with which the new capital was speedily endowed, that the good Father Olmedo, when oppressed by growing infirmities, spent the evening of his days.<sup>9</sup>

To give greater security to the Spaniards, Cortés caused a strong fortress to be erected in a place since known as the *Matadero*.<sup>10</sup> It was provided with a

<sup>3</sup> Clavigero, *Stor. del Messico*, tom. i. p. 271.—Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, ubi *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Rel. d'un gentil' homme*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 309.

<sup>7</sup> [Alaman asserts that there was no cathedral in Tlatelolco, but a

Franciscan convent, dedicated to St. James, which still exists. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 255.]

<sup>8</sup> *Rel. d'un gentil' homme*, ap. Ramusio, ubi *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 177.

<sup>10</sup> *Rel. Quarta de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 376 nota.

dockyard, and the brigantines which had served in the siege of Mexico were long preserved there as memorials of the Conquest. When the fortress was completed, the general, owing to the evil offices of Fonseca, found himself in want of artillery and ammunition for its defence. He supplied the former deficiency by causing cannon to be cast in his own founderies, made of the copper which was common in the country, and tin which he obtained with more difficulty from the mines of Tasco. By this means, and a contribution which he received from the shipping, he contrived to mount his walls with seventy pieces of ordnance. Stone balls, much used in that age, could easily be made; but for the manufacture of his powder, although there was nitre in abundance, he was obliged to seek the sulphur by a perilous expedition into the bowels of the great *volcan*.<sup>11</sup> Such were the resources displayed by Cortés, enabling him to supply every deficiency, and to triumph over every obstacle which the malice of his enemies had thrown in his path.

The general's next care was to provide a population for the capital. He invited the Spaniards thither by grants of lands and houses, while the Indians, with politic liberality, were permitted to live under their own chiefs as before, and to enjoy various immunities. With this encouragement, the Spanish quarter of the city in the neighbourhood of the great square could boast in a few years two thousand families; while the Indian district of Tlatelolco included no less than thirty thousand.<sup>12</sup> The various trades and occupations were resumed; the canals were again covered with barges; two vast markets in the respective quarters of the capital displayed all the different products and manufactures of the surrounding country; and the city

<sup>11</sup> For an account of this singular enterprise, see *ante*.

<sup>12</sup> Cortés, reckoning only the Indian population, says *treinta mil vecinos*. (Rel. Quarta, ap. Lo-

renzana, p. 375.) Gomara, speaking of Mexico some years later, estimates the number of Spanish householders as in the text, Crónica, cap. 162.



swarmed with a busy, industrious population, in which the white man and the Indian, the conqueror and the conquered, mingled together promiscuously in peaceful and picturesque confusion. Not twenty years had elapsed since the Conquest, when a missionary who visited it had the confidence, or the credulity, to assert that "Europe could not boast a single city so fair and opulent as Mexico."<sup>13</sup>

The metropolis of our day would seem to stand in a different situation from that reared by the Conquerors; for the waters no longer flow through its streets, nor wash the ample circumference of its walls. These waters have retreated within the diminished basin of Tezcuco; and the causeways, which anciently traversed the depths of the lake, are not now to be distinguished from the other avenues to the capital. But the city, embellished, it is true, by the labours of successive viceroys, is substantially the same as in the days of the Conquerors; and the massive grandeur of the few buildings that remain of the primitive period, and the general magnificence and symmetry of its plan, attest the far-sighted policy of its founder, which looked beyond the present to the wants of coming generations.

The attention of Cortés was not confined to the capital. He was careful to establish settlements in every part of the country which afforded a favourable position for them. He founded Zacatula on the shores of the miscalled Pacific, Coliman in the territory of Michoacán, San Estevan on the Atlantic coast, probably not far from the site of Tampico, Medellin (so called after his own birthplace) in the neighbourhood of the modern Vera Cruz, and a port near the river Antigua, from which it derived its name. It was designed to

<sup>13</sup> Toribio, *Hist. de los Indios*, MS., Parte 3, cap. 7.—Yet this is scarcely stronger language than that of the Anonymous Conqueror: "Coel ben ordinato et di si belle

piazze et strade, quanto d' altre città che siano al mondo." *Rel. d'un gentil' huomo*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 309.

take the place of Villa Rica, which, as experience had shown, from its exposed situation, afforded no protection to shipping against the winds that sweep over the Mexican Gulf. Antigua, sheltered within the recesses of a bay, presented a more advantageous position. Cortés established there a board of trade, connected the settlement by a highway with the capital, and fondly predicted that his new city would become the great emporium of the country.<sup>14</sup> But in this he was mistaken. From some cause, not very obvious, the port of entry was removed, at the close of the sixteenth century, to the modern Vera Cruz, which, without any superiority, probably, of topographical position, or even of salubrity of climate, has remained ever since the great commercial capital of New Spain.

Cortés stimulated the settlement of his several colonies by liberal grants of land and municipal privileges. The great difficulty was to induce women to reside in the country; and without them he felt that the colonies, like a tree without roots, must soon perish. By a singular provision, he required every settler, if a married man, to bring over his wife within eighteen months, on pain of forfeiting his estate. If he were too poor to do this himself, the government would assist him. Another law imposed the same penalty on all bachelors who did not provide themselves with wives within the same period. The general seems to have considered celibacy as too great a luxury for a young country.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Y tengo por cierto, que aquel Pueblo ha de ser, despues de esta Ciudad, el mejor que obiere en esta Nueva-España." (Rel. Quarta, ap. Lorenzana, p. 382.) The archbishop confounds this town with the modern Vera Cruz. But the general's description of the port

refutes this supposition, and confirms our confidence in Clavigero's statement that the present city was founded by the Conde de Monterey, at the time mentioned in the text. See *ante*.

<sup>15</sup> Ordenanzas municipales, Tenochtitlan, Marzo, 1524, MS.\*—

\* [The exact date is given at the close of the document—"fecha en esta dicha ciudad [de Temixtitlan] á veinte días del mes de marzo de mil y quinientos é veinte y cuatro años." Sir Arthur Helps says a

His own wife, Doña Catalina Xuarez, was among those who came over from the Islands to New Spain.

The Ordinances made by Cortés for the government of the country during his viceroyalty are still preserved in Mexico; and the copy in my possession was transmitted to me from that capital. They give ample evidence of the wise and penetrating spirit which embraced every object worthy of the attention of an enlightened ruler; and I will quote, in the original, the singular provisions mentioned in the text:

"Item. Por que mas se manifieste la voluntad que los pobladores de estas partes tienen de residir y permanecer en ellas, mando que todas las personas que tuvieren Indios, que fueren casados en Castilla ó en otras partes, que

traigan sus mugeres dentro de un año y medio primero siguientes de como estas ordenanzas fueren pregonadas, so pena de perder los Indios, y lodo to con ellos adquirido ó grangeado; y por que muchas personas podrian poner por achaque aunque tuviesen aparejo de decir que no tienen dineros para enviar por ellas, por hende las tales personas que tuvieran esta necesidad parescan ante el R.<sup>o</sup> P.<sup>o</sup> Fray Juan de Tecto y ante Alonso de Estrada, tesorero de su Magestad, á les informar de su necesidad, para que ellos la comuniquen á mí, y su necesidad se remedie; y si algunas personas hay que casados y no tienen sus mugeres en esta tierra, y quisieran traerlas, sepan que

---

copy sent by Cortés to the emperor in October of the same year "has been lost, but the orders manifestly related to this subject of *encomiendas*." The original seems also to have disappeared. But an ancient copy of these, as well as of subsequent ordinances and instructions of a similar nature, is preserved in the archives of the duke of Terranova y Monteleone in the Hospital of Jesus at Mexico, and the whole series was published, so far back as 1844, by Señor Alaman, in his *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. i. pp. 105-143. The contents, therefore, are not a matter of inference. They do not relate chiefly or directly to the *encomiendas*, that system having been already established and become, in the language of Alaman, "the basis of the whole organization of the country." The "Ordenanzas," while they incidentally modify the system, consist for the most part of regulations suggested by the general condition and circumstances of a new colony. They make provision for the military equipment and inspection of the settlers, with a view to their readiness for service; for their permanent residence in the country, which is made a condition of their holding *repartimientos*; for the conversion of the natives, their protection against robbery and oppression, and the education of the children of their chiefs; for the cultivation of imported plants and grain, and the raising of cattle, sheep, and swine; for facilitating traffic by the establishment of markets, adjustment of prices, etc.; and for the organization of the municipalities, prescribing their powers and forms of administration. Some of these provisions are still in force, while others, though obsolete, indicate the origin of certain existing customs. Taken together, they contain, in the opinion of Alaman, the foundation of all the later institutions of the country,—"*el fundamento de todas nuestras instituciones*." —Ed.]

According to Bernal Diaz, her coming gave him no particular satisfaction.<sup>16</sup> It is possible; since his marriage with her seems to have been entered into with reluctance, and her lowly condition and connections stood somewhat in the way of his future advancement. Yet they lived happily together for several years, according to the testimony of Las Casas;<sup>17</sup> and, whatever he may have felt, he had the generosity, or the prudence, not to betray his feelings to the world. On landing, Doña Catalina was escorted by Sandoval to the capital, where she was kindly received by her husband, and all the respect paid to her to which she was entitled by her elevated rank. But the climate of the table-land was not suited to her constitution, and she died in three months after her arrival.<sup>18</sup> An event so auspicious to his worldly prospects did not fail, as we shall see hereafter, to provoke the tongue of scandal to the most malicious, but, it is scarcely necessary to say, unfounded, inferences.

In the distribution of the soil among the Conquerors, Cortés adopted the vicious system of *repartimientos*, universally practised among his countrymen. In a letter to the emperor, he states that the superior capacity of the Indians in New Spain had made him regard it as a grievous thing to condemn them to servitude, as had been done in the Islands. But, on further trial, he had found the Spaniards so much harassed and impoverished that they could not hope to maintain them-

trayéndolas serán ayudadas así mismo para las traer, dando fianzas.

"Item. Por quanto en esta tierra hay muchas personas que tienen Indios de encomienda y no son casados, por hende por que conviene así para la salud de sus conciencias de los tales por estar en buen estado, como por la poblacion é noblecimiento de sus tierras, mando que las tales personas se casen, traigan y tengan sus mugeres en esta tierra dentro de un año y

VOL. II.

medio, despues que fueren pregonadas estas dichas Ordenanzas, é que no haciendo lo por el mismo caso sean privados y pierdan los tales Indios que así tienen."

<sup>16</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 160.

<sup>17</sup> Ante, vol. i. p. 201.

<sup>18</sup> Of asthma, according to Bernal Diaz (Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 160); but her death seems to have been too sudden to be attributed to that disease. I shall return to the subject hereafter.

o o

selves in the land without enforcing the services of the natives, and for this reason he had at length waived his own scruples in compliance with their repeated remonstrances.<sup>19</sup> This was the wretched pretext used on the like occasions by his countrymen to cover up this flagrant act of injustice. The crown, however, in its instructions to the general, disavowed the act and annulled the *repartimientos*.<sup>20</sup> It was all in vain. The necessities, or rather the cupidity, of the colonists, easily evaded the royal ordinances.\* The colonial

<sup>19</sup> Rel. Terc., ap. Lorenzana, pp. 319, 320.

<sup>20</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 5, cap. 1.

---

\* [This remark would imply that the instructions were published and some attempts at least made to enforce them. That such was not the case we learn from a remarkable private letter of Cortés to the emperor, sent with the "Relacion Quarta," and bearing the same date,—October 15, 1524. Referring first to an order that the Spanish settlers should be allowed to have free intercourse with the Indian population as a means of promoting conversion, he declines to comply with it, on the ground that the effects would be most pernicious. The natives, he says, would be subjected to violence, robbery, and vexations of all kinds. Even with the present rigorous rule forbidding any Spaniard to leave his settlement and go among the Indians without a special licence, the evils resulting from this intercourse were so great that if he and his officers should attend solely to their suppression they would be unable to effect it, the territory being so vast. If all the Spaniards now in the country or on their way to it were friars engaged in the work of conversion, entire freedom of intercourse would no doubt be profitable. But, the reverse being the case, such also would be the effect. Most of the Spaniards who came were men of base condition and manners, addicted to every sort of vice and sin; and if free intercourse were allowed, the natives would be converted to evil rather than to good, and, seeing the difference between what was preached and what was practised, would make a jest of what was taught them by the priests, thinking it was meant merely to bring them into servitude. The injuries done them would lead to rebellion; they would profit by their acquired knowledge to arm themselves better, and being so many and the Spaniards so few, the latter would be cut off singly, as had already happened in many cases, and the greatest work of conversion since the time of the apostles would come to a stop.

Turning then to the emperor's prohibition of the *repartimientos*, as a thing which his conscience would not suffer, the theologians having declared that since God had made the Indians free their liberty ought not to be taken away, Cortés states that he has not only not complied with this order, but he has kept it secret except from the officials, whom he has forbidden to make it public. His reasons for thus acting are as follows: 1st. The Spaniards are unable to live except by the labour of the Indians, and if deprived of this they would be obliged to leave the



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF CORTES.

*R. hande*  

The above signature (Hernando Cortes) together with the 'rubric' or flourish which forms an indispensable appendage to a Spanish name, was the Cortes's signature before he was made (Alcayde of the City of Mexico). It is not easy to meet with it, as after that time, he always subscribed himself by his title.

For Facsimile Library of the Conquest of Mexico.

legislation of Spain shows, in the repetition of enactments against slavery, the perpetual struggle that subsisted between the crown and the colonists, and the impotence of the former to enforce measures repugnant to the interests, at all events to the avarice, of the latter. New Spain furnishes no exception to the general fact.

The Tlascalans, in gratitude for their signal services, were exempted, at the recommendation of Cortés, from the doom of slavery. It should be added that the general, in granting the *repartimientos*, made many humane regulations for limiting the power of the master, and for securing as many privileges to the natives as were compatible with any degree of compulsory service.<sup>21</sup> These limitations, it is true, were too often

<sup>21</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 4. lib. 6, cap. 5.—Ordenanzas, MS.—The ordinances prescribe the service of the Indians, the hours they may be employed, their food, compensation, and the like. They re-

quire the *encomendero* to provide them with suitable means of religious instruction and places of worship. But what avail good laws, which in their very nature imply the toleration of a great abuse?

country. 2nd. His system of *repartimientos* is such that by it the Indians are in fact taken out of captivity, their condition under their former masters having been one of intolerable servitude, in which they were not only deprived of all but the barest means of subsistence, but they and their children were sacrificed to the idols in numbers horrible to hear of, it being a certified fact that in the great temple of Mexico alone, at a single festival, one of many that were held annually, eight thousand persons had been sacrificed; all this, with innumerable other wrongs, had now ceased; and the surest punishment which could be inflicted on the Indians was the threat to send them back to their former masters. 3rd. Enumerating the various provisions he has made for obviating the evils of the system as practised in the Islands, where, during a residence of twenty years, he had ample knowledge of its workings, he asserts that, in the mode in which it has been established and regulated by him, it will lead not to the diminution but to the preservation and increase of the natives, besides securing a provision for the settlers and large revenues to the crown, and he contends that the *repartimientos*, instead of being abrogated, should be made hereditary, so that the possessors might have a stronger interest in the proper cultivation of the soil, instead of seeking to extract from it the most that was possible in a given time.

The letter, which concludes by noticing and rejecting some minor points in the emperor's instructions, has been recently discovered, and is perhaps the ablest document that has come down to us with the signature of Cortés. It has been published by Señor Icazbalceta, in his *Col. de Doc. para la Hist. de México*, tom. i.—Ed.]



disregarded; and in the mining districts, in particular, the situation of the poor Indian was often deplorable. Yet the Indian population, clustering together in their own villages and living under their own magistrates, have continued to prove by their numbers, fallen as these have below their primitive amount, how far superior was their condition to that in most other parts of the vast colonial empire of Spain.<sup>22</sup> This condition has been gradually ameliorated, under the influence of higher moral views and larger ideas of government, until the servile descendants of the ancient lords of the soil have been permitted, in republican Mexico, to rise—nominally, at least—to a level with the children of their conquerors.

Whatever disregard he may have shown to the political rights of the natives, Cortés manifested a commendable solicitude for their spiritual welfare. He requested the emperor to send out holy men to the country; not bishops and pampered prelates, who too often squandered the substance of the Church in riotous living, but godly persons, members of religious fraternities, whose lives might be a fitting commentary on their teaching. Thus only, he adds,—and the remark is worthy of note,—can they exercise any influence over the natives, who have been accustomed to see the least departure from morals in their own priesthood punished with the utmost rigour of the law.<sup>23</sup> In obedience to these suggestions, twelve Franciscan friars embarked for New Spain, which they reached early in

<sup>22</sup> The whole population of New Spain in 1810 is estimated by Don Fernando Navarro y Noriega at about 6,000,000; of whom more than half were pure Indians. The author had the best means for arriving at a correct result. See Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. i. pp. 318, 319, note.

<sup>23</sup> *Rel. Quarta*, ap. Lorenzana, pp. 391-394.—The petition of the Conquerors was acceded to by the

government, which further prohibited "attorneys and men learned in the law from setting foot in the country, on the ground that experience had shown they would be sure by their evil practices to disturb the peace of the community." (Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 5, cap. 2.) These enactments are but an indifferent tribute to the character of the two professions in Castile.

1524. They were men of unblemished purity of life, nourished with the learning of the cloister, and, like many others whom the Romish Church has sent forth on such apostolic missions, counted all personal sacrifices as little in the sacred cause to which they were devoted.\*

The presence of the reverend fathers in the country was greeted with general rejoicing. The inhabitants of the towns through which they passed came out in a body to welcome them; processions were formed of the natives bearing wax tapers in their hands, and the bells of the churches rang out a joyous peal in honour of their arrival. Houses of refreshment were provided for them along their route to the capital; and when they entered it they were met by a brilliant cavalcade of the principal cavaliers and citizens, with Cortés at their head. The general, dismounting, and bending one knee to the ground, kissed the robes of Father Martin of Valencia, the principal of the fraternity. The natives, filled with amazement at the viceroy's humiliation before men whose naked feet and tattered garments gave them the aspect of mendicants, henceforth regarded them as beings of a superior nature.

\* Toribio, *Hist. de los Indios*, MS., Parte 1, cap. 1.—Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, MS. [My views of the character of the Spanish missionaries find favour with Señor Alaman, who warmly eulogises the spirit of self-sacrifice and the untiring zeal which they showed in propagating the gospel among the natives: "El Sr. Prescott hace de los misioneros el justo aprecio que sus virtudes merecieron, y sus elogios son tanto mas recomendables, cuanto que sus opiniones religiosas parece deberian hacerle contrario a ellos. En efecto, solo la iglesia católica ha producido misioneros inflamados de un verdadero celo religioso, que los ha hecho sacrificar su vida por la propagacion de la religion y en

beneficio de la humanidad." *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 255. Mr. Gallatin, also, in his "Notes on the Semi-civilized Nations of America," pays a hearty tribute to the labours of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the New World: "The Dominican monks, though inquisitors and relentless persecutors in Spain, became in America the protectors of the Indians. . . . The praise must be extended to all the Catholic priests, whether Franciscans or Jesuits, monks or curates. All, from the beginning, were, have ever been, and continue to be, the protectors and the friends of the Indian race." *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* i. 213.]

The Indian chronicler of Tlascala does not conceal his admiration of this edifying condescension of Cortés, which he pronounces "one of the most heroical acts of his life!"\*

The missionaries lost no time in the good work of conversion. They began their preaching through interpreters, until they had acquired a competent knowledge of the language themselves. They opened schools and founded colleges, in which the native youth were instructed in profane as well as Christian learning.\* The ardour of the Indian neophyte emulated that of his teacher. In a few years every vestige of the primitive *teocallis* was effaced from the land. The uncouth idols

\* "Cuyo hecho del rotísimo y humilde recebimiento fué uno de los heroicos hechos que este Capitan hizo, porque fué documento para que con mayor fervor los naturales desta tierra viniesen á la conversion de nuestra fea." (Camargo, Hist. de Tlascala, MS.—See also Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap.

171.) Archbishop Lorenzana falls nothing short of the Tlascalan historian in his admiration of the religious zeal of the great *Conquistador*, which, he assures us, "entirely overwhelms him, as savouring so much more of the apostolic missionary than of the soldier!" Lorenzana, p. 393, nota.

\* [A singular tribute to the thoroughness of the instruction thus given, and the facility with which it was imbibed, is rendered in a long complaint on the subject addressed to the emperor by Gerónimo Lopez, under date of October 20, 1541. The writer, a person evidently commissioned to send home reports on the condition of the country, denounces the system of education instituted by the Franciscan monks as diabolically pernicious,—"*muy dañoso como el diablo*." He considers that the Indians should at the most be taught to repeat the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, the Creed and the Commandments, without any expositions, or any distinction of the persons of the Trinity and their attributes, above all without learning to read and write. Instead of this, they are taught not only these pernicious branches of knowledge, but punctuation, music,—nay, even grammar! Their natural ability is so great, and the devil is so largely interested in the matter, that they have acquired a skill in forming different kinds of letters which is marvellous, and a great number of them are thus enabled to carry on a correspondence and learn what is going on in the country from one sea to the other. There are boys among them who speak as elegant Latin as Tullius. They have translated and read the whole of the Scriptures,—the same thing that has ruined so many in Spain and given birth to a thousand heresies. A secular ecclesiastic told him that, having visited one of the colleges, he found there two hundred students, who stunned him with questions about religion, till the place seemed to him hell, and its inmates disciples of Satan.—Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc. para la Hist. de México, tom. ii.—ED.]

of the country, and, unhappily, the hieroglyphical manuscripts, shared the same fate. Yet the missionary and the convert did much to repair these losses by their copious accounts of the Aztec institutions, collected from the most authentic sources.<sup>26</sup>

The business of conversion went on prosperously among the several tribes of the great Nahuatlac family. In about twenty years from the first advent of the missionaries, one of their body could make the pious vaunt that nine millions of converts—a number probably exceeding the population of the country—had been admitted within the Christian fold! <sup>27</sup> The Aztec worship was remarkable for its burdensome ceremonial, and prepared its votaries for the pomp and splendours of the Romish ritual. It was not difficult to pass from the fasts and festivals of the one religion to the fasts and festivals of the other; to transfer their homage from the fantastic idols of their own creation to the beautiful forms in sculpture and in painting which decorated the Christian cathedral. It is true, they could have comprehended little of the dogmas of their new faith, and little, it may be, of its vital spirit. But, if the philosopher may smile at the reflection that conversion, under these circumstances, was one of form rather than of substance, the philanthropist will console himself by considering how much the cause of

<sup>26</sup> Toribio, *Hist. de los Indios*, MS., Parte 3, cap. 1.—Father Sahagun, who has done better service in this way than any other of his order, describes with simple brevity the rapid process of demolition. "We took the children of the caciques," he says, "into our schools, where we taught them to read and write, and to chant. The children of the poorer natives were brought together in the court-yard, and instructed there in the Christian faith. After our teaching, one or two brethren took the pupils to some neighbouring *teocalli*, and, by working at it for a few days, they

levelled it to the ground. In this way they demolished, in a short time, all the Aztec temples, great and small, so that not a vestige of them remained. (*Hist. de Nueva-España*, tom. iii. p. 77.) This passage helps to explain why so few architectural relics of the Indian era still survive in Mexico.

<sup>27</sup> "De manera que á mi juicio y verdaderamente serán bautizados en este tiempo que digo, que serán quince años, mas de nueve millones de ánimas de Indios." Toribio, *Hist. de los Indios*, MS., Parte 2, cap. 3.

humanity and good morals must have gained by the substitution of these unsullied rites for the brutal abominations of the Aztecs.

The Conquerors settled in such parts of the country as best suited their inclinations. Many occupied the southeastern slopes of the Cordilleras towards the rich valley of Oaxaca. Many more spread themselves over the broad surface of the table-land, which, from its elevated position, reminded them of the plateau of their own Castiles. Here, too, they were in the range of those inexhaustible mines which have since poured their silver deluge over Europe. The mineral resources of the land were not, indeed, fully explored or comprehended till at a much later period; but some few, as the mines of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Tasco,—the last of which was also known in Montezuma's time,—had begun to be wrought within a generation after the Conquest.<sup>28</sup>

But the best wealth of the first settlers was in the vegetable products of the soil, whether indigenous, or introduced from abroad by the wise economy of Cortés. He had earnestly recommended the crown to require all vessels coming to the country to bring over a certain quantity of seeds and plants.<sup>29</sup> He made it a condition of the grants of land on the plateau, that the proprietor of every estate should plant a specified number of vines in it.<sup>30</sup> He further stipulated that no one should get a clear title to his estate until he had occupied it eight years.<sup>31</sup> He knew that permanent

<sup>28</sup> Clavigero, *Stor. del Messico*, tom. 1, p. 43.—Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. iii. pp. 115, 145.—*Exposicion de Don Lucas Alaman* (México, 1828), p. 59.

<sup>29</sup> "Páraque cada Navío traiga cierta cantidad de Plantas, y que no pueda salir sin ellas, porque será mucha causa para la Poblacion, y perpetuacion de ella." *Rel. Quarta de Cortés*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 397.

<sup>30</sup> "Item, que cualquier vecino

que tubiere Indios de repartimiento sea obligado á poner en ellos en cada un año con cada cien Indios de los que tuvierén de repartimiento mil sarmientos aunque sean de la planta de su tierra, escogiendo la mejor que pudiesse hallar." *Ordenanzas municipales*, año de 1524, MS.

<sup>31</sup> *Ordenanzas municipales*, año de 1524, MS.

residence could alone create that interest in the soil which would lead to its efficient culture, and that the opposite system had caused the impoverishment of the best plantations in the Islands. His various regulations, some of them not a little distasteful to the colonists, augmented the agricultural resources of the country by the addition of the most important European grains and other vegetables, for which the diversified climate of New Spain was admirably adapted. The sugar-cane was transplanted from the neighbouring islands to the lower level of the country, and, together with indigo, cotton, and cochineal, formed a more desirable staple for the colony than its precious metals. Under the sun of the tropics, the peach, the almond, the orange, the vine, and the olive, before unknown there, flourished in the gardens of the table-land, at an elevation twice as great as that at which the clouds are suspended in summer above our heads. The importation of a European fruit or vegetable was hailed by the simple colonists with delight. The first produce of the exotic was celebrated by a festival, and the guests greeted each other, as on the appearance of an old familiar friend, who called up the remembrance of the past and the tender associations of their native land.<sup>32</sup>

While thus occupied with the internal economy of the country, Cortés was still bent on his great schemes of discovery and conquest. In the preceding chapter we have seen him fitting out a little fleet at Zacatula to explore the shores of the Pacific. It was burnt in the dock-yard when nearly completed. This was a serious calamity, as most of the materials were to be transported across the country from Villa Rica. Cortés, however, with his usual promptness, took measures

<sup>32</sup> ["No general interest would attach to the private undertakings of Cortés, if the sole object of them had been the aggrandizement of his own fortune. But they were in fact the germs of what are now the most important branches of the

national wealth; and they prove the grandeur of those views which in the times of the Conquest gave an impulse to whatever promised to contribute to the prosperity of the country." Alaman, *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. ii. p. 63.]

to repair the loss. He writes to the emperor that another squadron will soon be got ready at the same port, and, "he doubts not, will put his Majesty in possession of more lands and kingdoms than the nation has ever heard of!"<sup>33</sup> This magnificent vaunt shows the common sentiment of the Spaniards at that time, who looked on the Pacific as the famed Indian Ocean, studded with golden islands and teeming with the rich treasures of the East.

A principal object of this squadron was the discovery of a strait which should connect the Atlantic with the Pacific. Another squadron, consisting of five vessels, was fitted out in the Gulf of Mexico, to take the direction of Florida, with the same view of detecting a strait. For Cortés trusted—we at this day may smile at the illusion—that one might be found in that direction which should conduct the navigator to those waters which had been traversed by the keels of Magellan!<sup>34</sup>

The discovery of a strait was the great object to which nautical enterprise in that day was directed, as it had been ever since the time of Columbus. It was in the sixteenth century what the discovery of the Northwest passage has been in our own age,—the *ignis fatuus* of navigators. The vast extent of the American continent had been ascertained by the voyages of Cabot in the North, and of Magellan very recently in the South. The proximity, in certain quarters, of the two great oceans that washed its eastern and western shores had been settled by the discoveries both of Balboa and of Cortés. European scholars could not believe that Nature had worked on a plan so repugnant, apparently, to the interests of humanity, as to

<sup>33</sup> "Tengo de ser causa, que Vuestra Cesarea Magestad sea en estas partes Señor de mas Reynos, y Señoríos que los que hasta hoy en nuestra Nacion se tiene noticia." Rel. Quarta de Cortés, ap. Lorenzana, p. 374.

<sup>34</sup> "Much as I esteem Hernando

Cortés," exclaims Oviedo, "for the greatest captain and most practised in military matters of any we have known, I think such an opinion shows he was no great cosmographer." (Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 41.) Oviedo, had lived to see its fallacy.

interpose, through the whole length of the great continent, such a barrier to communication between the adjacent waters. The correspondence of men of science,<sup>35</sup> the instructions of the Court, the letters of Cortés, like those of Columbus, touch frequently on this favourite topic. "Your Majesty may be assured," he writes, "that, as I know how much you have at heart the discovery of *this great secret of a strait*, I shall postpone all interests and projects of my own, some of them of the highest moment, for the fulfilment of this great object."<sup>36</sup>

It was partly with the same view that the general caused a considerable armament to be equipped and placed under the command of Cristóval de Olid, the brave officer who, as the reader will remember, had charge of one of the great divisions of the besieging army. He was to steer for Honduras and plant a colony on its northern coast. A detachment of Olid's squadron was afterwards to cruise along its southern shore towards Darien in search of the mysterious strait. The country was reported to be full of gold; so full that "the fishermen used gold weights for their nets." The life of the Spanish discoverers was one long day-dream. Illusion after illusion chased one another like the bubbles which the child throws off from his pipe, as bright, as beautiful, and as empty. They lived in a world of enchantment.<sup>37</sup>

Together with these maritime expeditions, Cortés fitted out a powerful expedition by land. It was intrusted to Alvarado, who, with a large force of Spaniards and Indians, was to descend the southern slant

<sup>35</sup> Martyr, Opus Epist. ep. 811.

<sup>36</sup> Rel. Quarta, ap. Lorenzana, p. 385.

<sup>37</sup> The illusion at home was kept up, in some measure, by the dazzling display of gold and jewels remitted from time to time, wrought into fanciful and often fantastic forms. One of the articles sent

home by Cortés, was a piece of ordnance, made of gold and silver, of very fine workmanship, the metal of which alone cost 25,000 *pesos de oro*. Oviedo, who saw it in the palace, speaks with admiration of this magnificent toy. Hist. de las Ind., MS., lib. 33, cap. 41.



of the Cordilleras and penetrate into the countries that lay beyond the rich valley of Oaxaca. The campaigns of this bold and rapacious chief terminated in the important conquest of Guatemala. The general required his captains to send him minute accounts of the countries which they visited, the productions of the soil, and their general resources. The result was several valuable and interesting communications.<sup>38</sup> In his instructions for the conduct of these expeditions, he enjoined a considerate treatment of the natives, and inculcated a policy which may be called humane, as far as humanity is compatible with a system of subjugation.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, the character of his officers too often rendered these instructions unavailing.

In the prosecution of his great enterprises, Cortés, within three short years after the Conquest, had reduced under the dominion of Castile an extent of country more than four hundred leagues in length, as he affirms, on the Atlantic coast, and more than five hundred on the Pacific, and, with the exception of a few interior provinces of no great importance, had brought them to a condition of entire tranquillity.<sup>40</sup> In accomplishing this, he had freely expended the revenues of the crown, drawn from tributes similar to those which had been anciently paid by the natives to their own sovereigns; and he had, moreover, incurred a large debt on his own account, for which he demanded remuneration from the government. The

<sup>38</sup> Among these may be particularly mentioned the Letters of Alvarado and Diego de Godoy, transcribed by Oviedo in his *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS. (lib. 33, cap. 42-44), and translated by Ramusio for his rich collection, *Viaggi*, tom. iii.

<sup>39</sup> See, among others, his orders to his kinaman, Francisco Cortés,—"Instrucción civil y militar por la Expedición de la Costa de Colima." The paper is dated in

1524, and forms part of the Muñoz collection of MSS.

<sup>40</sup> Rel. Quarta, ap. Lorenzana, p. 371.—"Well may we wonder," exclaims his archiepiscopal editor, "that Cortés and his soldiers could have overrun and subdued, in so short a time, countries, many of them so rough and difficult of access that even at the present day we can hardly penetrate them!" *Ibid.*, nota.

celebrity of his name, and the dazzling reports of the conquered countries, drew crowds of adventurers to New Spain, who furnished the general with recruits for his various enterprises.

Whoever would form a just estimate of this remarkable man must not confine himself to the history of the Conquest. His military career, indeed, places him on a level with the greatest captains of his age. But the period subsequent to the Conquest affords different, and in some respects nobler, points of view for the study of his character. For we then see him devising a system of government for the motley and antagonist races, so to speak, now first brought under a common dominion; repairing the mischiefs of war; and employing his efforts to detect the latent resources of the country and to stimulate it to its highest power of production. The narrative may seem tame, after the recital of exploits as bold and adventurous as those of a paladin of romance. But it is only by the perusal of this narrative that we can form an adequate conception of the acute and comprehensive genius of Cortés.

## CHAPTER III.

**Defection of Olid.—Dreadful march to Honduras.—Execution of Guatemozin.—Doña Marina.—Arrival at Honduras.**

1524-1526.

IN the last chapter we have seen that Cristóval de Olid was sent by Cortés to plant a colony in Honduras. The expedition was attended with consequences which had not been foreseen. Made giddy by the possession of power, Olid, when he had reached his place of destination, determined to assert an independent jurisdiction for himself. His distance from Mexico, he flattered himself, might enable him to do so with impunity. He misunderstood the character of Cortés, when he supposed that any distance would be great enough to shield a rebel from his vengeance.

It was long before the general received tidings of Olid's defection. But no sooner was he satisfied of this than he despatched to Honduras a trusty captain and kinsman, Francisco de las Casas, with directions to arrest his disobedient officer. Las Casas was wrecked on the coast, and fell into Olid's hands, but eventually succeeded in raising an insurrection in the settlement, seized the person of Olid, and beheaded that unhappy delinquent in the market-place of Naco.<sup>1</sup>

Of these proceedings, Cortes learned only what related to the shipwreck of his lieutenant. He saw all the mischievous consequences that must arise from Olid's example, especially if his defection were to go unpunished. He determined to take the affair into his own hands, and to lead an expedition in person to

<sup>1</sup> Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

**Honduras.** He would thus, moreover, be enabled to ascertain from personal inspection the resources of the country, which were reputed great on the score of mineral wealth, and would perhaps detect the point of communication between the great oceans, which had so long eluded the efforts of the Spanish discoverers. He was still further urged to this step by the uncomfortable position in which he had found himself of late in the capital. Several functionaries had recently been sent from the mother country for the ostensible purpose of administering the colonial revenues. But they served as spies on the general's conduct, caused him many petty annoyances, and sent back to court the most malicious reports of his purposes and proceedings. Cortés, in short, now that he was made Governor-General of the country, had less real power than when he held no legal commission at all.

The Spanish force which he took with him did not probably exceed a hundred horse and forty or perhaps fifty foot; to which were added about three thousand Indian auxiliaries.<sup>2</sup> Among them were Guatemozin and the cacique of Tacuba, with a few others of highest rank, whose consideration with their countrymen would make them an obvious nucleus round which disaffection might gather. The general's personal retinue consisted of several pages, young men of good family, and among them Montejo, the future conqueror of Yucatan; a butler and steward; several musicians, dancers, jugglers, and buffoons, showing, it might seem, more of the effeminacy of an Oriental satrap, than the hardy valour of a Spanish cavalier.<sup>3</sup> Yet the imputation of effeminacy is sufficiently disproved by the terrible march which he accomplished.

Towards the end of October, 1524, Cortés began his

<sup>2</sup> Carta de Albornoz, MS., Mexico, Dec. 15, 1525.—Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.—the authorities do not precisely agree as to the numbers, which were changing,

probably, with every step of their march across the table-land.

<sup>3</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 175.

march. As he descended the sides of the Cordilleras, he was met by many of his old companions in arms who greeted their commander with a hearty welcome, and some of them left their estates to join the expedition.<sup>4</sup> He halted in the province of Coatzacoalco (Huazacualco) until he could receive intelligence respecting his route from the natives of Tabasco. They furnished him with a map, exhibiting the principal places whither the Indian traders who wandered over these wild regions were in the habit of resorting. With the aid of this map, a compass, and such guides as from time to time he could pick up on his journey, he proposed to traverse that broad and level tract which forms the base of Yucatan, and spreads from the Coatzacoalco River to the head of the Gulf of Honduras. "I shall give your Majesty," he begins his celebrated Letter to the emperor, describing this expedition, "an account, as usual, of the most remarkable events of my journey, every one of which might form the subject of a separate narration." Cortés did not exaggerate.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Among these was Captain Diaz, who, however, left the pleasant farm, which he occupied in the province of Coatzacoalco, with a very ill grace, to accompany the expedition. "But Cortés commanded it, and we dared not say no," says the veteran. *Ibid.*, cap. 174.

<sup>5</sup> This celebrated Letter, which has never been published, is usually designated as the *Carta Quinta*, or "Fifth Letter," of Cortés. It is nearly as long as the longest of the printed letters of the Conqueror, is written in the same clear, sim-

ple, business-like manner, and is as full of interest as any of the preceding. It gives a minute account of the expedition to Honduras, together with events that occurred in the year following. It bears no date, but was probably written in that year from Mexico. The original manuscript is in the Imperial Library at Vienna, which, as the German sceptre was swayed at that time by the same hand which held the Castilian, contains many documents of value for the illustration of Spanish history.\*

---

\* [It is scarcely credible that a long and important document in an official form should have borne no date, and we may therefore suspect that the manuscript at Vienna, if un mutilated, is not the original. A copy in the Royal Library at Madrid, purporting to have been made "from the original" by Alonso Diaz, terminates as follows: "*De la cibdad de Temixtitlan, desta Nueva España á tres del mes de setiembre del nacimiento de nuestro Señor é Salvador Jesu-Cristo de 1528.*" This date is confirmed by a passage in a letter which will be found cited in the

The beginning of the march lay across a low and marshy level, intersected by numerous little streams, which form the head-waters of the Rio de Tabasco, and of the other rivers that discharge themselves, to the north, into the Mexican Gulf. The smaller streams they forded, or passed in canoes, suffering their horses to swim across as they held them by the bridle. Rivers of more formidable size they crossed on floating bridges. It gives one some idea of the difficulties they had to encounter in this way, when it is stated that the Spaniards were obliged to construct no less than fifty of these bridges in a distance of less than a hundred miles!<sup>6</sup> One of them was more than nine hundred paces in length. Their troubles were much augmented by the difficulty of obtaining subsistence, as the natives frequently set fire to the villages on their approach, leaving to the way-worn adventurers only a pile of smoking ruins.

It would be useless to encumber the page with the names of Indian towns which lay in the route of the army, but which may be now obsolete, and, at all events, have never found their way into a map of the country.<sup>7</sup> The first considerable place which they reached was Iztapan, pleasantly situated in the midst

<sup>6</sup> "Es tierra mui baja y de muchas sienegaa, tanto que en tiempo de invierno no se puede andar, ni se sirve sino en canoas, y con pasarla yo en tiempo de seca, desde la entrada hasta la salida de ella, que puede aver veinti leguas, se hizieron mas de cinquenta puentes, que ain se hazer, fuera

imposible pasar." Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

<sup>7</sup> I have examined some of the most ancient maps of the country, by Spanish, French, and Dutch cosmographers, in order to determine the route of Cortés. An inestimable collection of these maps, made by the learned German,

---

notes to the next chapter with the date of Sept. 11, but of which there are in fact two originals, the duplicate being dated Sept. 3. It gives a summary, for the emperor's own perusal, of the matters narrated at length in the *Carta Quinta*, which it thus describes: "Así mesmo envío agora á V. M. con lo presente una relacion bien larga y particular de todo lo que me subedió en el camino que hice á las Hibueras, y al cabo della hago saber á V. M. muy por extenso lo que ha pasado y se ha hecho en esta Nueva España despues que yo partí de la isla de Cuba para ella." See Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Historia de España, tom. i.—Ed.]

of a fruitful region, on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Rio de Tabasco. Such was the extremity to which the Spaniards had already, in the course of a few weeks, been reduced by hunger and fatigue, that the sight of a village in these dreary solitudes was welcomed by his followers, says Cortés, "with a shout of joy that was echoed back from all the surrounding woods." The army was now at no great distance from the ancient city of Palenque, the subject of so much speculation in our time. The village of *Las Tres Cruces*, indeed, situated between twenty and thirty miles from Palenque, is said still to commemorate the passage of the Conquerors by the existence of three crosses which they left there. Yet no allusion is made to the ancient capital. Was it then the abode of a populous and flourishing community, such as once occupied it, to judge from the extent and magnificence of its remains? Or was it, even then, a heap of mouldering ruins, buried in a wilderness of vegetation, and thus hidden from the knowledge of the surrounding country? If the former, the silence of Cortés is not easy to be explained.

On quitting Iztapan, the Spaniards struck across a country having the same character of a low and marshy soil, chequered by occasional patches of cultivation, and covered with forests of cedar and Brazil wood, which seemed absolutely interminable. The overhanging foliage threw so deep a shade that, as Cortés says, the soldiers could not see where to set their feet.\* To add to their perplexity, their guides deserted them; and, when they climbed to the summits of the tallest trees, they could see only the same cheerless, inter-

Ebeling, is to be found in the library of Harvard University. I can detect on them only four or five of the places indicated by the general. They are the places mentioned in the text, and, though few, may serve to show the general direction of the march of the army.

\* "Donde se ponian los pies en el suelo acá arriba la claridad del cielo no se veía, tanta era la espesura y altura de los árboles, que aunque se subían en algunos, no podían descubrir un tiro de piedra." Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

minable line of waving woods. The compass and the map furnished the only clue to extricate them from this gloomy labyrinth; and Cortés and his officers, among whom was the constant Sandoval, spreading out their chart on the ground, anxiously studied the probable direction of their route. Their scanty supplies meanwhile had entirely failed them, and they appeased the cravings of appetite by such roots as they dug out of the earth, or by the nuts and berries that grew wild in the woods. Numbers fell sick, and many of the Indians sank by the way, and died of absolute starvation.

When at length the troops emerged from these dismal forests, their path was crossed by a river of great depth, and far wider than any which they had hitherto traversed. The soldiers, disheartened, broke out into murmurs against their leader, who was plunging them deeper and deeper in a boundless wilderness, where they must lay their bones. It was in vain that Cortés encouraged them to construct a floating bridge, which might take them to the opposite bank of the river. It seemed a work of appalling magnitude, to which their wasted strength was unequal. He was more successful in his appeal to the Indian auxiliaries, till his own men, put to shame by the ready obedience of the latter, engaged in the work with a hearty good will, which enabled them, although ready to drop from fatigue, to accomplish it at the end of four days. It was, indeed, the only expedient by which they could hope to extricate themselves from their perilous situation. The bridge consisted of one thousand pieces of timber, each of the thickness of a man's body and full sixty feet long.\* When we consider that the timber was all standing in the forest at the commencement of the labour, it must be admitted to have been an achievement worthy of the Spaniards. The well-compacted beams presented a solid structure which nothing, says

\* "Porque lleva mas que mil bigas, que la menor es casi tan gorda como un cuerpo de un hombre, y de nueve y diez brazas en largo." Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.



Cortés, but fire could destroy. It excited the admiration of the natives, who came from a great distance to see it; and "the bridge of Cortés" remained for many a year the enduring monument of that commander's energy and perseverance.

The arrival of the army on the opposite bank of the river involved them in new difficulties. The ground was so soft and saturated with water that the horses floundered up to their girths, and, sometimes plunging into quagmires, were nearly buried in the mud. It was with the greatest difficulty that they could be extricated by covering the wet soil with the foliage and the boughs of trees, when a stream of water, which forced its way through the heart of the morass, furnished the jaded animals with the means of effecting their escape by swimming.<sup>10</sup> As the Spaniards emerged from these slimy depths, they came on a broad and rising ground, which, by its cultivated fields teeming with maize, *agi*, or pepper of the country, and the *yuca* plant, intimated their approach to the capital of the fruitful province of Aculan. It was in the beginning of Lent, 1525, a period memorable for an event of which I shall give the particulars from the narrative of Cortés.

The general at this place was informed, by one of the Indian converts in his train, that a conspiracy had been set on foot by Guatemozin, with the cacique of Tacuba, and some other of the principal Indian nobles, to massacre the Spaniards. They would seize the moment when the army should be entangled in the

<sup>10</sup> "Pasada toda la gente y cavallos de la otra parte del alcon dimos luego en una gran cienega, que durava bien tres tiros de ballesta, la cosa mas espantosa que jamas las gentes viéron, donde todos los cavallos desengillados se sumiéron hasta las orejas sin parecerse otra cosa, y querer forcejar á salir, sumianse mas, de manera que allí perdímos toda la esperanza de poder escapar cavallos ningunos, pero todavia comenzámos á trabajar y

componerles haces de yerba y ramas grandes de bajo, sobre que se sostuviesen y no se sumiesen, remedíavense algo, y andando trabajando y yendo y viniendo de la una parte á la otra, abríós por medio de un calejon de agua y cieno, que los cavallos comenzáron algo á nadar, y con esto plugo á nuestro Señor que saliéron todos sin peligro ninguno." Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

passage of some defile, or some frightful morass like that from which it had just escaped, where, taken at disadvantage, it could be easily overpowered by the superior number of the Mexicans. After the slaughter of the troops, the Indians would continue their march to Honduras and cut off the Spanish settlements there. Their success would lead to a rising in the capital, and, indeed, throughout the land, until every Spaniard should be exterminated, and the vessels in the ports be seized, and secured from carrying the tidings across the waters.

No sooner had Cortés learned the particulars of this formidable plot than he arrested Guatemozin and the principal Aztec lords in his train. The latter admitted the fact of the conspiracy, but alleged that it had been planned by Guatemozin and that they had refused to come into it. Guatemozin and the chief of Tacuba neither admitted nor denied the truth of the accusation, but maintained a dogged silence. Such is the statement of Cortés.<sup>11</sup> Bernal Diaz, however, who was present in the expedition, assures us that both Guatemozin and the cacique of Tacuba declared their innocence. They had indeed, they said, talked more than once together of the sufferings they were then enduring, and had said that death was preferable to seeing so many of their poor followers dying daily around them. They admitted, also, that a project for rising on the Spaniards had been discussed by some of the Aztecs; but Guatemozin had discouraged it from the first, and no scheme of the kind could have been put into execution without his knowledge and consent.<sup>12</sup> These protestations did not avail the unfortunate princes; and Cortés, having satisfied, or affected to satisfy, himself of their guilt, ordered them to immediate execution.

When brought to the fatal tree, Guatemozin displayed the intrepid spirit worthy of his better days.

<sup>11</sup> Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

<sup>12</sup> Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 177.

"I knew what it was," said he, "to trust to your false promises, Malinche; I knew that you had destined me to this fate, since I did not fall by my own hand when you entered my city of Tenochtitlan. Why do you slay me so unjustly? God will demand it of you!"<sup>13</sup> The cacique of Tacuba, protesting his innocence, declared that he desired no better lot than to die by the side of his lord. The unfortunate princes, with one or more inferior nobles (for the number is uncertain), were then executed by being hung from the huge branches of a *ceiba*-tree which overshadowed the road.<sup>14</sup>

Such was the sad end of Guatemozin, the last emperor of the Aztecs, if we might not rather call him "the last of the Aztecs;" since from this time, broken in spirit and without a head, the remnant of the nation resigned itself, almost without a struggle, to the stern yoke of its oppressors. Among all the names of barbarian princes, there are few entitled to a higher place on the roll of fame than that of Guatemozin. He was young, and his public career was not long; but it was glorious. He was called to the throne in the convulsed and expiring hours of the monarchy, when the banded nations of Anahuac and the fierce European were thundering at the gates of the capital. It was a post of tremendous responsibility; but Guatemozin's conduct fully justified the choice of him to fill it. No one can refuse his admiration to the intrepid spirit which could prolong a defence of his city while one stone was left upon another; and our sympathies, for the time, are inevitably thrown more into the scale of the rude chieftain, thus battling for his country's

<sup>13</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, ubi supra.

<sup>14</sup> According to Diaz, both Guatemozin and the prince of Tacuba had embraced the religion of their conquerors, and were confessed by a Franciscan friar before their execution. We are further assured by the same authority that "they

were, *for Indians*, very good Christians, and believed well and truly." (*Ibid.*, loc. cit.) One is reminded of the last hours of Caupolican, converted to Christianity by the same men who tied him to the stake. See the scene, painted in the frightful colouring of a master-hand, in the *Araucana*, Canto 34.

freedom, than into that of his civilized and successful antagonist.<sup>15</sup>

In reviewing the circumstances of Guatemozin's death, one cannot attach much weight to the charge of conspiracy brought against him. That the Indians, brooding over their wrongs and present sufferings, should have sometimes talked of revenge, would not be surprising. But that any chimerical scheme of an insurrection, like that above mentioned, should have been set on foot, or even sanctioned, by Guatemozin, is altogether improbable. That prince's explanation of the affair, as given by Diaz, is, to say the least, quite as deserving of credit as the accusation of the Indian informer.<sup>16</sup> The defect of testimony and the distance of time make it difficult for us, at the present day, to decide the question. We have a surer criterion of the truth in the opinion of those who were eye-witnesses of the transaction. It is given in the words of the old chronicler so often quoted. "The execution of Guatemozin," says Diaz, "was most unjust, and was thought wrong by all of us."<sup>17</sup>

The most probable explanation of the affair seems to be that Guatemozin was a troublesome and, indeed, formidable captive. Thus much is intimated by Cortés

<sup>15</sup> Guatemozin's beautiful wife, the princess Tecuichpo, the daughter of Montezuma, lived long enough after his death to give her hand to four Castilians, all of noble descent. (See *ante*, p. 85, note 36.) She is described as having been as well instructed in the Catholic faith as any woman in Castile, as most gracious and winning in her deportment, and as having contributed greatly, by her example, and the deference with which she inspired the Aztecs, to the tranquillity of the conquered country. This pleasing portrait, it may be well enough to mention, is by the hand of her husband,

Don Thoan Cano. See Appendix, Part 2, No. 11.

<sup>16</sup> The Indian chroniclers regard the pretended conspiracy of Guatemozin as an invention of Cortés. The informer himself, when afterwards put to the torture by the cacique of Tezcuco, declared that he had made no revelation of this nature to the Spanish commander. Ixtlilxochitl vouches for the truth of this story. (*Venida de los Españoles*, pp. 83-93.) But who will vouch for Ixtlilxochitl?

<sup>17</sup> "Y fué esta muerte que les diéron muy injustamente dada, y pareció mal á todos los que ibamos aquella jornada." *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 177.

himself, in his Letter to the emperor.<sup>18</sup> The fallen sovereign of Mexico, by the ascendancy of his character, as well as by his previous station, maintained an influence over his countrymen which would have enabled him with a breath, as it were, to rouse their smothered, not extinguished, animosity into rebellion. The Spaniards, during the first years after the Conquest, lived in constant apprehension of a rising of the Aztecs. This is evident from numerous passages in the writings of the time. It was under the same apprehension that Cortés consented to embarrass himself with his royal captive on this dreary expedition. And in such distrust did he hold him that, even while in Mexico, he neither rode abroad, nor walked to any great distance, according to Gomara, without being attended by Guatemozin.<sup>19</sup>

Parties standing in such relations to each other could have been the objects only of mutual distrust and aversion. The forlorn condition of the Spaniards on the present march, which exposed them in a peculiar degree to any sudden assault from their wily Indian vassals, increased the suspicions of Cortés. Thus predisposed to think ill of Guatemozin, the general lent a ready ear to the first accusation against him. Charges were converted into proofs, and condemnation followed close upon the charges. By a single blow he proposed to rid himself and the state forever of a dangerous enemy,—the more dangerous, that he was an enemy in disguise. Had he but consulted his own honour and his good name, Guatemozin's head was the last on which he should have suffered an injury to fall. "He should have cherished him," to borrow the

<sup>18</sup> "Guatemozin, Señor que fué de esta Ciudad de Temixtitan, á quien yo despues que la gané he tenido siempre preso, teniéndole por hombre bullicioso, y le llevé conuigo." Carta Quinta, MS.

<sup>19</sup> "Y le hacian aquella mesma

reverencia, i ceremonias, que á Moteçuma, i creo que por eso le llevaba siempre consigo por la Ciudad á Caballo si cavalgaba, i sino á pie como él iba." Crónica, cap. 170.

homely simile of his encomiast, Gomara, "like gold in a napkin, as the best trophy of his victories."<sup>20</sup>

Whatever may have been the real motives of his conduct in this affair, it seems to have left the mind of Cortés but ill at ease. For a long time he was moody and irritable, and found it difficult to sleep at night. On one occasion, as he was pacing an upper chamber of a *teocalli* in which he was quartered, he missed his footing in the dark, and was precipitated from a height of some twelve feet to the ground, which occasioned him a severe contusion on the head,—a thing too palpable to be concealed, though he endeavoured, says the gossiping Diaz, to hide the knowledge of it, as well as he could, from the soldiers.<sup>21</sup>

It was not long after the sad scene of Guatemozin's execution that the wearied troops entered the head town of the great province of Aculan; a thriving community of traders, who carried on a profitable traffic with the farthest quarters of Central America. Cortés notices in general terms the excellence and beauty of the buildings, and the hospitable reception which he experienced from the inhabitants.

After renewing their strength in these comfortable quarters, the Spaniards left the capital of Aculan, the name of which is to be found on no map, and held on their toilsome way in the direction of what is now called the lake of Peten. It was then the property of an emigrant tribe of the hardy Maya family, and their capital stood on an island in the lake, "with its houses and lofty *teocallis* glistening in the sun," says Bernal Diaz, "so that it might be seen for the distance of two leagues."<sup>22</sup> These edifices, built by one of the races of Yucatan, displayed, doubtless, the same peculiarities of construction as the remains still to be seen

<sup>20</sup> "I Cortés debiera guardarlo vivo, como Oro en paño, que era el triumpho, i gloria de sus Victorias." Crónica, cap. 17c

<sup>21</sup> Hist. de la Conquista, ubi supra.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., cap. 178.

in that remarkable peninsula. But, whatever may have been their architectural merits, they are disposed of in a brief sentence by the Conquerors.

The inhabitants of the island showed a friendly spirit, and a docility unlike the warlike temper of their countrymen of Yucatan. They willingly listened to the Spanish missionaries who accompanied the expedition, as they expounded the Christian doctrines through the intervention of Marina. The Indian interpreter was present throughout this long march, the last in which she remained at the side of Cortés. As this, too, is the last occasion on which she will appear in these pages, I will mention, before parting with her, an interesting circumstance that occurred when the army was traversing the province of Coatzacoalco. This, it may be remembered, was the native country of Marina, where her infamous mother sold her, when a child, to some foreign traders, in order to secure her inheritance to a younger brother. Cortés halted for some days at this place, to hold a conference with the surrounding caciques on matters of government and religion. Among those summoned to this meeting was Marina's mother, who came, attended by her son. No sooner did they make their appearance than all were struck with the great resemblance of the cacique to her daughter. The two parties recognized each other, though they had not met since their separation. The mother, greatly terrified, fancied that she had been decoyed into a snare in order to punish her inhuman conduct. But Marina instantly ran up to her, and endeavoured to allay her fears, assuring her that she should receive no harm, and, addressing the bystanders, said "that she was sure her mother knew not what she did when she sold her to the traders, and that she forgave her." Then, tenderly embracing her unnatural parent, she gave her such jewels and other little ornaments as she wore about her own person, to win back, as it would seem, her lost affection. Marina added that "she felt much happier than before, now

that she had been instructed in the Christian faith and given up the bloody worship of the Aztecs."<sup>23</sup>

In the course of the expedition to Honduras, Cortés gave Marina away to a Castilian knight, Don Juan Xaramillo,<sup>24</sup> to whom she was wedded as his lawful wife. She had estates assigned to her in her native province, where she probably passed the remainder of her days.<sup>25</sup> From this time the name of Marina disappears from the page of history. But it has been always held in grateful remembrance by the Spaniards, for the important aid which she gave them in effecting the Conquest, and by the natives, for the kindness and sympathy which she showed them in their misfortunes. Many an Indian ballad commemorates the gentle virtues of Malinche,—her Aztec epithet. Even now her spirit, if report be true, watches over the capital which she helped to win; and the peasant is occasionally startled by the apparition of an Indian princess, dimly seen through the evening shadows, as it flits among the groves and grottos of the royal Hill of Chapultepec.<sup>26</sup>

By the Conqueror, Marina left one son, Don Martin Cortés. He rose to high consideration, and was made

<sup>23</sup> Diaz, who was present, attests the truth of this account by the most solemn adjuration: "Y todo esto que digo, se lo of muy certifi-cadamente y se lo juro, amen." Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 37.

<sup>24</sup> [Alaman, from an examination of the municipal archives of Mexico, finds that Juan de Jaramillo was commander of one of the brigantines in the siege of Mexico. He subsequently filled the office of royal standard-bearer of the city, and was several times chosen to represent it in the assemblies of the cities of New Spain. Conquista de Méjico (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 269.]

<sup>25</sup> [The Spanish government showed its sense of the services of Marina by the grant of several estates both in the town and coun-

try. The house in which she usually resided in Mexico was in the street of Medinas, as it is now called, which then bore the name of her husband, Jaramillo. She had a pleasure-house at Chapultepec, and in Cuyoacan a garden that had belonged to Montezuma. She lived in the enjoyment of wealth and much consideration from her countrymen; and, as we see mention made of her grandchild during her lifetime, we may presume she reached a good old age. Conquista de Méjico (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 269.—Alaman, Disertaciones históricas, tom. ii. p. 293.]

<sup>26</sup> Life in Mexico, let. 8.—The fair author does not pretend to have been favoured with a sight of the apparition.



a *comendador* of the order of St. Jago. He was subsequently suspected of treasonable designs against the government; and neither his parents' extraordinary services, nor his own deserts, could protect him from a cruel persecution; and in 1568 the son of Hernando Cortés was shamefully subjected to the torture in the very capital which his father had acquired for the Castilian crown!

The inhabitants of the isles of Peten—to return from our digression—listened attentively to the preaching of the Franciscan friars, and consented to the instant demolition of their idols, and the erection of the Cross upon their ruins.<sup>27</sup> A singular circumstance showed the value of these hurried conversions. Cortés, on his departure, left among this friendly people one of his horses, which had been disabled by an injury in the foot. The Indians felt a reverence for the animal, as in some way connected with the mysterious power of the white men. When their visitors had gone, they offered flowers to the horse, and, as it is said, prepared for him many savoury messes of poultry, such as they would have administered to their own sick. Under this extraordinary diet the poor animal pined away and died. The affrighted Indians raised his effigy in stone, and, placing it in one of their *teocallis*, did homage to it, as to a deity. In 1618, when two Franciscan friars came to preach the gospel in these regions, then scarcely better known to the Spaniards than before the time of Cortés, one of the most remarkable objects which they found was this statue of a horse, receiving the homage of the Indian worshippers, as the god of thunder and lightning!<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Villagutierre says that the *Iztacs*, by which name the inhabitants of these islands were called, did not destroy their idols while the Spaniards remained there. (*Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de el Itza* (Madrid, 1701), pp. 49, 50.) The historian is wrong,

since Cortés expressly asserts that the images were broken and burnt in his presence. *Carta Quinta*, MS.

<sup>28</sup> The fact is recorded by Villagutierre, *Conquista de el Itza*, pp. 100-102, and Cojullado, *Hist. de Yucathan*, lib. 1, cap. 16.

It would be wearisome to recount all the perils and hardships endured by the Spaniards in the remainder of their journey. It would be repeating only the incidents of the preceding narrative, the same obstacles in their path, the same extremities of famine and fatigue, —hardships more wearying on the spirits than encounters with an enemy, which, if more hazardous, are also more exciting. It is easier to contend with man than with Nature. Yet I must not omit to mention the passage of the *Sierra de los Pedernales*, "the Mountain of Flints," which, though only twenty-four miles in extent, consumed no less than twelve days in crossing it! The sharp stones cut the horses' feet to pieces, while many were lost down the precipices and ravines; so that when they had reached the opposite side sixty-eight of these valuable animals had perished, and the remainder were, for the most part, in an unserviceable condition!<sup>29</sup>

The rainy season had now set in, and torrents of water, falling day and night, drenched the adventurers to the skin, and added greatly to their distresses. The rivers, swollen beyond their usual volume, poured along with a terrible impetuosity that defied the construction of bridges; and it was with the greatest difficulty that, by laying trunks of trees from one huge rock to another, with which these streams were studded, they effected a perilous passage to the opposite banks.<sup>30</sup>

At length the shattered train drew near the Golfo Dolce, at the head of the Bay of Honduras. Their route could not have been far from the site of Copan,

<sup>29</sup> "Y querer decir la aspersion y fragosidad de este Puerto y sierras, ni quien lo dixese lo sabria significar, ni quien lo oyese podria entender, sino que sepa V. M. que en ocho leguas que duró hasta este puerto estuvimos en las andar doze dias, digo los postreros en llegar al cabo de él, en que murieron sesenta y ocho cavallos despenados y desaxetados, y todos los demas vini-

éron heridos y tan lastimados que no pensámos aprovecharnos de ninguno." Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

<sup>30</sup> "If any unhappy wretch had become giddy in this transit," says Cortés, "he must inevitably have been precipitated into the gulf and perished. There were upwards of twenty of these frightful passes." Carta Quinta, MS.

the celebrated city whose architectural ruins have furnished such noble illustrations for the pencil of Catherwood. But the Spaniards passed on in silence. Nor, indeed, can we wonder that at this stage of the enterprise they should have passed on without heeding the vicinity of a city in the wilderness, though it were as glorious as the capital of Zenobia; for they were arrived almost within view of the Spanish settlements, the object of their long and wearisome pilgrimage.

The place which they were now approaching was Naco, or San Gil de Buena Vista, a Spanish settlement on the Golfo Dolce. Cortés advanced cautiously, prepared to fall on the town by surprise. He had held on his way with the undeviating step of the North American Indian, who, traversing morass and mountain and the most intricate forests, guided by the instinct of revenge, presses straight towards the mark, and, when he has reached it, springs at once on his unsuspecting victim. Before Cortés made his assault, his scouts fortunately fell in with some of the inhabitants of the place, from whom they received tidings of the death of Olid, and of the re-establishment of his own authority. Cortés, therefore, entered the place like a friend, and was cordially welcomed by his countrymen, greatly astonished, says Diaz, "by the presence among them of the general so renowned throughout these countries."<sup>1</sup>

The colony was at this time sorely suffering from famine; and to such extremity was it soon reduced that the troops would probably have found a grave in the very spot to which they had looked forward as the goal of their labours, but for the seasonable arrival of a vessel with supplies from Cuba. With a perseverance which nothing could daunt, Cortés made an examination of the surrounding country, and occupied a month

<sup>1</sup> "Espantáronse en gran manera, y como supieron que era Cortés q̄ tan nombrado era en todas estas partes de las Indias, y

en Castilla, no sabían que se hazer de placer." Hist de la Conquista, cap. 179.

more in exploring dismal swamps, steaming with unwholesome exhalations, and infected with bilious fevers and with swarms of venomous insects which left peace neither by day nor night. At length he embarked with a part of his forces on board of two brigantines, and, after touching at one or two ports in the bay, anchored off Truxillo, the principal Spanish settlement on that coast. The surf was too high for him easily to effect a landing; but the inhabitants, overjoyed at his arrival, rushed into the shallow water and eagerly bore back the general in their arms to the shore.<sup>32</sup>

After he had restored the strength and spirits of his men, the indefatigable commander prepared for a new expedition, the object of which was to explore and to reduce the extensive province of Nicaragua. One may well feel astonished at the adventurous spirit of the man who, unsubdued by the terrible sufferings of his recent march, should so soon be prepared for another enterprise equally appalling. It is difficult, in this age of sober sense, to conceive the character of a Castilian cavalier of the sixteenth century, a true counterpart of which it would not have been easy to find in any other nation, even at that time,—or anywhere, indeed, save in those tales of chivalry, which, however wild and extravagant they may seem, were much more true to character than to situation. The mere excitement of exploring the strange and the unknown was a sufficient compensation to the Spanish adventurer for all his toils and trials. It seems to have been ordered by Providence that such a race of men should exist contemporaneously with the discovery of the New World, that those regions should be brought to light which were beset with dangers and difficulties so appalling as might have tended to overawe and to discourage the ordinary spirit of adventure. Yet Cortés, though filled with this spirit, proposed nobler ends to himself than those

<sup>32</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 179, et seq.—Herrera,

*Hist. general*, dec. 3, lib. 8, cap. 3, 4.—*Carta Quinta de Cortés*, MS.

of the mere vulgar adventurer. In the expedition to Nicaragua he designed, as he had done in that to Honduras, to ascertain the resources of the country in general, and, above all, the existence of any means of communication between the great oceans on its borders. If none such existed, it would at least establish this fact, the knowledge of which, to borrow his own language, was scarcely less important.

The general proposed to himself the further object of enlarging the colonial empire of Castile. The conquest of Mexico was but the commencement of a series of conquests. To the warrior who had achieved this, nothing seemed impracticable; and scarcely would anything have been so, had he been properly sustained. It is no great stretch of imagination to see the Conqueror of Mexico advancing along the provinces of the vast Isthmus,—Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Darien,—until he had planted his victorious banner on the shores of the Gulf of Panamá; and, while it was there fanned by the breezes from the golden South, the land of the Incas, to see him gathering such intelligence of this land as would stimulate him to carry his arms still farther, and to anticipate, it might be, the splendid career of Pizarro!

But from these dreams of ambition Cortés was suddenly aroused by such tidings as convinced him that his absence from Mexico was already too far prolonged, and that he must return without delay, if he would save the capital or the country.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Disturbances in Mexico.—Return of Cortés.—Distrust of the Court.—Cortés returns to Spain.—Death of Sandoval.—Brilliant reception of Cortés.—Honours conferred on him.**

1526—1530.

THE intelligence alluded to in the preceding chapter was conveyed in a letter to Cortés from the licentiate Zuazo, one of the functionaries to whom the general had committed the administration of the country during his absence. It contained full particulars of the tumultuous proceedings in the capital. No sooner had Cortés quitted it, than dissensions broke out among the different members of the provisional government. The misrule increased as his absence was prolonged. At length tidings were received that Cortés with his whole army had perished in the morasses of Chiapa. The members of the government showed no reluctance to credit this story. They now openly paraded their own authority; proclaimed the general's death; caused funeral ceremonies to be performed in his honour; took possession of his property wherever they could meet with it, piously devoting a small part of the proceeds to purchasing masses for his soul, while the remainder was appropriated to pay off what was called his debt to the state. They seized, in like manner, the property of other individuals engaged in the expedition. From these outrages they proceeded to others against the Spanish residents in the city, until the Franciscan missionaries left the capital in disgust, while the Indian population were so sorely oppressed that great apprehensions were entertained of a general rising. Zuazo, who communicated these tidings, implored Cortés to quicken his return. He was a tem-

VOL. II.

■ ■

perate man, and the opposition which he had made to the tyrannical measures of his comrades had been rewarded with exile.<sup>1</sup>

The general, greatly alarmed by this account, saw that no alternative was left but to abandon all further schemes of conquest, and to return at once, if he would secure the preservation of the empire which he had won. He accordingly made the necessary arrangements for settling the administration of the colonies at Honduras, and embarked with a small number of followers for Mexico.

He had not been long at sea when he encountered such a terrible tempest as seriously damaged his vessel and compelled him to return to port and refit. A second attempt proved equally unsuccessful; and Cortés, feeling that his good star had deserted him, saw in this repeated disaster an intimation from Heaven that he was not to return.<sup>2</sup> He contented himself, therefore, with sending a trusty messenger to advise his friends of his personal safety in Honduras. He then instituted processions and public prayers to ascertain the will of Heaven and to deprecate its anger. His health now showed the effects of his recent sufferings, and declined under a wasting fever. His spirits sank with it, and he fell into a state of gloomy despondency. Bernal Diaz, speaking of him at this time, says that nothing could be more wan and emaciated than his person, and that so strongly was he possessed with the idea of his approaching end that he procured a Franciscan habit,—for it was common to be laid out in the habit of some one or other of the monastic orders,—in which to be carried to the grave.<sup>3</sup>

From this deplorable apathy Cortés was roused by fresh advices urging his presence in Mexico, and by the judicious efforts of his good friend Sandoval, who

<sup>1</sup> Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.—Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 185.—*Relacion del Tesorero Strada*, MS., México, 1526.

<sup>2</sup> Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.  
<sup>3</sup> *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 184, et seq.—Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

had lately returned, himself, from an excursion into the interior. By his persuasion, the general again consented to try his fortunes on the seas. He embarked on board of a brigantine, with a few followers, and bade adieu to the disastrous shores of Honduras, April 25, 1526. He had nearly made the coast of New Spain, when a heavy gale threw him off his course and drove him to the island of Cuba. After staying there some time to recruit his exhausted strength, he again put to sea, on the 16th of May, and in eight days landed near San Juan de Ulua, whence he proceeded about five leagues on foot to Medellin.

Cortés was so much changed by disease that his person was not easily recognized. But no sooner was it known that the general had returned than crowds of people, white men and natives, thronged from all the neighbouring country to welcome him. The tidings spread far and wide on the wings of the wind, and his progress to the capital was a triumphal procession. The inhabitants came from the distance of eighty leagues to have a sight of him; and they congratulated one another on the presence of the only man who could rescue the country from its state of anarchy. It was a resurrection of the dead,—so industriously had the reports of his death being circulated, and so generally believed.<sup>4</sup>

At all the great towns where he halted he was sumptuously entertained. Triumphal arches were thrown across the road, and the streets were strewn with flowers as he passed. After a night's repose at Tezcuco, he made his entrance in great state into the capital. The municipality came out to welcome him, and a brilliant cavalcade of armed citizens formed his escort; while the lake was covered with barges of the Indians, all fancifully decorated with their gala dresses, as on the day of his first arrival among them. The

<sup>4</sup> Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS. —Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 189. 190.—Carta de

Cortés al Emperador, MS., México, Sept. 11 1526.



streets echoed to music, and dancing, and sounds of jubilee, as the procession held on its way to the great convent of St. Francis, where thanksgivings were offered up for the safe return of the general, who then proceeded to take up his quarters once more in his own princely residence.<sup>6</sup> It was in June, 1526, when Cortés re-entered Mexico; nearly two years had elapsed since he had left it, on his difficult march to Honduras, —a march which led to no important results, but which consumed nearly as much time, and was attended with sufferings quite as severe, as the Conquest of Mexico itself.<sup>6</sup>

Cortés did not abuse his present advantage. He, indeed, instituted proceedings against his enemies; but he followed them up so languidly as to incur the imputation of weakness. It is the only instance in which he has been accused of weakness; and, since it was shown in redressing his own injuries, it may be thought to reflect no discredit on his character.<sup>7</sup>

He was not permitted long to enjoy the sweets of triumph. In the month of July he received advices of the arrival of a *juez de residencia* on the coast, sent by the court of Madrid to supersede him temporarily

<sup>6</sup> Carta de Ocaña, MS., Agosto 31, 1526.—Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

<sup>6</sup> "What Cortés suffered," says Dr. Robertson, "on this march,—a distance, according to Gomara, of 3000 miles" (the distance must be greatly exaggerated),—"from famine, from the hostility of the natives, from the climate, and from hardships of every species, has nothing in history parallel to it, but what occurs in the adventures of the other discoverers and conquerors of the New World. Cortés was employed in this dreadful service above two years; and, though it was not distinguished by any splendid event, he exhibited, during the course of it, greater personal courage, more fortitude of

mind, more perseverance and patience, than in any other period or scene in his life." (Hist. of America, note 96.) The historian's remarks are just; as the passages which I have borrowed from the extraordinary record of the Conqueror may show. Those who are desirous of seeing something of the narrative told in his own way will find a few pages of it translated in the Appendix, Part 2, No. 14.

<sup>7</sup> "Y esto yo lo oí dezir á los del Real Consejo de Indias, estando presente el señor Obispo Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, que se descuidó mucho Cortés en ello, y se lo tuvieron á floxedad." Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 190.

in the government. The crown of Castile, as its colonial empire extended, became less and less capable of watching over its administration. It was therefore obliged to place vast powers in the hands of its viceroys; and, as suspicion naturally accompanies weakness, it was ever prompt to listen to accusations against these powerful vassals. In such cases the government adopted the expedient of sending out a commissioner, or *juez de residencia*, with authority to investigate the conduct of the accused, to suspend him in the meanwhile from his office, and, after a judicial examination, to reinstate him in it or to remove him altogether, according to the issue of the trial. The enemies of Cortés had been for a long time busy in undermining his influence at court, and in infusing suspicions of his loyalty in the bosom of the emperor. Since his elevation to the government of the country they had redoubled their mischievous activity, and they assailed his character with the foulest imputations. They charged him with appropriating to his own use the gold which belonged to the crown, and especially with secreting the treasures of Montezuma. He was said to have made false reports of the provinces he had conquered, that he might defraud the exchequer of its lawful revenues. He had distributed the principal offices among his own creatures, and had acquired an unbounded influence, not only over the Spaniards, but the natives, who were all ready to do his bidding. He had expended large sums in fortifying both the capital and his own palace; and it was evident, from the magnitude of his schemes and his preparations, that he designed to shake off his allegiance and to establish an independent sovereignty in New Spain.\*

The government, greatly alarmed by these formidable charges, the probability of which they could not estimate, appointed a commissioner with full powers to

\* Memorial de Luis Cardenas, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 8, cap. 14, 15.  
MS.—Carta de Diego de Ocaña,

investigate the matter. The person selected for this delicate office was Luis Ponce de Leon, a man of high family, young for such a post, but of a mature judgment and distinguished for his moderation and equity. The nomination of such a minister gave assurance that the crown meant to do justly by Cortés.

The emperor wrote at the same time with his own hand to the general, advising him of this step, and assuring him that it was taken, not from distrust of his integrity, but to afford him the opportunity of placing that integrity in a clear light before the world.<sup>9</sup>

Ponce de Leon reached Mexico in July, 1526. He was received with all respect by Cortés and the municipality of the capital; and the two parties interchanged those courtesies with each other which gave augury that the future proceedings would be conducted in a spirit of harmony. Unfortunately, this fair beginning was blasted by the death of the commissioner in a few weeks after his arrival, a circumstance which did not fail to afford another item in the loathsome mass of accusation heaped upon Cortés. The commissioner fell the victim of a malignant fever, which carried off a number of those who had come over in the vessel with him.<sup>10</sup>

On his death-bed, Ponce de Leon delegated his authority to an infirm old man, who survived but a few months,\* and transmitted the reins of government to a

<sup>9</sup> Carta del Emperador, MS., quista, cap. 192.—Carta de Cortés Toledo, Nov. 4, 1525. al Emperador, MS., México, Set.

<sup>10</sup> Bernal Diaz, Hist. de la Con- 11, 1526.

---

\* [This person, the licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, showed, during his short tenure of office, much greater zeal and activity than would be inferred from the slight mention of him by historians. Prescott has omitted to state that a principal point in the instructions given to Ponce de Leon related to the question of the *repartimientos* and other methods of treating the Indians, in regard to which he was to obtain the opinions of the authorities and other principal persons and of the Dominican and Franciscan friars. Sir Arthur Helps, who notices this fact, adds that it "led to no result," the instructions on this subject to Ponce de Leon being on his death "forgotten or laid aside." But a series of documents

person named Estrada, or Strada, the royal treasurer, one of the officers sent from Spain to take charge of

published by Señor Icazbalceta (Col. de Doc. para la Hist. de México, tom. ii.) shows, on the contrary, that they were promptly and fully carried out by Aguilar, who considered this to be the principal business of the commission, and one, as he wrote to the emperor, requiring despatch, since the very existence of the native population depended on immediate action. He accordingly consulted all the officials, Cortés himself included, the other chief residents of the city, such as Alvarado and Sandoval, and the members of the two religious orders, obtaining written opinions, individual as well as collective, which he transmitted with his own report to the emperor. The great majority of the persons consulted, including all the monks, while differing on some matters of detail, concurred in urging the necessity of the *repartimientos* and in recommending that they should be made hereditary.

The same result followed an inquiry instituted in 1532 and the following years. Among the opinions delivered on that occasion is one deserving of particular notice, both for the manner in which it is enforced and the character of the writer,—Fray Domingo de Batanzos, whose career has been agreeably sketched, though his views on the present matter have been misapprehended, by Sir Arthur Helps. The three objects to be kept in view, he begins by remarking, are the good treatment and preservation of the natives, the establishment and security of the Spanish settlers, and the augmentation of the royal revenues. The proper means to be adopted are also threefold: the *repartimientos* extended and perpetuated, the abandonment of the idea of reserving certain *pueblos* to be held by the crown and managed by its officers, and the appointment of good governors, since the best measures are of no avail if not ably administered. The objections to the crown's reserving any *pueblos* for itself are, that the officers will be employed solely in collecting the tribute, the Indians will receive no protection or religious instruction, and the cultivation of the soil will be always degenerating, since no one will have an interest in maintaining or improving its condition. The *repartimientos*, on the contrary, by giving the holders a direct interest in the better cultivation of the soil and the increase of the people, will ensure both these results; and though under this system the royal revenues may be diminished for a time, they will in the end be greatly augmented through the general improvement of the country. The great misfortune has been that the authorities at home pursue a policy which directly contravenes their own intentions: wishing to benefit, they destroy; wishing to enrich, they impoverish; wishing to save the Indians, they exterminate them. There is needed a man with the mind and resolution of Charlemagne or Cæsar, to adopt a plan and carry it out. Instead of this, the course pursued is that of endless changes and experiments, like a perpetual litigation. It is a sure sign that God intends destruction when men are unable to find a remedy. In the present case, well-meaning and holy men have sought one in vain. In his opinion, which he knows will be unheeded, the system which has in it the least evil and the most good is that of hereditary *repartimientos*, which should be established once for all. In a later letter he says, "The person least deceived about the affairs of this country is I, who know its fate as if I saw it with my eyes and touched it with my hands." He predicts the extermination of the Indians within fifty

the finances, and who was personally hostile to Cortés. The Spanish residents would have persuaded Cortés to assert for himself at least an equal share of the authority, to which they considered Estrada as having no sufficient title. But the general, with singular moderation, declined a competition in this matter, and determined to abide a more decided expression of his sovereign's will. To his mortification, the nomination of Estrada was confirmed; and this dignitary soon contrived to inflict on his rival all those annoyances by which a little mind in possession of unexpected power endeavours to assert superiority over a great one. The recommendations of Cortés were disregarded, his friends mortified and insulted, his attendants outraged by injuries. One of the domestics of his friend Sandoval, for some slight offence, was sentenced to lose his hand; and when the general remonstrated against these acts of violence he was peremptorily commanded to leave the city! The Spaniards, indignant at this outrage, would have taken up arms in his defence; but Cortés would allow no resistance,

years. He has always believed and asserted that they would perish, and the laws and measures founded on any other supposition have all been bad. The wonderful thing is, he remarks, with an apparent allusion to Las Casas, that the men of greatest sanctity and zeal for good are those who have done the most harm. (Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc. para la Hist. de México, tom. ii.) That the prediction of Batanzos has been falsified by the event may be attributed to a variety of causes: the vastness of the country and the comparative density of the native population; the social and industrial habits of the latter, so different from those of more northern tribes; the decline of the Spanish power and of that spirit of conquest which, by keeping up a constant stream of emigration and ardour of enterprise, might have led to a conflict of races; and the sedulous protection afforded to the Indians by the government and the church. Their welfare was the object of constant investigation and a long series of enactments. Slavery was in their case entirely abolished. The *repartimientos* were made hereditary, but the rights and power of the *encomenderos* were carefully restricted, and the personal services at first exacted were ultimately commuted for a fixed tribute. Living together in communities which resembled so many small republics, governed by their own laws and chiefs, guided and protected by the priests, exempt from military service and all the burdens imposed by the state on the rest of the population, the Indians constituted, down to the period of Independence, a separate and privileged class, despised, it is true, but not oppressed, by the superior race.—Ed.]

and, simply remarking "that it was well that those who at the price of their blood had won the capital should not be allowed a footing in it," withdrew to his favourite villa of Cojohuacan, a few miles distant, to await there the result of these strange proceedings.<sup>11</sup>

The suspicions of the court of Madrid, meanwhile, fanned by the breath of calumny, had reached the most preposterous height. One might have supposed that it fancied the general was organizing a revolt throughout the colonies and meditated nothing less than an invasion of the mother country. Intelligence having been received that a vessel might speedily be expected from New Spain, orders were sent to the different ports of the kingdom, and even to Portugal, to sequester the cargo, under the expectation that it contained remittances to the general's family which belonged to the crown; while his letters, affording the most luminous account of all his proceedings and discoveries, were forbidden to be printed. Fortunately, however, three letters, constituting the most important part of the Conqueror's correspondence, had been given to the public, some years previous, by the indefatigable press of Seville.

The court, moreover, made aware of the incompetency of the treasurer, Estrada, to the present delicate conjuncture, now entrusted the whole affair of the inquiry to a commission dignified with the title of the Royal Audience of New Spain. This body was clothed with full powers to examine into the charges against Cortés, with instructions to send him back, as a preliminary measure, to Castile,—peacefully if they could, but forcibly if necessary. Still afraid that its belligerent vassal might defy the authority of this tribunal, the government resorted to artifice to effect his return. The president of the Indian Council was commanded to write to him, urging his presence in Spain to vindicate himself from the charges of his enemies, and

<sup>11</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 194.—*Carta de Cortés al Emperador*, MS. Set. 11, 1528

offering his personal co-operation in his defence. The emperor further wrote a letter to the Audience, containing his commands for Cortés to return, as the government wished to consult him on matters relating to the Indies, and to bestow on him a recompense suited to his high deserts. This letter was intended to be shown to Cortés.<sup>12</sup>

But it was superfluous to put in motion all this complicated machinery to effect a measure on which Cortés was himself resolved. Proudly conscious of his own unswerving loyalty, and of the benefits he had rendered to his country, he was deeply sensible to this unworthy requital of them, especially on the very theatre of his achievements. He determined to abide no longer where he was exposed to such indignities, but to proceed at once to Spain, present himself before his sovereign, boldly assert his innocence, and claim redress for his wrongs and a just reward for his services. In the close of his letter to the emperor, detailing the painful expedition to Honduras, after enlarging on the magnificent schemes he had entertained of discovery in the South Sea, and vindicating himself from the charge of a too lavish expenditure, he concludes with the lofty yet touching declaration "that he trusts his Majesty will in time acknowledge his deserts; but, if that unhappily shall not be, the world at least will be assured of his loyalty, and he himself shall have the conviction of having done his duty; and no better inheritance than this shall he ask for his children."<sup>13</sup>

No sooner was the intention of Cortés made known,

<sup>12</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 4, lib. 2, cap. 1; and lib. 3, cap. 8.

<sup>13</sup> "Todas estas entradas están ahora para partir casi á una, plega á Dios de los guiar como él se sirva, que yo aunque V. M. mas me mande desfavorecer no tengo de dejar de servir, que no es posible que por tiempo V. M. no conosca

mis servicios, y ya que esto no sea, yo me satisfago con hazer lo que debo, y con saber que á todo el mundo tengo satisfecho, y les son notorios mis servicios y lealdad, con que los hago, y no quiero otro mayorazgo sino este." Carta Quinta, MS.

than it excited a general sensation through the country. Even Estrada relented; he felt that he had gone too far, and that it was not his policy to drive his noble enemy to take refuge in his own land. Negotiations were opened, and an attempt at a reconciliation was made, through the bishop of Tlascala. Cortés received these overtures in a courteous spirit, but his resolution was unshaken. Having made the necessary arrangements, therefore, in Mexico, he left the Valley, and proceeded at once to the coast. Had he entertained the criminal ambition imputed to him by his enemies, he might have been sorely tempted by the repeated offers of support which were made to him, whether in good or in bad faith, on the journey, if he would but reassume the government and assert his independence of Castile. But these disloyal advances he rejected with the scorn they merited.<sup>14</sup>

On his arrival at Villa Rica he received the painful tidings of the death of his father, Don Martin Cortés, whom he had hoped so soon to embrace after his long and eventful absence. Having celebrated his obsequies with every mark of filial respect, he made preparations for his speedy departure. Two of the best vessels in the port were got ready and provided with everything requisite for a long voyage. He was attended by his friend the faithful Sandoval, by Tápia, and some other cavaliers most attached to his person. He also took with him several Aztec and Tlascalan chiefs, and among them a son of Montezuma, and another of Maxixca, the friendly old Tlascalan lord, both of whom were desirous to accompany the general to Castile. He carried home a large collection of plants and minerals, as specimens of the natural resources of the country; several wild animals, and birds of gaudy plumage; various fabrics of delicate workmanship, especially the gorgeous feather-work; and a number of jugglers,

<sup>14</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 194.—Carta de Ocaña, M.S., Agosto 31, 1528.



dancers, and buffoons, who greatly astonished the Europeans by the marvellous facility of their performances, and were thought a suitable present for his Holiness the Pope.<sup>15</sup> Lastly, Cortés displayed his magnificence in a rich treasure of jewels, among which were emeralds of extraordinary size and lustre, gold to the amount of two hundred thousand *pesos de oro*, and fifteen hundred marks of silver. "In fine," says Herrera, "he came in all the state of a great lord."<sup>16</sup>

After a brief and prosperous voyage, Cortés came in sight once more of his native shores, and, crossing the bar of Saltes, entered the little port of Palos in May, 1528,—the same spot where Columbus had landed five-and-thirty years before, on his return from the discovery of the Western World. Cortés was not greeted with the enthusiasm and public rejoicings which welcomed the great navigator; and, indeed, the inhabitants were not prepared for his arrival. From Palos he soon proceeded to the convent of La Rabida, the same place, also, within the hospitable walls of which Columbus had found a shelter. An interesting circumstance is mentioned by historians, connected with his short stay at Palos. Francisco Pizarro, the Conqueror of Peru, had arrived there, having come to Spain to solicit aid for his great enterprize.<sup>17</sup> He was then in the commencement of his brilliant career, as Cortés might be said to be at the close of his. He was an old acquaintance, and a kinsman, as is affirmed, of the general, whose mother was a Pizarro.<sup>18</sup> The

<sup>15</sup> The Pope, who was of the joyous Medici family, Clement VII., and the cardinals, were greatly delighted with the feats of the Indian jugglers, according to Díaz; and his Holiness, who, it may be added, received at the same time from Cortés a substantial donative of gold and jewels, publicly testified, by prayers and solemn processions, his great sense of the services rendered to Christianity by the Conquerors of Mexico,

and generously requited them by bulls granting plenary absolution from their sins. *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 195.

<sup>16</sup> "Y en fin venia como gran Señor." *Hist. gen.*, dec. 4, lib. 3, cap. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 4, lib. 4, cap. 1.—Cavo, *Los tres Siglos de México*, tom. i. p. 78.

<sup>18</sup> Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres*, p. 121.

meeting of these two extraordinary men, the Conquerors of the North and of the South in the New World, as they set foot, after their eventful absence, on the shores of their native land, and that, too, on the spot consecrated by the presence of Columbus, has something in it striking to the imagination. It has accordingly attracted the attention of one of the most illustrious of living poets, who, in a brief but beautiful sketch, has depicted the scene in the genuine colouring of the age.<sup>19</sup>

While reposing from the fatigues of his voyage, at La Rabida, an event occurred which afflicted Cortés deeply and which threw a dark cloud over his return. This was the death of Gonzalo de Sandoval, his trusty friend, and so long the companion of his fortunes. He was taken ill in a wretched inn at Palos, soon after landing; and his malady gained ground so rapidly that it was evident his constitution, impaired, probably, by the extraordinary fatigues he had of late years undergone, would be unable to resist it. Cortés was instantly sent for, and arrived in time to administer the last consolations of friendship to the dying cavalier. Sandoval met his approaching end with composure, and, having given the attention which the short interval allowed to the settlement of both his temporal and spiritual concerns, he breathed his last in the arms of his commander.

Sandoval died at the premature age of thirty-one.<sup>20</sup> He was in many respects the most eminent of the great captains formed under the eye of Cortés. He was of good family, and a native of Medellin, also the birthplace of the general, for whom he had the warmest personal regard. Cortés soon discerned his uncommon qualities, and proved it by uniformly selecting the young officer for the most difficult commissions. His

<sup>19</sup> See the conclusion of Rogers's Voyage of Columbus.

<sup>20</sup> Bernal Diaz says that Sandoval was twenty-two years old

when he first came to New Spain, in 1519.—Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 205.

conduct on these occasions fully justified the preference. He was a decided favourite with the soldiers; for, though strict in enforcing discipline, he was careful of their comforts and little mindful of his own. He had nothing of the avarice so common in the Castilian cavalier, and seemed to have no other ambition than that of faithfully discharging the duties of his profession. He was a plain man, affecting neither the showy manners nor the bravery in costume which distinguished Alvarado, the Aztec *Tonatiuh*. The expression of his countenance was open and manly; his chestnut hair curled close to his head; his frame was strong and sinewy. He had a lisp in his utterance, which made his voice somewhat indistinct. Indeed, he was no speaker; but, if slow of speech, he was prompt and energetic in action. He had precisely the qualities which fitted him for the perilous enterprise in which he had embarked. He had accomplished his task; and, after having escaped death, which lay waiting for him in every step of his path, had come home, as it would seem, to his native land, only to meet it there.

His obsequies were performed with all solemnity by the Franciscan friars of La Rabida, and his remains were followed to their final resting-place by the comrades who had so often stood by his side in battle. They were laid in the cemetery of the convent, which, shrouded in its forest of pines, stood, and may yet stand, on the bold eminence that overlooks the waste of waters so lately traversed by the adventurous soldier.<sup>21</sup>

It was not long after this melancholy event that Cortés and his suite began their journey into the interior. The general stayed a few days at the castle of the duke of Medina Sidonia, the most powerful of the Andalusian lords, who hospitably entertained him, and, at his departure, presented him with several noble

<sup>21</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 195.

Arabian horses. Cortés first directed his steps towards Guadalupe, where he passed nine days, offering up prayers and causing masses to be performed at Our Lady's shrine for the soul of his departed friend.

Before his departure from La Rabida, he had written to the court, informing it of his arrival in the country. Great was the sensation caused there by the intelligence; the greater, that the late reports of his treasonable practices had made it wholly unexpected. His arrival produced an immediate change of feeling. All cause of jealousy was now removed; and, as the clouds which had so long settled over the royal mind were dispelled, the emperor seemed only anxious to show his sense of the distinguished services of his so dreaded vassal. Orders were sent to different places on the route to provide him with suitable accommodations, and preparations were made to give him a brilliant reception in the capital.

Meanwhile, Cortés had formed the acquaintance at Guadalupe of several persons of distinction, and among them of the family of the *comendador* of Leon, a nobleman of the highest consideration at court. The general's conversation, enriched with the stores of a life of adventure, and his manners, in which the authority of habitual command was tempered by the frank and careless freedom of the soldier, made a most favourable impression on his new friends; and their letters to the court, where he was yet unknown, heightened the interest already felt in this remarkable man. The tidings of his arrival had by this time spread far and wide throughout the country; and, as he resumed his journey, the roads presented a spectacle such as had not been seen since the return of Columbus. Cortés did not usually affect an ostentation of dress, though he loved to display the pomp of a great lord in the number and magnificence of his retainers. His train was now swelled by the Indian chieftains, who by the splendours of their barbaric finery gave additional brilliancy, as well as novelty, to the pageant.

But his own person was the object of general curiosity. The houses and the streets of the great towns and villages were thronged with spectators, eager to look on the hero who with his single arm, as it were, had won an empire for Castile, and who, to borrow the language of an old historian, "came in the pomp and glory, not so much of a great vassal, as of an independent monarch."<sup>22</sup>

As he approached Toledo, then the rival of Madrid, the press of the multitude increased, till he was met by the duke de Bejar, the count de Aguilar, and others of his steady friends, who, at the head of a large body of the principal nobility and cavaliers of the city, came out to receive him, and attended him to the quarters prepared for his residence. It was a proud moment for Cortés; and distrusting, as he well might, his reception by his countrymen, it afforded him a greater satisfaction than the brilliant entrance which, a few years previous, he had made into the capital of Mexico.

The following day he was admitted to an audience by the emperor, and Cortés, gracefully kneeling to kiss the hand of his sovereign, presented to him a memorial which succinctly recounted his services and the requital he had received for them. The emperor graciously raised him, and put many questions to him respecting the countries he had conquered. Charles was pleased with the general's answers, and his intelligent mind took great satisfaction in inspecting the curious specimens of Indian ingenuity which his vassal had brought with him from New Spain. In subsequent conversations the emperor repeatedly consulted Cortés on the best mode of administering the government of the colonies, and by his advice introduced some im-

<sup>22</sup> "Vino de las Indias despues de la conquista de Mexico, con tanto acompañamiento y magestad, que mas parecia de Príncipe, ó señor poderosísimo, que

de Capitan y vasallo de algun Rey ó Emperador." Lanuza, *Historias ecclesiásticas y seculares de Aragon* (Zaragoza, 1622), lib. 3, cap. 14.

portant regulations, especially for ameliorating the condition of the natives and for encouraging domestic industry.

The monarch took frequent opportunity to show the confidence which he now reposed in Cortés. On all public occasions he appeared with him by his side; and once, when the general lay ill of a fever, Charles paid him a visit in person, and remained some time in the apartment of the invalid. This was an extraordinary mark of condescension in the haughty court of Castile; and it is dwelt upon with becoming emphasis by the historians of the time, who seem to regard it as an ample compensation for all the sufferings and services of Cortés.<sup>23</sup>

The latter had now fairly triumphed over opposition. The courtiers, with that ready instinct which belongs to the tribe, imitated the example of their master; and even envy was silent, amidst the general homage that was paid to the man who had so lately been a mark for the most envenomed calumny. Cortés, without a title, without a name but what he had created for himself, was at once, as it were, raised to a level with the proudest nobles in the land.

He was so still more effectually by the substantial honours which were accorded to him by his sovereign in the course of the following year. By an instrument dated July 6th, 1529, the emperor raised him to the dignity of the Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca;<sup>24</sup> and the title of "marquis," when used without the name of the individual, has been always appropriated in the colonies, in an especial manner, to Cortés, as the title of "admiral" was to Columbus.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Gomara, Crónica, cap. 183.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 4, lib. 4, cap. 1.—Bernal Díaz, Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 195.

<sup>24</sup> Título de Marques, MS., Barcelona, 6 de Julio, 1529.

<sup>25</sup> Humboldt, Essai politique, tom. ii. p. 30, note.—According to

Lanuza, he was offered by the emperor the Order of St. Jago, but declined it, because no *encomienda* was attached to it. (Hist. de Aragon, tom. i. lib. 3, cap. 14.) But Caro de Torres, in his History of the Military Orders of Castile, enumerates Cortés among the

FF

Two other instruments, dated in the same month of July, assigned to Cortés a vast tract of land in the rich province of Oaxaca, together with large estates in the city of Mexico, and other places in the Valley.<sup>26</sup> The princely domain thus granted comprehended more than twenty large towns and villages, and twenty-three thousand vassals. The language in which the gift was made greatly enhanced its value. The preamble of the instrument, after enlarging on the "good services rendered by Cortés in the Conquest, and the great benefits resulting therefrom, both in respect to the increase of the Castilian empire and the advancement of the Holy Catholic Faith," acknowledges "the sufferings he had undergone in accomplishing this glorious work, and the fidelity and obedience with which, as a good and trusty vassal, he had ever served the crown."<sup>27</sup> It declares, in conclusion, that it grants this recompense of his deserts because it is "the duty of princes to honour and reward those who serve them well and loyally, in order that the memory of their great deeds should be perpetuated, and others be incited by their example to the performance of the like illustrious exploits." The unequivocal testimony thus borne by his sovereign to his unwavering loyalty was most gratifying to Cortés,—how gratifying, every generous soul who has been the subject of suspicion undeserved will readily estimate. The language of the general in after-time shows how deeply he was touched by it.<sup>28</sup>

members of the Compostellan fraternity. *Hist. de las Órdenes militares* (Madrid, 1629), fol. 103, et seq.

<sup>26</sup> Merced de Tierras inmediatas á Mexico, MS., Barcelona, 23 de Julio, 1529.—Merced de los Vasallos, MS., Barcelona, 6 de Julio, 1529.

<sup>27</sup> "É nos habemos recibido y tenemos de vos por bien servido en ello, y acatando los grandes provechos que de vuestros servicios han redundado, así para el ser-

vicio de Nuestro señor y aumento de su santa fé católica, y en las dichas tierras que estaban sin conocimiento ni fé se han plantado, como el acrecentamiento que dello ha redundado á nuestra corona real destos reynos, y los trabajos que en ello habeis pasado, y la fidelidad y obediencia con que siempre nos habeis servido como bueno é fiel servidor y vasallo nuestro, de que somos ciertos y confiados." Merced de los Vasallos, MS.

<sup>28</sup> "The benignant reception

Yet there was one degree in the scale, above which the royal gratitude would not rise. Neither the solicitations of Cortés, nor those of the duke de Bejar and his other powerful friends, could prevail on the emperor to reinstate him in the government of Mexico. The country, reduced to tranquillity, had no longer need of his commanding genius to control it; and Charles did not care to place again his formidable vassal in a situation which might revive the dormant spark of jealousy and distrust. It was the policy of the crown to employ one class of its subjects to effect its conquests, and another class to rule over them. For the latter it selected men in whom the fire of ambition was tempered by a cooler judgment naturally, or by the sober influence of age. Even Columbus, notwithstanding the terms of his original "capitulation" with the crown, had not been permitted to preside over the colonies; and still less likely would it be to concede this power to one possessed of the aspiring temper of Cortés.

But, although the emperor refused to commit the civil government of the colony into his hands, he reinstated him in his military command. By a royal ordinance, dated also in July, 1529, the marquis of the Valley was named Captain-General of New Spain and of the coasts of the South Sea. He was empowered to make discoveries in the Southern Ocean, with the right to rule over such lands as he should colonize,<sup>29</sup> and by a subsequent grant he was to become proprietor of one-twelfth of all his discoveries.<sup>30</sup> The government had no design to relinquish the services of so

which I experienced, on my return, from your Majesty," says Cortés, "your kind expressions and generous treatment, make me not only forget all my toils and sufferings, but even cause me to regret that I have not been called to endure more in your service." (Carta de Cortés al Lic. Nuñez, MS., 1535.) This memorial, addressed to his

agent in Castile, was designed for the emperor.

<sup>29</sup> Título de Capitan General de la Nueva-España y Costa del Sur, MS., Barcelona, 6 de Julio, 1529.

<sup>30</sup> Asiento y Capitulación que hizo con el Emperador Don H. Cortés, MS., Madrid, 27 de Oct., 1529.



able a commander. But it warily endeavoured to withdraw him from the scene of his former triumphs, and to throw open a new career of ambition, that might stimulate him still further to enlarge the dominions of the crown.

Thus gilded by the sunshine of royal favour, "rivaling," to borrow the homely comparisons of an old chronicler, "Alexander in the fame of his exploits, and Crassus in that of his riches,"<sup>21</sup> with brilliant manners, and a person which, although it showed the effects of hard service, had not yet lost all the attractions of youth, Cortés might now be regarded as offering an enviable alliance for the best houses in Castile. It was not long before he paid his addresses, which were favourably received, to a member of that noble house which had so steadily supported him in the dark hour of his fortunes. The lady's name was Doña Juana de Zuñiga, daughter of the second count de Aguilar, and niece of the duke de Bejar.<sup>22</sup> She was much younger than himself, beautiful, and, as events showed, not without spirit. One of his presents to his youthful bride excited the admiration and envy of the fairest part of the court. This was five emeralds, of wonderful size and brilliancy. These jewels had been cut by the Aztecs into the shapes of flowers, fishes, and into other fanciful forms, with an exquisite style of workmanship which enhanced their original value.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "Que, segun se dezia, excedia en las hazañas á Alexandro Magno, y en las riquezas á Crasso." (Lan- uza, Hist. de Aragon, lib. 3, cap. 14.) The rents of the marquis of the Valley, according to L. Marineo Siculo, who lived at the court at this time, were about 60,000 ducats a year. *Cosas memorables de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1539), fol. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Doña Juana was of the house of Arellano, and of the royal lineage of Navarre. Her father was not a very wealthy noble.

L. Marineo Siculo, *Cosas memorables*, fol. 24, 25.

<sup>23</sup> One of these precious stones was as valuable as Shylock's turquoise. Some Genoese merchants in Seville offered Cortés, according to Gomara, 40,000 ducats for it. The same author gives a more particular account of the jewels, which may interest some readers. It shows the ingenuity of the artist, who, without steel, could so nicely cut so hard a material. One emerald was in the form of a rose; the second, in that of a horn; a

They were, not improbably, part of the treasure of the unfortunate Montezuma, and, being easily portable, may have escaped the general wreck of the *noche triste*. The queen of Charles the Fifth, it is said,—it may be the idle gossip of a court,—had intimated a willingness to become proprietor of some of these magnificent baubles; and the preference which Cortés gave to his fair bride caused some feelings of estrangement in the royal bosom, which had an unfavourable influence on the future fortunes of the Marquis.

Late in the summer of 1529, Charles the Fifth left his Spanish dominions for Italy. Cortés accompanied him on his way, probably to the place of embarkation; and in the capital of Aragon we find him, according to the national historian, exciting the same general interest and admiration among the people as he had done in Castile. On his return, there seemed no occasion for him to protract his stay longer in the country. He was weary of the life of idle luxury which he had been leading for the last year, and which was so foreign to his active habits and the stirring scenes to which he had been accustomed. He determined, therefore, to return to Mexico, where his extensive property required his presence, and where a new field was now opened to him for honourable enterprise.

third, like a fish, with eyes of gold; the fourth was like a little bell, with a fine pearl for the tongue, and on the rim was this inscription, in Spanish: *Blessed is he who created thee*. The fifth, which was the most valuable, was a small cup with a foot of gold,

and with four little chains, of the same metal, attached to a large pearl as a button. The edge of the cup was of gold, on which was engraved this Latin sentence: *Inter natos mulierum non surrexit major*. Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 184.

## CHAPTER V.

Cortés revisits Mexico.—Retires to his Estates.—His Voyages of Discovery.—Final Return to Castile.—Cold Reception.—Death of Cortés.—His Character.

1530—1547.

EARLY in the spring of 1530 Cortés embarked for New Spain. He was accompanied by the marchioness, his wife, together with his aged mother, who had the good fortune to live to see her son's elevation, and by a magnificent retinue of pages and attendants, such as belonged to the household of a powerful noble. How different from the forlorn condition in which, twenty-six years before, he had been cast loose, as a wild adventurer, to seek his bread upon the waters!

The first point of his destination was Hispaniola, where he was to remain until he received tidings of the organization of the new government that was to take charge of Mexico.<sup>1</sup> In the preceding chapter it was stated that the administration of the country had been intrusted to a body called the Royal Audience; one of whose first duties it was to investigate the charges brought against Cortés. Nuñez de Guzman, his avowed enemy, was placed at the head of this board; and the investigation was conducted with all the rancour of personal hostility. A remarkable document still exists, called the *Pesquisa Secreta*, or "Secret Inquiry," which contains a record of the proceedings against Cortés. It was prepared by the secretary of the Audience, and signed by the several members. The document is very long, embracing

<sup>1</sup> Carta de Cortés al Emperador, MS., Tezeuco, 10 de Oct., 1530.

nearly a hundred folio pages. The name and the testimony of every witness are given, and the whole forms a mass of loathsome details, such as might better suit a prosecution in a petty municipal court than that of a great officer of the crown.

The charges are eight in number ; involving, among other crimes, that of a deliberate design to cast off his allegiance to the crown ; that of the murder of two of the commissioners who had been sent out to supersede him ; of the murder of his own wife, Catalina Xuarez ;<sup>2</sup> of extortion, and of licentious practices,—of offences, in short, which, from their private nature, would seem to have little to do with his conduct as a public man. The testimony is vague and often contradictory ; the witnesses are for the most part obscure individuals, and the few persons of consideration among them appear to have been taken from the ranks of his decided enemies. When it is considered that

<sup>2</sup> Doña Catalina's death happened so opportunely for the rising fortunes of Cortés, that this charge of murder by her husband has found more credit with the vulgar than the other accusations brought against him. Cortés, from whatever reason, perhaps from the conviction that the charge was too monstrous to obtain credit, never condescended to vindicate his innocence. But, in addition to the arguments mentioned in the text for discrediting the accusation generally, we should consider that this particular charge attracted so little attention in Castile, where he had abundance of enemies, that he found no difficulty, on his return there, seven years afterwards, in forming an alliance with one of the noblest houses in the kingdom ; that no writer of that day (except Bernal Diaz, who treats it as a base calumny), not even Las Casas, the stern accuser of the Conquerors, intimates a suspicion of his guilt ; and that, lastly, no allusion what-

ever is made to it in the suit instituted, some years after her death, by the relatives of Doña Catalina, for the recovery of property from Cortés, pretended to have been derived through her marriage with him,—a suit conducted with acrimony and protracted for several years. I have not seen the documents connected with this suit, which are still preserved in the archives of the house of Cortés, but the fact has been communicated to me by a distinguished Mexican who has carefully examined them, and I cannot but regard it as of itself conclusive that the family at least of Doña Catalina did not attach credit to the accusation. Yet so much credit has been given to this in Mexico, where the memory of the old Spaniards is not held in especial favour at the present day, that it has formed the subject of an elaborate discussion in the public periodicals of that city.

the inquiry was conducted in the absence of Cortés, before a court the members of which were personally unfriendly to him, and that he was furnished with no specification of the charges, and had no opportunity, consequently, of disproving them, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to attach any importance to this paper as a legal document. When it is added that no action was taken on it by the government to whom it was sent, we may be disposed to regard it simply as a monument of the malice of his enemies. It has been drawn by the curious antiquary from the obscurity to which it had been so long consigned in the Indian archives at Seville; but it can be of no further use to the historian than to show that a great name in the sixteenth century exposed its possessor to calumnies as malignant as it has at any time since.\*

The high-handed measures of the Audience, and the oppressive conduct of Guzman, especially towards the Indians, excited general indignation in the colony and led to serious apprehensions of an insurrection. It became necessary to supersede an administration so reckless and unprincipled. But Cortés was detained two months at the island, by the slow movements of the Castilian court, before tidings reached him of the appointment of a new Audience for the government of the country. The person selected to preside over it was the bishop of St. Domingo, a prelate whose ac-

\* This remarkable paper, forming part of the valuable collection of Don Vargas Ponce, is without date. It was doubtless prepared in 1529, during the visit of Cortés to Castile. The following title is prefixed to it:

"Pesquisa secreta.

"Relacion de los cargos que resultan de la pesquisa secreta contra Don Hernando Cortés, de los quales no se le dió copia ni traslado á la parte del dicho Don Hernando, así por ser los dichos cargos de la calidad que son, como por estar la

persona del dicho Don Hernando ausente como está. Los quales yo Gregorio de Saldaña, escribano de S. M. y escribano de la dicha Residencia, saqué de la dicha pesquisa secreta por mandado de los Señores, Presidente y Oidores de la Audiencia y Chancillería Real que por mandado de S. M. en esta Nueva-España, reside. Los quales dichos Señores, Presidente y Oidores, envían á S. M. para que los mande ver, y vistos mande proveer lo que á su servicio convenga." MS.

knowledge and wisdom and virtue gave favourable augury for the conduct of his administration. After this, Cortés resumed his voyage, and landed at Villa Rica on the 15th of July, 1530.

After remaining for a time in the neighbourhood, where he received some petty annoyances from the Audience, he proceeded to Tlascala, and publicly proclaimed his powers as Captain-General of New Spain and the South Sea. An edict issued by the empress during her husband's absence had interdicted Cortés from approaching within ten leagues of the Mexican capital while the present authorities were there.\* The empress was afraid of a collision between the parties. Cortés, however, took up his residence on the opposite side of the lake, at Tezcuco.

No sooner was his arrival there known in the metropolis than multitudes, both of Spaniards and natives, crossed the lake to pay their respects to their old commander, to offer him their services, and to complain of their manifold grievances. It seemed as if the whole population of the capital was pouring into the neighbouring city, where the Marquis maintained the state of an independent potentate. The members of the Audience, indignant at the mortifying contrast which their own diminished court presented, imposed heavy penalties on such of the natives as should be found in Tezcuco, and, affecting to consider themselves in danger, made preparations for the defence of the city. But these belligerent movements were terminated by the arrival of the new Audience; though Guzman had the address to maintain his hold on a northern province, where he earned a reputation for cruelty and extortion unrivalled even in the annals of the New World.

Everything seemed now to assure a tranquil residence to Cortés. The new magistrates treated him with marked respect, and took his advice on the most

\* MS., Tordelaguna, 22 de Marzo, 1530.

important measures of government. Unhappily, this state of things did not long continue; and a misunderstanding arose between the parties, in respect to the enumeration of the vassals assigned by the crown to Cortés, which the marquis thought was made on principles prejudicial to his interests and repugnant to the intentions of the grant.<sup>5</sup> He was still further displeased by finding that the Audience were intrusted, by their commission, with a concurrent jurisdiction with himself in military affairs.<sup>6</sup> This led occasionally to an interference, which the proud spirit of Cortés, so long accustomed to independent rule, could ill brook. After submitting to it for a time, he left the capital in disgust, no more to return there, and took up his residence in his city of Cuernavaca.

It was the place won by his own sword from the Aztecs previous to the siege of Mexico. It stood on the southern slope of the Cordilleras, and overlooked a wide expanse of country, the fairest and most flourishing portion of his own domain.<sup>7</sup> He had erected a stately palace on the spot, and henceforth made this city his favourite residence.<sup>8</sup> It was well situated for

<sup>5</sup> The principal grievance alleged was that slaves, many of them held temporarily by their masters, according to the old Aztec usage, were comprehended in the census. The complaint forms part of a catalogue of grievances embodied by Cortés in a memorial to the emperor. It is a clear and business-like paper. *Carta de Cortés á Nuñez*, MS.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, MS.

<sup>7</sup> ["Dominando una vista muy extensa sobre el valle hacia el Sur, lo que al Norte y Oriente se termina con la magestuosa cordillera que separa el valle de Cuernavaca del de Méjico." *Alaman, Disertaciones históricas*, tom. ii. p. 35.]

<sup>8</sup> The palace has crumbled into ruins, and the spot is now only remarkable for its natural beauty

and its historic associations. "It was the capital," says Madame de Calderon, "of the Tlahuica nation, and, after the Conquest, Cortés built here a splendid palace, a church, and a convent for Franciscans, believing that he had laid the foundation of a great city. . . . It is, however, a place of little importance, though so favoured by nature; and the Conqueror's palace is a half-ruined barrack, though a most picturesque object, standing on a hill, behind which starts up the great white volcano." *Life in Mexico*, vol. ii. let. 31. [The beautiful church of San Francisco, now the parish church, was constructed by Cortés, and enriched with jewels and sacred vessels by his wife, manifesting, says Alaman, the good taste and the piety of the

superintending his vast estates, and he now devoted himself to bringing them into proper cultivation. He introduced the sugar-cane from Cuba, and it grew luxuriantly in the rich soil of the neighbouring lowlands. He imported large numbers of merino sheep and other cattle, which found abundant pastures in the country around Tehuantepec. His lands were thickly sprinkled with groves of mulberry-trees, which furnished nourishment for the silk-worm. He encouraged the cultivation of hemp and flax, and, by his judicious and enterprising husbandry, showed the capacity of the soil for the culture of valuable products before unknown in the land; and he turned these products to the best account, by the erection of sugar-mills, and other works for the manufacture of the raw material. He thus laid the foundation of an opulence for his family, as substantial, if not as speedy, as that derived from the mines. Yet this latter source of wealth was not neglected by him, and he drew gold from the region of Tehuantepec, and silver from that of Zacatecas. The amount derived from these mines was not so abundant as at a later day. But the expense of working them, on the other hand, was much less in the earlier stages of the operation, when the metal lay so much nearer the surface.<sup>9</sup>

But this tranquil way of life did not long content his restless and adventurous spirit; and it sought a vent by availing itself of his new charter of discovery to explore the mysteries of the great Southern Ocean. In 1527, two years before his return to Spain, he had sent a little squadron to the Moluccas. The expedition was attended with some important consequences;

*marquis and the marchioness*,—as, in consequence of their being the first and at that time the only persons who bore the title in Mexico, they were styled and always subscribed themselves. *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. ii. p. 35.]

<sup>9</sup> These particulars respecting the agricultural economy of Cortés

I have derived in part from a very able argument, prepared, in January, 1828, for the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, by Don Lucas Alaman, in defence of the territorial rights possessed at this day by the Conqueror's descendant, the Duke of Monteleone.



but, as they do not relate to Cortés, an account of it will find a more suitable place in the maritime annals of Spain, where it has been given by the able hand which has done so much for the country in this department.<sup>10</sup>

Cortés was preparing to send another squadron of four vessels in the same direction, when his plans were interrupted by his visit to Spain; and his unfinished little navy, owing to the malice of the Royal Audience, who drew off the hands employed in building it, went to pieces on the stocks. Two other squadrons were now fitted out by Cortés, in the years 1532 and 1533, and sent on a voyage of discovery to the Northwest.<sup>11</sup> They were unfortunate, though in the latter expedition the Californian peninsula was reached and a landing effected on its southern extremity at Santa Cruz, probably the modern port of La Paz. One of the vessels, thrown on the coast of New Galicia, was seized by Guzman, the old enemy of Cortés, who ruled over that territory, the crew were plundered, and the ship was detained as a lawful prize. Cortés, indignant at the outrage, demanded justice from the Royal Audience; and, as that body was too feeble to enforce its own decrees in his favour, he took redress into his own hands.<sup>12</sup>

He made a rapid but difficult march on Chiametla, the scene of Guzman's spoliation; and, as the latter did not care to face his incensed antagonist, Cortés recovered his vessel, though not the cargo. He was then joined by the little squadron which he had fitted out from his own port of Tehuantepec,—a port which in the sixteenth century promised to hold the place since occupied by that of Acapulco.<sup>13</sup> The vessels were

<sup>10</sup> Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viajes y Descubrimientos* (Madrid, 1837), tom. v., *Viajes al Maluco*.

<sup>11</sup> Instruccion que dió el Marques del Valle á Juan de Avelaneda, etc., MS.

<sup>12</sup> Provision sobre los Descubrimientos del Sur, MS., Setiembre, 1534.

<sup>13</sup> The river Huasacualco furnished great facilities for transporting across the isthmus, from

provided with everything requisite for planting a colony in a newly-discovered region, and transported four hundred Spaniards and *three hundred negro slaves*, which Cortés had assembled for that purpose. With this intention he crossed the Gulf, the Adriatic—to which an old writer compares it—of the Western World.

Our limits will not allow us to go into the details of this disastrous expedition, which was attended with no important results either to its projector or to science. It may suffice to say that, in the prosecution of it, Cortés and his followers were driven to the last extremity by famine; that he again crossed the Gulf, was tossed about by terrible tempests, without a pilot to guide him, was thrown upon the rocks, where his shattered vessel nearly went to pieces, and after a succession of dangers and disasters as formidable as any which he had ever encountered on land, succeeded, by means of his indomitable energy, in bringing his crazy bark safe into the same port of Santa Cruz from which he had started.

While these occurrences were passing, the new Royal Audience, after a faithful discharge of its commission, had been superseded by the arrival of a viceroy, the first ever sent to New Spain. Cortés, though invested with similar powers, had the title only of Governor. This was the commencement of the system, afterwards pursued by the crown, of intrusting the colonial administration to some individual whose high rank and personal consideration might make him the fitting representative of majesty. The jealousy of the court did not allow the subject clothed with such ample authority to remain long enough in the same station to form dangerous schemes of ambition, but at the expiration of a few years he was usually recalled, or transferred to some other province of the vast colonial empire.

Vera Cruz, materials to build    *Essai politique*, tom. iv. p. 50.  
vessels on the Pacific. Humboldt,

The person now sent to Mexico was Don Antonio de Mendoza, a man of moderation and practical good sense, and one of that illustrious family who in the preceding reign furnished so many distinguished ornaments to the Church, to the camp, and to letters.

The long absence of Cortés had caused the deepest anxiety in the mind of his wife, the marchioness of the Valley. She wrote to the viceroy immediately on his arrival, beseeching him to ascertain, if possible, the fate of her husband, and, if he could be found, to urge his return. The viceroy, in consequence, despatched two ships in search of Cortés, but whether they reached him before his departure from Santa Cruz is doubtful. It is certain that he returned safe, after his long absence, to Acapulco, and was soon followed by the survivors of his wretched colony.

Undismayed by these repeated reverses, Cortés, still bent on some discovery worthy of his reputation, fitted out three more vessels, and placed them under the command of an officer named Ulloa. This expedition, which took its departure in July, 1539, was attended with more important results. Ulloa penetrated to the head of the Gulf, then returning and winding round the coast of the peninsula, doubled its southern point, and ascended as high as the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth degree of north latitude on its western borders. After this, sending home one of the squadron, the bold navigator held on his course to the north, but was never more heard of.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Instruccion del Marques del Valle, MS.—The most particular and authentic account of Ulloa's cruise will be found in Ramusio. (Tom. iii. pp. 340-354.) It is by one of the officers of the squadron.

My limits will not allow me to give the details of the voyages made by Cortés, which, although not without interest, were attended with no permanent consequences.\* A good summary of his expeditions

\* [The restless and determined spirit with which Cortés pursued his mainly ineffectual projects of discovery is exemplified by a letter to the Council of the Indies, September 20, 1538, begging that body to assist his agents in procuring pilots for him. He has at present, he says, nine vessels, very good and well equipped, and is only waiting for pilots,

Thus ended the maritime enterprises of Cortés, sufficiently disastrous in a pecuniary view, since they cost him three hundred thousand *castellanos* of gold, without the return of a ducat.<sup>15</sup> He was even obliged to borrow money, and to pawn his wife's jewels, to procure funds for the last enterprise;<sup>16</sup> thus incurring a debt which, increased by the great charges of his princely establishment, hung about him during the remainder of his life. But, though disastrous in an economical view, his generous efforts added important contributions to science. In the course of these expeditions, and those undertaken by Cortés previous to his visit to Spain, the Pacific had been coasted from the Bay of Panamá to the Rio Colorado. The great peninsula of California had been circumnavigated as far as to the isle of Cedros, or Cerros, into which the name has since been corrupted. This vast tract, which had been supposed to be an archipelago of islands, was now discovered to be a part of the continent; and its general outline, as appears from the maps of the time, was nearly as well understood as at the present day.<sup>17</sup> Lastly, the navigator had explored the recesses of the Californian Gulf, or *Sea of Cortés*, as, in honour of the great discoverer, it is with more propriety named by the Spaniards; and he had ascertained that, instead of the outlet before supposed to exist towards the north,

in the Gulf has been given by Navarrete in the introduction to his *Relacion del Viage hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana* (Madrid, 1802), pp. vi.-xxvi.; and the English reader will find a brief account of them in Greenhow's valuable *Memoir on the North-west Coast of North America* (Washington,

1840), pp. 22-27.

<sup>15</sup> Memorial al Rey del Marqués del Valle, MS., 25 de Junio, 1540.

<sup>16</sup> Provision sobre los Descubrimientos del Sur, MS.

<sup>17</sup> See the map prepared by the pilot Domingo del Castillo, in 1541, ap. Lorenzana, p. 328.

---

having tried in vain to obtain some from Panamá and Leon. Though he has not yet secured the fruits he had expected from his expeditions, he trusts in God that they will be henceforth attended with better fortune. Col. de Doc. inéd. relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, tom. iii -Ed.]

this unknown ocean was locked up within the arms of the mighty continent. These were results that might have made the glory and satisfied the ambition of a common man; but they are lost in the brilliant renown of the former achievements of Cortés.

Notwithstanding the embarrassments of the marquis of the Valley, he still made new efforts to enlarge the limits of discovery, and prepared to fit out another squadron of five vessels, which he proposed to place under the command of a natural son, Don Luis. But the viceroy Mendoza, whose imagination had been inflamed by the reports of an itinerant monk respecting an *El Dorado* in the north, claimed the right of discovery in that direction. Cortés protested against this, as an unwarrantable interference with his own powers. Other subjects of collision arose between them; till the marquis, disgusted with this perpetual check on his authority and his enterprises, applied for redress to Castile.<sup>18</sup> He finally determined to go there to support his claims in person, and to obtain, if possible, remuneration for the heavy charges he had incurred by his maritime expeditions, as well as for the spoliation of his property by the Royal Audience during his absence from the country; and, lastly, to procure an assignment of his vassals on principles more conformable to the original intentions of the grant. With these objects in view, he bade adieu to his family, and, taking with him his eldest son and heir, Don Martin, then only eight years of age, he embarked at Mexico in 1540, and, after a favourable voyage, again set foot on the shores of his native land.

The emperor was absent from the country. But Cortés was honourably received in the capital, where ample accommodations were provided for him and his retinue. When he attended the Royal Council of the

<sup>18</sup> In the collection of Vargas Ponce is a petition of Cortés, setting forth his grievances, and demanding an investigation of the

viceroy's conduct. It is without date. *Peticion contra Don Antonio de Mendoza Virrey, pidiendo residencia contra él*, MS.

Indies to urge his suit, he was distinguished by uncommon marks of respect. The president went to the door of the hall to receive him, and a seat was provided for him among the members of the Council.<sup>19</sup> But all evaporated in this barren show of courtesy. Justice, proverbially slow in Spain, did not mend her gait for Cortés; and at the expiration of a year he found himself no nearer the attainment of his object than on the first week after his arrival in the capital.

In the following year, 1541, we find the marquis of the Valley embarked as a volunteer in the memorable expedition against Algiers. Charles the Fifth, on his return to his dominions, laid siege to that stronghold of the Mediterranean corsairs. Cortés accompanied the forces destined to meet the emperor, and embarked on board the vessel of the Admiral of Castile. But a furious tempest scattered the navy, and the admiral's ship was driven a wreck upon the coast. Cortés and his son escaped by swimming, but the former, in the confusion of the scene, lost the inestimable set of jewels noticed in the preceding chapter; "a loss," says an old writer, "that made the expedition fall more heavily on the marquis of the Valley than on any other man in the kingdom, except the emperor."<sup>20</sup>

It is not necessary to recount the particulars of this disastrous siege, in which Moslem valour, aided by the elements, set at defiance the combined forces of the Christians. A council of war was called, and it was decided to abandon the enterprise and return to Castile. This determination was indignantly received by Cortés, who offered, with the support of the army, to reduce the place himself; and he only expressed the regret that he had not a handful of those gallant veterans by his side who had served him in the Conquest of Mexico. But his offers were derided, as those of a romantic enthusiast. He had not been invited to

<sup>19</sup> Bernal Diaz, *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 200.

VOL. II.

<sup>20</sup> Gomara *Crónicas*, cap. 237.

take part in the discussions of the council of war. It was a marked indignity; but the courtiers, weary of the service, were too much bent on an immediate return to Spain, to hazard the opposition of a man who, when he had once planted his foot, was never known to raise it again till he had accomplished his object.<sup>21</sup>

On arriving in Castile, Cortés lost no time in laying his suit before the emperor. His applications were received by the monarch with civility,—a cold civility, which carried no conviction of its sincerity. His position was materially changed since his former visit to the country. More than ten years had elapsed, and he was now too well advanced in years to give promise of serviceable enterprise in future. Indeed, his undertakings of late had been singularly unfortunate. Even his former successes suffered the disparagement natural to a man of declining fortunes. They were already eclipsed by the magnificent achievements in Peru, which had poured a golden tide into the country, that formed a striking contrast to the streams of wealth that as yet had flowed in but scantily from the silver mines of Mexico. Cortés had to learn that the gratitude of a court has reference to the future much more than to the past. He stood in the position of an importunate suitor whose claims, however just, are too large to be readily allowed. He found, like Columbus, that it was possible to deserve too greatly.<sup>22</sup>

In the month of February, 1544, he addressed a letter to the emperor,—it was the last he ever wrote him,—soliciting his attention to his suit. He begins by proudly alluding to his past services to the crown.

<sup>21</sup> Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, lib. 12, cap. 25.—Ferrens (trad. d'Hernilly), *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ix. p. 231.

<sup>22</sup> Voltaire tells us that, one day, Cortés, unable to obtain an audience of the emperor, pushed through the press surrounding the royal carriage, and mounted the steps; and, when Charles inquired "who

that man was," he replied, "One who has given you more kingdoms than you had towns before." (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. 147.) For this most improbable anecdote I have found no authority whatever. It served, however, very well to point a moral,—the main thing with the philosopher of Ferney.

"He had hoped that the toils of youth would have secured him repose in his old age. For forty years he had passed his life with little sleep, bad food, and with his arms constantly by his side. He had freely exposed his person to peril, and spent his substance in exploring distant and unknown regions, that he might spread abroad the name of his sovereign and bring under his sceptre many great and powerful nations. All this he had done, not only without assistance from home, but in the face of obstacles thrown in his way by rivals and by enemies who thirsted like leeches for his blood. He was now old, infirm, and embarrassed with debt. Better had it been for him not to have known the liberal intentions of the emperor, as intimated by his grants; since he should then have devoted himself to the care of his estates, and not have been compelled, as he now was, to contend with the officers of the crown, against whom it was more difficult to defend himself than to win the land from the enemy." He concludes with beseeching his sovereign to "order the Council of the Indies, with the other tribunals which had cognizance of his suits, to come to a decision; since he was too old to wander about like a vagrant, but ought rather, during the brief remainder of his life, to stay at home and settle his account with Heaven, occupied with the concerns of his soul, rather than with his substance."<sup>23</sup>

This appeal to his sovereign, which has something in it touching from a man of the haughty spirit of Cortés, had not the effect to quicken the determination of his suit. He still lingered at the court from week to week, and from month to month, beguiled by the deceitful hopes of the litigant, tasting all that bitterness of the soul which arises from hope deferred. After three years more, passed in this unprofitable and humiliating occupation, he resolved to leave his ungrateful country and return to Mexico.

<sup>23</sup> The Letter, dated February 3, 1544, Valladolid, may be found entire, in the original, in Appendix, Part 2, No. 15.



He had proceeded as far as Seville, accompanied by his son, when he fell ill of an indigestion, caused, probably, by irritation and trouble of mind. This terminated in dysentery, and his strength sank so rapidly under the disease that it was apparent his mortal career was drawing towards its close. He prepared for it by making the necessary arrangements for the settlement of his affairs. He had made his will some time before ; and he now executed it. It is a very long document, and in some respects a remarkable one.

The bulk of his property was entailed to his son, Don Martin, then fifteen years of age. In the testament he fixes his majority at twenty-five ; but at twenty his guardians were to allow him his full income, to maintain the state becoming his rank. In a paper accompanying the will, Cortés specified the names of the agents to whom he had committed the management of his vast estates scattered over many different provinces ; and he requests his executors to confirm the nomination, as these agents have been selected by him from a knowledge of their peculiar qualifications. Nothing can better show the thorough supervision which, in the midst of pressing public concerns, he had given to the details of his widely-extended property.

He makes a liberal provision for his other children, and a generous allowance to several old domestics and retainers in his household. By another clause he gives away considerable sums in charity, and he applies the revenues of his estates in the city of Mexico to establish and permanently endow three public institutions,—a hospital in the capital, which was to be dedicated to Our Lady of the Conception, a college in Cojohuacan for the education of missionaries to preach the gospel among the natives, and a convent, in the same place, for nuns. To the chapel of this convent, situated in his favourite town, he orders that his own body shall be transported for burial, in whatever quarter of the world he may happen to die.

After declaring that he has taken all possible care to

ascertain the amount of the tributes formerly paid by his Indian vassals to their native sovereigns, he enjoins on his heir that, in case those which they have hitherto paid shall be found to exceed the right valuation, he shall restore them a full equivalent. In another clause he expresses a doubt whether it is right to exact personal service from the natives, and commands that a strict inquiry shall be made into the nature and value of such services as he had received, and that in all cases a fair compensation shall be allowed for them. Lastly, he makes this remarkable declaration: "It has long been a question whether one can conscientiously hold property in Indian slaves. Since this point has not yet been determined, I enjoin it on my son Martin and his heirs that they spare no pains to come to an exact knowledge of the truth; as a matter which deeply concerns the conscience of each of them, no less than mine."<sup>24</sup>

Such scruples of conscience, not to have been expected in Cortés, were still less likely to be met with in the Spaniards of a later generation. The state of opinion in respect to the great question of slavery, in the sixteenth century, at the commencement of the system, bears some resemblance to that which exists in our time, when we may hope it is approaching its conclusion. Las Casas and the Dominicans of the former age, the abolitionists of their day, thundered out their uncompromising invectives against the system on the broad ground of natural equity and the rights of man. The great mass of proprietors troubled their heads

<sup>24</sup> "Item. Porque acerca de los esclavos naturales de la dicha Nueva-España, así de guerra como de rescate, ha habido y hay muchas dudas y opiniones sobre si se han podido tener con buena conciencia ó no, y hasta ahora no está determinado: Mando que todo aquello que generalmente se averiguare, que en este caso se debe hacer para descargo de las conciencias

en lo que toca á estos esclavos de la dicha Nueva-España, que se haya y cumpla en todos los que yo tengo, é encargo y mando á D. Martin mi hijo subcesor, y á los que despues del subcedieren en mi Estado, que para averiguar esto hagan todas las diligencias que combengan al descargo de mi conciencia y suyas." Testamento de Hernan Cortés, MS.

little about the question of right, but were satisfied with the expediency of the institution. Others, more considerate and conscientious, while they admitted the evil, found an argument for its toleration in the plea of necessity, regarding the constitution of the white man as unequal, in a sultry climate, to the labour of cultivating the soil.<sup>25</sup> In one important respect the condition of slavery in the sixteenth century differed materially from its condition in the nineteenth. In the former, the seeds of the evil, but lately sown, might have been, with comparatively little difficulty, eradicated. But in our time they have struck their roots deep into the social system, and cannot be rudely handled without shaking the very foundations of the political fabric. It is easy to conceive that a man who admits all the wretchedness of the institution and its wrong to humanity may nevertheless hesitate to adopt a remedy until he is satisfied that the remedy itself is not worse than the disease. That such a remedy will come with time, who can doubt, that has confidence in the ultimate prevalence of the right and the progressive civilization of his species?

Cortés names as his executors, and as guardians of his children, the duke of Medina Sidonia, the marquis of Astorga, and the count of Aguilar. For his executors in Mexico, he appoints his wife, the marchioness, the archbishop of Toledo, and two other prelates. The will was executed at Seville, October 11th 1547.<sup>26</sup>

Finding himself much incommoded, as he grew weaker, by the presence of visitors, to which he was necessarily exposed at Seville, he withdrew to the neighbouring village of Castilleja de la Cuesta, attended by his son, who watched over his dying parent with

<sup>25</sup> This is the argument controverted by Las Casas in his elaborate Memorial addressed to the government, in 1542, on the best method of arresting the destruction of the aborigines.

<sup>26</sup> This interesting document is in the Royal Archives of Seville; and a copy of it forms part of the valuable collection of Don Vargas Ponce.

filial solicitude.<sup>27</sup> Cortés seems to have contemplated his approaching end with a composure not always to be found in those who have faced death with indifference on the field of battle. At length, having devoutly confessed his sins and received the sacrament, he expired on the 2nd of December, 1547, in the sixty-third year of his age.<sup>28</sup>

The inhabitants of the neighbouring country were desirous to show every mark of respect to the memory of Cortés. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with due solemnity by a long train of Andalusian nobles and of the citizens of Seville, and his body was transported to the chapel of the monastery of San Isidro, in that city, where it was laid in the family vault of the duke of Medina Sidonia.<sup>29</sup> In the year 1562 it was removed, by order of his son, Don Martin, to New Spain, not, as directed by his will, to Cojohuacan,\* but to the monastery of St. Francis, in Tezcuco, where it was laid by the side of a daughter, and of his mother, Doña Catalina Pizarro. In 1629 the remains of Cortés were again removed; and on the death of Don Pedro, fourth marquis of the Valley, it was de-

<sup>27</sup> [My friend Mr. Picard has furnished me with the copy of an inscription which may be seen, or could a few years since, on the house in which Cortés expired. "Here died, on the second of September, 1544, victim of sorrow and misfortune, the renowned Hernan Cortés, the glory of our country and the conqueror of the Mexican empire." It is strange that the author of the inscription should have made a blunder of more than three years in the date of the hero's death.]

<sup>28</sup> Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 504.—Gomara, *Crónica*, cap. 237.

—In his last letter to the emperor, dated in February, 1544, he speaks of himself as being "sixty years of age." But he probably did not mean to be exact to a year. Gomara's statement, that he was born in the year 1485 (*Crónica*, cap. 1), is confirmed by Diaz, who tells us that Cortés used to say that when he first came over to Mexico, in 1519, he was thirty-four years old. (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 205.) This would coincide with the age mentioned in the text.

<sup>29</sup> *Noticia del Archivero de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla*, MS.

\* [This may be accounted for by the fact that his intention to found a convent at Cuyoacan, as the place is now called, had, according to Alaman, never been carried out.—ED.]

cided by the authorities of Mexico to transfer them to the church of St. Francis, in that capital. The ceremonial was conducted with the pomp suited to the occasion. A military and religious procession was formed, with the archbishop of Mexico at its head. He was accompanied by the great dignitaries of Church and State, the various associations with their respective banners, the several religious fraternities, and the members of the Audience. The coffin, containing the relics of Cortés, was covered with black velvet, and supported by the judges of the royal tribunals. On either side of it was a man in complete armour, bearing, on the right, a standard of pure white, with the arms of Castile embroidered in gold, and, on the left, a banner of black velvet, emblazoned in like manner with the armorial ensigns of the house of Cortés. Behind the corpse came the viceroy and a numerous escort of Spanish Cavaliers, and the rear was closed by a battalion of infantry, armed with pikes and arquebuses, and with their banners trailing on the ground. With this funeral pomp, by the sound of mournful music, and the slow beat of the muffled drum, the procession moved forward, with measured pace, till it reached the capital, when the gates were thrown open to receive the mortal remains of the hero who, a century before, had performed there such prodigies of valour.

Yet his bones were not permitted to rest here undisturbed; and in 1794 they were removed to the Hospital of Jesus of Nazareth. It was a more fitting place, since it was the same institution which, under the name of "Our Lady of the Conception," had been founded and endowed by Cortés, and which, with a fate not too frequent in similar charities, has been administered to this day on the noble principles of its foundation. The mouldering relics of the warrior, now deposited in a crystal coffin secured by bars and plates of silver, were laid in the chapel, and over them was raised a simple monument, displaying the arms of the family, and surmounted by a bust of the Conqueror, executed

in bronze by Tolsa, a sculptor worthy of the best period of the art.<sup>30</sup>

Unfortunately for Mexico, the tale does not stop here. In 1823, the patriot mob of the capital, in their zeal to commemorate the era of the national independence, and their detestation of the "old Spaniards," prepared to break open the tomb which held the ashes of Cortés, and to scatter them to the winds! The authorities declined to interfere on the occasion; but the friends of the family, as is commonly reported, entered the vault by night, and, secretly removing the relics, prevented the commission of a sacrilege which must have left a stain, not easy to be effaced, on the scutcheon of the fair city of Mexico.<sup>31</sup> Humboldt, forty years ago, remarked that "we may traverse Spanish America from Buenos Ayres to Monterey, and in no quarter shall we meet with a national monument which the public gratitude has raised to Christopher Columbus or Hernando Cortés."<sup>32</sup> It was reserved for our own age to conceive the design of violating the repose of the dead and insulting their remains! Yet the men who meditated this outrage were not the descendants of Montezuma, avenging the wrongs of their fathers and vindicating their own rightful inheritance. They were the descendants of the old Conquerors, and their countrymen, depending on the right of conquest for their ultimate title to the soil.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The full particulars of the ceremony described in the text may be found in Appendix, Part 2, No. 16, translated into English from a copy of the original document, existing in the Archives of the Hospital of Jesus, in Mexico.

<sup>31</sup> [The bust of Cortés and the arms of gilt bronze were secretly removed from his monument, and sent to his descendant, the duke of Monteleone, at Palermo. The remains of the conqueror were soon after sent in the same direction, according to Doctor Mora, cited by

Alaman, who does not contradict it: "Aun se habrian profanado las cenizas del héroe, sin la precaucion de personas desocupadas, que deseando evitar el deshonor de su patria por tan reprehensible é irreflexivo procedimiento, lograron ocultarlas de pronto y despues las remitieron á Italia á su familia." *Disertaciones históricas*, tom. ii. p. 61.]

<sup>32</sup> *Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 60.

<sup>33</sup> [They entertained, says Alaman, the rather extravagant idea that, as descendants of the con-

Cortés had no children by his first marriage. By his second he left four; a son, Don Martin,—the heir of his honours, and of persecutions even more severe than those of his father,<sup>34</sup>—and three daughters, who formed splendid alliances. He left, also, five natural children, whom he particularly mentions in his testament and honourably provides for. Two of these, Don Martin, the son of Marina, and Don Luis Cortés, attained considerable distinction, and were created *comendadores* of the Order of St. Jago.<sup>35</sup>

The male line of the marquises of the Valley became extinct in the third generation. The title and estates descended to a female, and by her marriage were united with those of the house of Terranova, descendants of the "Great Captain," Gonsalvo de Cordova.<sup>36</sup> By a subsequent marriage they were carried into the family of the duke of Monteleone, a Neapolitan noble. The present proprietor of these princely honours and of vast domains, both in the Old

quering nation, they were the heirs of the rights of the conquered, and bound to avenge their wrongs. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 309.]

<sup>34</sup> Don Martin Cortés, second marquis of the Valley, was accused, like his father, of an attempt to establish an independent sovereignty in New Spain. His natural brothers, Don Martin and Don Luis, were involved in the same accusation with himself, and the former—as I have elsewhere remarked—was in consequence subjected to the torture. Several others of his friends, on charge of abetting his treasonable designs, suffered death. The marquis was obliged to remove with his family to Spain, where the investigation was conducted; and his large estates in Mexico were sequestered until the termination of the process, a period of seven years, from 1567 to 1574, when he was declared innocent. But his property suffered irre-

parable injury, under the wretched administration of the royal officers, during the term of sequestration.

<sup>35</sup> [The illegitimate children were Don Martin Cortés, Don Luis Cortés, Doña Catalina Pizarro (daughter of Doña Leonor Pizarro), also two other daughters, Leonor and María, born of two Indian women of noble birth. *Alaman, Disertaciones históricas*, tom. ii. p. 48.]

<sup>36</sup> [Señor Alaman, in reference to this passage, says, "It is a mistake to suppose that the heirs of Cortés and Gonsalvo de Cordova were ever united by marriage. The fact appears to be that the title of duke of Terranova was held by the descendants of both; but the Terranova assigned to the Great Captain was in Calabria, while the place from which the descendants of Cortés took the title was in Sicily. *Conquista de Méjico* (trad. de Vega), tom. ii. p. 308.]

and the New World, dwells in Sicily, and boasts a descent—such as few princes can boast—from two of the most illustrious commanders of the sixteenth century, the “Great Captain,” and the Conqueror of Mexico.

The personal history of Cortés has been so minutely detailed in the preceding narrative that it will be only necessary to touch on the more prominent features of his character. Indeed, the history of the Conquest, as I have already had occasion to remark, is necessarily that of Cortés, who is, if I may so say, not merely the soul, but the body, of the enterprise, present everywhere in person, in the thick of the fight or in the building of the works, with his sword or with his musket, sometimes leading his soldiers, and sometimes directing his little navy. The negotiations, intrigues, correspondence, are all conducted by him; and, like Cæsar, he wrote his own Commentaries in the heat of the stirring scenes which form the subject of them. His character is marked with the most opposite traits, embracing qualities apparently the most incompatible. He was avaricious, yet liberal; bold to desperation, yet cautious and calculating in his plans; magnanimous, yet very cunning; courteous and affable in his deportment, yet inexorably stern; lax in his notions of morality, yet (not uncommon) a sad bigot. The great feature in his character was constancy of purpose; a constancy not to be daunted by danger, nor baffled by disappointment, nor wearied out by impediments and delays.

He was a knight-errant, in the literal sense of the word. Of all the band of adventurous cavaliers whom Spain, in the sixteenth century, sent forth on the career of discovery and conquest, there was none more deeply filled with the spirit of romantic enterprise than Hernando Cortés. Dangers and difficulties, instead of deterring, seemed to have a charm in his eyes. They were necessary to rouse him to a full conscious-



ness of his powers. He grappled with them at the outset, and, if I may so express myself, seemed to prefer to take his enterprises by the most difficult side. He conceived, at the first moment of his landing in Mexico, the design of its conquest. When he saw the strength of its civilization, he was not turned from his purpose. When he was assailed by the superior force of Narvaez, he still persisted in it; and when he was driven in ruin from the capital, he still cherished his original idea. How successfully he carried it into execution, we have seen. After the few years of repose which succeeded the Conquest, his adventurous spirit impelled him to that dreary march across the marshes of Chiapa, and, after another interval, to seek his fortunes on the stormy Californian Gulf. When he found that no other continent remained for him to conquer, he made serious proposals to the emperor to equip a fleet at his own expense, with which he would sail to the Moluccas and subdue the Spice Islands for the crown of Castile!<sup>57</sup>

This spirit of knight-errantry might lead us to undervalue his talents as a general and to regard him merely in the light of a lucky adventurer. But this would be doing him injustice; for Cortés was certainly a great general, if that man be one who performs great achievements with the resources which his own genius has created. There is probably no instance in history where so vast an enterprise has been achieved by means apparently so inadequate. He may be truly said to have effected the Conquest by his own resources. If he was indebted for his success to the co-operation of the Indian tribes, it was the force of his genius

“Yo me ofresco á descubrir por aquí toda la especería, y otras Islas si huviere cerca de Moluco, ó Meluca, y la China, y aun de dar tal orden que V. M. no aiga la especería por via de rescate, como la ha el Rey de Portugal, sino que la tenga por cosa propia, y los

naturales de aquellas Islas le reconozcan y sirvan como á su Rey y señor natural, porque yo me ofresco con el dicho additamento de embiar á ellas tal armada, ó ir yo con mi persona por manera que la sojuzge y puebla.” Carta Quinta de Cortés, MS.

that obtained command of such materials. He arrested the arm that was lifted to smite him, and made it do battle in his behalf. He beat the Tlascalans, and made them his staunch allies. He beat the soldiers of Narvaez, and doubled his effective force by it. When his own men deserted him, he did not desert himself. He drew them back by degrees, and compelled them to act by his will, till they were all as one man. He brought together the most miscellaneous collection of mercenaries who ever fought under one standard: adventurers from Cuba and the Isles, craving for gold; hidalgos, who came from the old country to win laurels; broken-down cavaliers, who hoped to mend their fortunes in the New World; vagabonds flying from justice; the grasping followers of Narvaez, and his own reckless veterans,—men with hardly a common tie, and burning with the spirit of jealousy and faction; wild tribes of the natives from all parts of the country, who had been sworn enemies from their cradles, and who had met only to cut one another's throats and to procure victims for sacrifice; men, in short, differing in race, in language, and in interests, with scarcely anything in common among them. Yet this motley congregation was assembled in one camp, compelled to bend to the will of one man, to consort together in harmony, to breathe, as it were, one spirit, and to move on a common principle of action! It is in this wonderful power over the discordant masses thus gathered under his banner that we recognize the genius of the great commander, no less than in the skill of his military operations.

His power over the minds of his soldiers was a natural result of their confidence in his abilities. But it is also to be attributed to his popular manners,—that happy union of authority and companionship which fitted him for the command of a band of roving adventurers. It would not have done for him to fence himself round with the stately reserve of a commander of regular forces. He was embarked with his

men in a common adventure, and nearly on terms of equality, since he held his commission by no legal warrant. But, while he indulged this freedom and familiarity with his soldiers, he never allowed it to interfere with their strict obedience nor to impair the severity of discipline. When he had risen to higher consideration, although he affected more state, he still admitted his veterans to the same intimacy. "He preferred," says Diaz, "to be called 'Cortés' by us, to being called by any title; and with good reason," continues the enthusiastic old cavalier, "for the name of Cortés is as famous in our day as was that of Cæsar among the Romans, or of Hannibal among the Carthaginians."<sup>38</sup> He showed the same kind regard towards his ancient comrades in the very last act of his life. For he appropriated a sum by his will for the celebration of two thousand masses for the souls of those who had fought with him in the campaigns of Mexico.<sup>39</sup>

His character has been unconsciously traced by the hand of a master:

"And oft the chieftain deigned to aid  
And mingle in the mirth they made;  
For, though with men of high degrees  
The proudest of the proud was he,

<sup>38</sup> The comparison to Hannibal is better founded than the old soldier probably imagined. Livy's description of the Carthaginian warrior has a marvellous application to Cortés,—better, perhaps, than that of the imaginary personage quoted a few lines below in the text. "Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat: nullo labore aut corpus fatigari, aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par: cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus: vigiliarum somnique nec die, nec nocte discriminata tempora. Id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti da-

tum; ea neque molli strato, neque silentio arcessita. Multi sæpe militari sagulo opertum, humi jacentem, inter custodias stationesque militum, conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciabantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in prælium ibat; ultimus conserto prælio excedebat." (Hist. lib. xxi. sec. 5.) The reader who reflects on the fate of Guatemozin may possibly think that the extract should have embraced the "perfidia plus quàm Punica," in the succeeding sentence.

<sup>39</sup> Testamento de Hernan Cortés, MS.

Yet, trained in camps, he knew the art  
To win the soldiers' hardy heart.  
They love a captain to obey,  
Boisterous as March, yet fresh as May:  
With open hand, and brow as free,  
Lover of wine and minstrelsy;  
Ever the first to scale a tower,  
As venturous in a lady's bower;—  
Such luxury chief shall lead his host  
From India's fires to Zembla's frost."

Cortés, without much violence, might have sat for this portrait of Marmion.

Cortés was not a vulgar conqueror. He did not conquer from the mere ambition of conquest. If he destroyed the ancient capital of the Aztecs, it was to build up a more magnificent capital on its ruins. If he desolated the land and broke up its existing institutions, he employed the short period of his administration in digesting schemes for introducing there a more improved culture and a higher civilization. In all his expeditions he was careful to study the resources of the country, its social organization, and its physical capacities. He enjoined it on his captains to attend particularly to these objects. If he was greedy of gold, like most of the Spanish cavaliers in the New World, it was not to hoard it, nor merely to lavish it in the support of a princely establishment, but to secure funds for prosecuting his glorious discoveries. Witness his costly expeditions to the Gulf of California. His enterprises were not undertaken solely for mercenary objects; as is shown by the various expeditions he set on foot for the discovery of a communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific. In his schemes of ambition he showed a respect for the interests of science, to be referred partly to the natural superiority of his mind, but partly, no doubt, to the influence of early education. It is, indeed, hardly possible that a person of his wayward and mercurial temper should have improved his advantages at the University; but he brought away from it a tincture of scholarship seldom found among the cavaliers of the period, and which

had its influence in enlarging his own conceptions. His celebrated Letters are written with a simple elegance that, as I have already had occasion to remark, have caused them to be compared to the military narrative of Cæsar. It will not be easy to find in the chronicles of the period a more concise yet comprehensive statement, not only of the events of his campaigns, but of the circumstances most worthy of notice in the character of the conquered countries.

Cortés was not cruel ; at least, not cruel as compared with most of those who followed his iron trade. The path of the conqueror is necessarily marked with blood. He was not too scrupulous, indeed, in the execution of his plans. He swept away the obstacles which lay in his track ; and his fame is darkened by the commission of more than one act which his boldest apologists will find it hard to vindicate. But he was not wantonly cruel. He allowed no outrage on his unresisting foes. This may seem small praise ; but it is an exception to the usual conduct of his countrymen in their conquests, and it is something to be in advance of one's time. He was severe, it may be added, in enforcing obedience to his orders for protecting their persons and their property. With his licentious crew, it was, sometimes, not without a hazard that he was so. After the Conquest, he sanctioned the system of *repartimientos* ; but so did Columbus. He endeavoured to regulate it by the most humane laws, and continued to suggest many important changes for ameliorating the condition of the natives. The best commentary on his conduct in this respect is the deference that was shown him by the Indians, and the confidence with which they appealed to him for protection in all their subsequent distresses.

In private life he seems to have had the power of attaching to himself warmly those who were near his person. The influence of this attachment is shown in every page of Bernal Diaz, though his work was written to vindicate the claims of the soldiers in opposition

to those of the general. He seems to have led a happy life with his first wife, in their humble retirement in Cuba, and regarded the second, to judge from the expressions in his testament, with confidence and love. Yet he cannot be acquitted from the charge of those licentious gallantries which entered too generally into the character of the military adventurer of that day. He would seem also, by the frequent suits in which he was involved, to have been of an irritable and contentious spirit. But much allowance must be made for the irritability of a man who had been too long accustomed to independent sway, patiently to endure the checks and control of the petty spirits who were incapable of comprehending the noble character of his enterprises. "He thought," says an eminent writer, "to silence his enemies by the brilliancy of the new career on which he had entered. He did not reflect that these enemies had been raised by the very grandeur and rapidity of his success."<sup>40</sup> He was rewarded for his efforts by the misinterpretation of his motives; by the calumnious charges of squandering the public revenues and of aspiring to independent sovereignty. But, although we may admit the foundation of many of the grievances alleged by Cortés, yet, when we consider the querulous tone of his correspondence and the frequency of his litigation, we may feel a natural suspicion that his proud spirit was too sensitive to petty slights and too jealous of imaginary wrongs.

One trait more remains to be noticed in the character of this remarkable man; that is, his bigotry, the failing of the age,—for surely it should be termed only a failing.<sup>41</sup> When we see the hand, red with the blood

<sup>40</sup> Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. ii. p. 267.

<sup>41</sup> An extraordinary anecdote is related by Cavo of this bigotry (shall we call it policy?) of Cortés. "In Mexico," says the historian, "it is commonly reported that after the conquest he commanded that

on Sundays and holidays all should attend, under pain of a certain number of stripes, to the expounding of the Scriptures. The general was himself guilty of an omission on one occasion, and, after having listened to the admonition of the priest, submitted, with edifying

of the wretched native, raised to invoke the blessing of Heaven on the cause which it maintains, we experience something like a sensation of disgust at the act, and a doubt of its sincerity. But this is unjust. We should throw ourselves back (it cannot be too often repeated) into the age,—the age of the Crusades. For every Spanish cavalier, however sordid and selfish might be his private motives, felt himself to be the soldier of the Cross. Many of them would have died in defence of it. Whoever has read the correspondence of Cortés, or, still more, has attended to the circumstances of his career, will hardly doubt that he would have been among the first to lay down his life for the Faith. He more than once perilled life, and fortune, and the success of his whole enterprise, by the premature and most impolitic manner in which he would have forced conversion on the natives.<sup>42</sup> To the more rational spirit of the present day, enlightened by a purer Christianity, it may seem difficult to reconcile gross deviations from morals with such devotion to the cause of religion. But the religion taught in that day was one of form and elaborate ceremony. In the punctilious attention to discipline, the spirit of Christianity was permitted to evaporate. The mind, occupied with forms, thinks little of substance. In a worship that is addressed too exclusively to the senses, it is often the case that morality becomes divorced from religion, and the measure of righteousness is determined by the creed rather than by the conduct.

In the earlier part of the History I have given a description of the person of Cortés.<sup>43</sup> It may be well to close this review of his character by the account of his manners and personal habits left us by Bernal

humility, to be chastised by him, to the unspeakable amazement of the Indians." *Hist. de los tres Siglos*, tom. i. p. 151.

<sup>42</sup> "Al Rey infinitas tierras,  
Y á Dios infinitas almas."  
says Lope de Vega, commemorating

in this couplet the double glory of Cortés. It is the light in which the Conquest was viewed by every devout Spaniard of the sixteenth century.

<sup>43</sup> *Ante*, vol. i. p. 214.

Diaz, the old chronicler, who has accompanied us through the whole course of our narrative, and who may now fitly furnish the conclusion of it. No man knew his commander better; and, if the avowed object of his work might naturally lead to a disparagement of Cortés, this is more than counterbalanced by the warmth of his personal attachment, and by that *esprit de corps* which leads him to take a pride in the renown of his general.

"In his whole appearance and presence," says Diaz, "in his discourse, his table, his dress, in everything, in short, he had the air of a great lord. His clothes were in the fashion of the time; he set little value on silk, damask, or velvet, but dressed plainly and exceedingly neat;" nor did he wear massy chains of gold, but simply a fine one, of exquisite workmanship, from which was suspended a jewel having the figure of our Lady the Virgin and her precious Son, with a Latin motto cut upon it. On his finger he wore a splendid diamond ring; and from his cap, which, according to the fashion of that day, was of velvet, hung a medal, the device of which I do not remember. He was magnificently attended, as became a man of his rank, with chamberlains and major-domos and many pages; and the service of his table was splendid, with a quantity of both gold and silver plate. At noon he dined heartily, drinking about a pint of wine mixed with water. He supped well, though he was not dainty in regard to his food, caring little for the delicacies of the table, unless, indeed, on such occasions as made attention to these matters of some consequence."

"He was acquainted with Latin, and, as I have understood, was made Bachelor of Laws; and when he conversed with learned men who addressed him in

"So Gomara: "He dressed neatly rather than richly, and was always scrupulously clean." Crónica, cap. 238.

"Fué mui gran comedor, e

templado en el beber, teniendo abundancia. Sufria mucho la hambre con necesidad." *Ibid.*, ubi supra.



Latin, he answered them in the same language. He was also something of a poet; his conversation was agreeable, and he had a pleasant elocution. In his attendance on the services of the Church he was most punctual, devout in his manner, and charitable to the poor.<sup>46</sup>

"When he swore, he used to say, 'On my conscience;' and when he was vexed with any one, 'Evil betide you.' With his men he was very patient; and they were sometimes impertinent and even insolent. When very angry, the veins in his throat and forehead would swell, but he uttered no reproaches against either officer or soldier.

"He was fond of cards and dice, and, when he played, was always in good humour, indulging freely in jests and repartees. He was affable with his followers, especially with those who came over with him from Cuba. In his campaigns he paid strict attention to discipline, frequently going the rounds himself during the night, and seeing that the sentinels did their duty. He entered the quarters of his soldiers without ceremony, and chided those whom he found without their arms and accoutrements, saying, 'It was a bad sheep that could not carry its own wool.' On the expedition to Honduras he acquired the habit of sleeping after his meals, feeling unwell if he omitted it; and, however sultry or stormy the weather, he caused a carpet or his cloak to be thrown under a tree, and slept soundly for some time. He was frank and exceedingly liberal in his disposition, until the last few years of his life, when he was accused of parsimony. But we should consider that his funds were employed on great and costly enterprises, and that none of these, after the Conquest, neither his expedition to Honduras nor his voyages to California, were crowned with success. It was per-

<sup>46</sup> He dispensed a thousand ducats every year in his ordinary charities, according to Gomara.

"Grandísimo limosnero; daba cada un año mil ducados de limosna ordinaria." *Crónica*, cap. 238.

haps intended that he should receive his recompense in a better world ; and I fully believe it ; for he was a good cavalier, most true in his devotions to the Virgin, to the Apostle St. Peter, and to all the other Saints." 47

Such is the portrait, which has been left to us by the faithful hand most competent to trace it, of Hernando Cortés, the Conqueror of Mexico.

• Hist. de la Conquista, cap. 203.



## APPENDIX, PART I.

### ORIGIN OF THE MEXICAN CIVILIZATION.

---

#### PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following Essay was originally designed to close the Introductory Book, to which it properly belongs. It was written three years since, at the same time with that part of the work. I know of no work of importance, having reference to the general subject of discussion, which has appeared since that period, except Mr. Bradford's valuable treatise on *American Antiquities*. But in respect to that part of the discussion which treats of American Architecture a most important contribution has been made by Mr. Stephens's two works, containing the account of his visits to Central America and Yucatan, and especially by the last of these publications. Indeed, the ground, before so imperfectly known, has now been so diligently explored that we have all the light, which we can reasonably expect, to aid us in making up our opinion in regard to the mysterious monuments of Yucatan. It only remains that the exquisite illustrations of Mr. Catherwood should be published on a larger scale, like the great works on the subject in France and England, in order to exhibit to the eye a more adequate representation of these magnificent ruins than can be given in the limited compass of an octavo page.

But, notwithstanding the importance of Mr. Stephens's researches, I have not availed myself of them to make any additions to the original draft of this Essay, nor have I rested my conclusions in any instance on his authority. These conclusions had been formed from a careful study of the narratives of Dupaix and Waldeck, together with that of their splendid illustrations of the remains of Palenque and Uxmal, two of the principal places explored by Mr. Stephens; and the additional facts collected by him from the vast field which he has surveyed, so far from shaking my previous deductions, have only served to confirm them. The only object of my own speculations on these remains was to ascertain their probable origin, or rather to see what light, if any, they could

throw on the origin of Aztec Civilization. The reader, on comparing my reflections with those of Mr. Stephens in the closing chapters of his two works, will see that I have arrived at inferences, as to the origin and probable antiquity of these structures, precisely the same as his. Conclusions formed under such different circumstances serve to corroborate each other; and, although the reader will find here some things which would have been different had I been guided by the light now thrown on the path, yet I prefer not to disturb the foundations on which the argument stands, nor to impair its value—if it has any—as a distinct and independent testimony.

## APPENDIX, PART I.

---

### ORIGIN OF THE MEXICAN CIVILIZATION.—ANALOGIES WITH THE OLD WORLD.

WHEN the Europeans first touched the shores of America, it was as if they had alighted on another planet,—everything there was so different from what they had before seen. They were introduced to new varieties of plants, and to unknown races of animals; while man, the lord of all, was equally strange, in complexion, language, and institutions.<sup>1</sup> It was what they emphatically styled it,—a New World. Taught by their faith to derive all created beings from one source, they felt a natural perplexity as to the manner in which these distant and insulated regions could have obtained their inhabitants. The same curiosity was felt by their countrymen at home, and the European scholars bewildered their brains with speculations on the best way of solving this interesting problem.

In accounting for the presence of animals there, some imagined that the two hemispheres might once have been joined in the extreme north, so as to have afforded an easy communication.<sup>2</sup> Others, embarrassed by the difficulty of transporting inhabitants of the tropics across the Arctic regions, revived the old story of Plato's Atlantis, that huge island, now submerged, which might have stretched from the shores of Africa to the eastern borders of the new continent; \* while they saw vestiges of a similar con-

<sup>1</sup> The names of many animals in the New World, indeed, have been frequently borrowed from the Old; but the species are very different. "When the Spaniards landed in America," says an eminent naturalist, "they did not find a single animal they were acquainted with; not one of the quadrupeds of Europe, Asia, or Africa." Lawrence, *Lectures on Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man* (London, 1819), p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Acosta, lib. 1, cap. 16.

\* [The existence at some former period of such an island, or rather continent, seems to be regarded by geologists as a well-attested fact. But few would admit that its subsidence can have taken place through any sudden convulsion or within the period of human existence. Such, however, is the theory maintained by M. Brasseur de Bourbourg, who

vulsion of nature in the green islands sprinkled over the Pacific, once the mountain summits of a vast continent, now buried beneath the waters.\* Some, distrusting the existence of revolutions of which no record was preserved, supposed that animals might have found their way across the ocean by various means; the birds of stronger wing by flight over the narrowest spaces; while the tamer kinds of quadrupeds might easily have been transported by men in boats, and even the more ferocious, as tigers, bears, and the like, have been brought over, in the same manner, when young, "for amusement and the pleasure of the chase!"<sup>4</sup> Others, again, maintained the equally probable opinion

\* Count Carli shows much ingenuity and learning in support of the famous Egyptian tradition, recorded by Plato in his "Timæus,"—of the good faith of which the Italian philosopher nothing doubts. *Lettres Améric.*, tom. ii. let. 36–39.

<sup>4</sup> García, *Origen de los Indios de el nuevo Mundo* (Madrid, 1729), cap. 4.

dates the event "six or seven thousand years ago," and believes that the traditions of it have been faithfully preserved. This is the great cataclysm with which all mythology begins. It may be traced through the myths of Greece, Egypt, India, and America, all being identical and having a common origin. It is the subject of the *Teo-Amoxtili*, of which several of the Mexican manuscripts, the Borgian and Dresden Codices in particular, are the hieroglyphical transcriptions, and of which "the actual letter," "in the Nahuatlac language," is found in a manuscript in Boturini's Collection. This manuscript is "in appearance" a history of the Toltecs and of the kings of Colhuacan and Mexico; but "under the ciphers of a fastidious chronology, under the recital more or less animated of the Toltec history, are concealed the profoundest mysteries concerning the geological origin of the world in its existing form and the cradle of the religions of antiquity." The Toltecs are "telluric powers, agents of the subterranean fire;" they are identical with the Cabiri, who re-appear as the Cyclops, having "hollowed an eye in their forehead; that is to say, raised themselves with masses of earth above the surface and filled the craters of the volcanoes with fire." "The Chichimecs and the Aztecs are also symbolical names, borrowed from the forces of nature." Tollan, "the marshy or reedy place," was "the low fertile region" now covered by the Gulf of Mexico. Quetzalcoatl is "merely the personification of the land swallowed up by the ocean." Tlapallan, Aztlan, and other names are similarly explained. Osiris, Pan, Hercules, and Bacchus have their respective parts assigned to them; for "not only all the sources of ancient mythology, but even the most mysterious details, even the obscurest enigmas, with which that mythology is enveloped, are to be sought in the two mediterraneans hollowed out by the cataclysm, and in the islands, great and small, which separate them from the ocean." (*Quatre Lettres sur le Mexique.*) There can be no refutation of such a theory, or of the assumptions on which it rests; but it may be proper to remark that its author has not succeeded in deciphering a single hieroglyphical character, and has published no translation of the real or supposed *Teo-Amoxtili*,—a point on which some misapprehension seems to exist.—Ed.]

that angels, who had, doubtless, taken charge of them in the ark, had also superintended their distribution afterwards over the different parts of the globe.\* Such were the extremities to which even thinking minds were reduced, in their eagerness to reconcile the literal interpretation of Scripture with the phenomena of nature! The philosophy of a later day conceives that it is no departure from this sacred authority to follow the suggestions of science, by referring the new tribes of animals to a creation, since the deluge, in those places for which they were clearly intended by constitution and habits.†

Man would not seem to present the same embarrassments, in the discussion, as the inferior orders. He is fitted by nature for every climate, the burning sun of the tropics and the icy atmosphere of the North. He wanders indifferently over the sands of the desert, the waste of polar snows, and the pathless ocean. Neither mountains nor seas intimidate him, and, by the aid of mechanical contrivances, he accomplishes journeys which birds of boldest wing would perish in attempting. Without ascending to the high northern latitudes, where the continents of Asia and America approach within fifty miles of each other, it would be easy for the inhabitant of Eastern Tartary or Japan to steer his canoe from islet to islet, quite across to the American shore, without ever being on the ocean more than two days at a time.‡ The communication is somewhat more difficult on the Atlantic side. But even there, Iceland was occupied by colonies of Europeans many hundred years before the discovery by Columbus; and the transit from Iceland to America is comparatively easy.§ Independently of these channels, others were opened in the Southern hemisphere, by means of the numerous islands in the Pacific. The population of America is not nearly so difficult a problem as that of these little spots. But experience shows how

\* Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, lib. i, cap. 8.

† Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* (London, 1826), vol. i. p. 81, et seq.—He may find an orthodox authority of respectable antiquity, for a similar hypothesis, in St. Augustine, who plainly intimates his belief that, “as by God’s command, at the time of the creation, the earth brought forth the living creature after his kind, so a similar process must have taken place after the deluge, in islands too remote to be reached by animals from the continent.” *De Civitate Dei*, ap. Opera (Parisii, 1636), tom. v. p. 987.

‡ Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific and Beering’s Strait* (London, 1831), Part 2, Appendix.—Humboldt, *Examen critique de l’Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau-Continent* (Paris, 1837), tom. ii. p. 58.

§ Whatever scepticism may have been entertained as to the visit of the Northmen, in the eleventh century, to the coasts of the great continent, it is probably set at rest in the minds of most scholars since the publication of the original documents by the Royal Society at Copenhagen. (See, in particular, *Antiquitates Americanæ* (Hafniæ, 1837, pp. 79–200.) How far south they penetrated is not so easily settled.



practicable the communication may have been, even with such sequestered places.\* The savage has been picked up in his canoe, after drifting hundreds of leagues on the open ocean, and maintaining life, for months, by the rain from heaven, and such fish as he could catch.<sup>10</sup> The instances are not very rare; and it would be strange if these wandering barks should not sometimes have been intercepted by the great continent which stretches across the globe, in unbroken continuity, almost from pole to pole. No doubt, history could reveal to us more than one example of men who, thus driven upon the American shores, have mingled their blood with that of the primitive races who occupied them.

The real difficulty is not, as with the animals, to explain how man could have reached America, but from what quarter he actually has reached it. In surveying the whole extent of the New World, it was found to contain two great families, one in the lowest stage of civilization, composed of hunters, and another nearly as far advanced in refinement as the semi-civilized empires of Asia. The more polished races were probably unacquainted with the existence of each other on the different continents of America, and had as little intercourse with the barbarian tribes by whom they were surrounded. Yet they had some things in common both with these last and with one another, which remarkably distinguished them from the inhabitants of the Old World. They had a common complexion and physical organization,—at least, bearing a more uniform character than is found among the nations of any other quarter of the globe. They had some usages and institutions in common, and spoke languages of similar construction, curiously distinguished from those in the Eastern hemisphere.

Whence did the refinement of these more polished races come? Was it only a higher development of the same Indian character which we see, in the more northern latitudes, defying every

\* The most remarkable example, probably, of a direct intercourse between remote points is furnished us by Captain Cook, who found the inhabitants of New Zealand not only with the same religion, but speaking the same language, as the people of Otaheite, distant more than 2000 miles. The comparison of the two vocabularies establishes the fact. Cook's Voyages (Dublin, 1784), vol. 1. book 1, chap. 8.

<sup>10</sup> The eloquent Lyell closes an enumeration of some extraordinary and well-attested instances of this kind with remarking, "Were the whole of mankind now cut off, with the exception of one family, inhabiting the old or new continent, or Australia, or even some coral islet of the Pacific, we should expect their descendants, though they should never become more enlightened than the South Sea Islanders or the Esquimaux, to spread, in the course of ages, over the whole earth, diffused partly by the tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence in a limited district, and partly by the accidental drifting of canoes by tides and currents to distant shores." *Principles of Geology* (London, 1832), vol. ii. p. 121.

attempt at permanent civilization? Was it engrafted on a race of higher order in the scale originally, but self-instructed, working its way upward by its own powers? Was it, in short, an indigenous civilization? or was it borrowed in some degree from the nations in the Eastern World? If indigenous, how are we to explain the singular coincidence with the East in institutions and opinions? If Oriental, how shall we account for the great dissimilarity in language, and for the ignorance of some of the most simple and useful arts, which, once known, it would seem scarcely possible should have been forgotten? This is the riddle of the Sphinx, which no Œdipus has yet had the ingenuity to solve. It is, however, a question of deep interest to every curious and intelligent observer of his species. And it has accordingly occupied the thoughts of men, from the first discovery of the country to the present time; when the extraordinary monuments brought to light in Central America have given a new impulse to inquiry, by suggesting the probability—the possibility, rather—that surer evidences than any hitherto known might be afforded for establishing the fact of a positive communication with the other hemisphere.

It is not my intention to add many pages to the volumes already written on this inexhaustible topic. The subject—as remarked by a writer of a philosophical mind himself, and who has done more than any other for the solution of the mystery—is of too speculative a nature for history, almost for philosophy.<sup>11</sup> But this work would be incomplete without affording the reader the means of judging for himself as to the true sources of the peculiar civilization already described, by exhibiting to him the alleged points of resemblance with the ancient continent. In doing this, I shall confine myself to my proper subject, the Mexicans, or to what, in some way or other, may have a bearing on this subject; proposing to state only real points of resemblance, as they are supported by evidence, and stripped, as far as possible, of the illusions with which they have been invested by the pious credulity of one party, and the visionary system-building of another.

An obvious analogy is found in *cosmogonical traditions* and *religious usages*. The reader has already been made acquainted with the Aztec system of four great cycles, at the end of each of which the world was destroyed, to be again regenerated.<sup>12</sup> The belief in these periodical convulsions of nature, through the agency of some one or other of the elements, was familiar to many countries in the Eastern hemisphere; and, though varying in detail, the

<sup>11</sup> "La question générale de la première origine des habitants d'un continent est au-delà des limites prescrites à l'histoire; peut-être même n'est-elle pas une question philosophique." Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. i. p. 349.

<sup>12</sup> *Ante*, vol. i. p. 53.

general resemblance of outline furnishes an argument in favour of a common origin.<sup>13</sup>

No tradition has been more widely spread among nations than that of a Deluge. Independently of tradition, indeed, it would seem to be naturally suggested by the interior structure of the earth, and by the elevated places on which marine substances are found to be deposited. It was the received notion, under some form or other, of the most civilized people in the Old World, and of the barbarians of the New.<sup>14</sup> The Aztecs combined with this some particular circumstances of a more arbitrary character, resembling the accounts of the East. They believed that two persons survived the Deluge,—a man, named Coxcox, and his wife. Their heads are represented in ancient paintings, together with a boat floating on the waters, at the foot of a mountain. A dove is also depicted, with the hieroglyphical emblem of languages in his mouth, which he is distributing to the children of Coxcox, who were born dumb.<sup>15</sup> The neighbouring people of Michoacán, inhabiting the same high plains of the Andes, had a still further

<sup>13</sup> The fanciful division of time into four or five cycles or ages was found among the Hindoos (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. mem. 7), the Thibetians (Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 210), the Persians (Baillly, *Traité de l'Astronomie* (Paris, 1787), tom. i. discours préliminaire), the Greeks (Hesiod, *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*, v. 108, et seq.), and other people, doubtless. The five ages in the Grecian cosmogony had reference to moral rather than physical phenomena,—a proof of higher civilization.

<sup>14</sup> The Chaldean and Hebrew accounts of the Deluge are nearly the same. The parallel is pursued in Palfrey's ingenious *Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities* (Boston, 1840), vol. ii. lect. 21, 22. Among the pagan writers, none approach so near to the Scripture narrative as Lucian, who, in his account of the Greek traditions, speaks of the ark, and the pairs of different kinds of animals. (*De Deâ Syriâ*, sec. 12.) The same thing is found in the *Bhagawatn Purana*, a Hindoo poem of great antiquity. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. mem. 7.) The simple tradition of a universal inundation was preserved among most of the aborigines, probably, of the Western World. See McCulloch, *Researches*, p. 147.

<sup>15</sup> This tradition of the Aztecs is recorded in an ancient hieroglyphical map, first published in Gemelli Carreri's *Giro del Mondo*. (See tom. vi. p. 38, ed. Napoli, 1700.) Its authenticity, as well as the integrity of Carreri himself, on which some suspicions have been thrown (see Robertson's *America* (London, 1796), vol. iii. note 26), has been successfully vindicated by Boturini, Clavigero, and Humboldt, all of whom trod in the steps of the Italian traveller. (Boturini, *Idea*, p. 54.—Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, pp. 223, 224.—Clavigero, *Stor. del Messico*, tom. i. p. 24.) The map is a copy from one in the curious collection of Sigüenza. It has all the character of a genuine Aztec picture, with the appearance of being retouched, especially in the costumes, by some later artist. The painting of the four ages, in the Vatican Codex, No. 3730, represents, also, the two figures in the boat, escaping the great cataclysm. *Antiq. of Mexico*, vol. i, Pl. 7.

tradition, that the boat in which Tezpi, their Noah, escaped, was filled with various kinds of animals and birds. After some time, a vulture was sent out from it, but remained feeding on the dead bodies of the giants, which had been left on the earth, as the waters subsided. The little humming bird, *Huinitzilin*, was then sent forth, and returned with a twig in its mouth. The coincidence of both these accounts with the Hebrew and Chaldean narratives is obvious. It were to be wished that the authority for the Michoacán version were more satisfactory.<sup>16</sup>

On the way between Vera Cruz and the capital, not far from the modern city of Puebla, stands the venerable relic—with which the reader has become familiar in the course of the narrative—called the temple of Cholula. It is, as he will remember, a pyramidal mound, built, or rather cased, with unburnt brick, rising to the height of nearly one hundred and eighty feet. The popular tradition of the natives is that it was erected by a family of giants, who had escaped the great inundation and designed to raise the building to the clouds; but the gods, offended with their presumption, sent fires from heaven on the pyramid, and compelled them to abandon the attempt.<sup>17</sup> The partial coincidence of this legend with the Hebrew account of the tower of Babel, received also by other nations of the East, cannot be denied.<sup>18</sup> But one who has

<sup>16</sup> I have met with no other voucher for this remarkable tradition than Clavigero (Stor. del Messico, dissert. 1), a good, though certainly not the best, authority, when he gives us no reason for our faith. Humboldt, however, does not distrust the tradition. (See *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 226.) He is not so sceptical as Vater; who, in allusion to the stories of the Flood, remarks, "I have purposely omitted noticing the resemblance of religious notions, for I do not see how it is possible to separate from such views every influence of Christian ideas, if it be only from an imperceptible confusion in the mind of the narrator." *Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde* (Berlin, 1812), Theil iii. Abtheil. 3, p. 82, note.

<sup>17</sup> This story, so irreconcilable with the vulgar Aztec tradition, which admits only two survivors of the Deluge, was still lingering among the natives of the place on M. de Humboldt's visit there. (*Vues des Cordillères*, pp. 31, 32.) It agrees with that given by the interpreter of the Vatican Codex (*Antiq. of Mexico*, vol. vi. p. 192, et seq.); a writer—probably a monk of the sixteenth century—in whom ignorance and dogmatism contend for mastery. See a precious specimen of both, in his account of the Aztec chronology, in the very pages above referred to.

<sup>18</sup> A tradition, very similar to the Hebrew one, existed among the Chaldeans and the Hindoos. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. mem. 16.) The natives of Chiapa, also, according to the bishop Nuñez de la Vega, had a story, cited as genuine by Humboldt (*Vues des Cordillères*, p. 148), which not only agrees with the Scripture account of the manner in which Babel was built, but with that of the subsequent dispersion and the confusion of tongues. A very marvellous coincidence! But who shall vouch for the authenticity of the tradition? The bishop flourished towards the close of the seventeenth century. He drew his information from hieroglyphical maps, and an Indian MS., which Boturini in vain endeavoured

not examined the subject will scarcely credit what bold hypotheses have been reared on this slender basis.

Another point of coincidence is found in the goddess Cioacoatl, "our lady and mother;" "the first goddess who brought forth;" "who bequeathed the sufferings of childbirth to women, as the tribute of death;" "by whom sin came into the world." Such was the remarkable language applied by the Aztecs to this venerated deity. She was usually represented with a serpent near her; and her name signified the "serpent-woman." In all this we see much to remind us of the mother of the human family, the Eve of the Hebrew and Syrian nations.<sup>19</sup>

But none of the deities of the country suggested such astonishing analogies with Scripture as Quetzalcoatl, with whom the reader has already been made acquainted.<sup>20</sup> He was the white man, wearing a long beard, who came from the East, and who, after presiding over the golden age of Anahuac, disappeared as mysteriously as he had come, on the great Atlantic Ocean. As he promised to return at some future day, his re-appearance was looked for with confidence by each succeeding generation. There is little in these circumstances to remind one of Christianity. But the curious antiquaries of Mexico found out that to this god were to be referred the institution of ecclesiastical communities, reminding one of the monastic societies of the Old World; that of the rites of confession and penance; and the knowledge even of the great doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation!<sup>21</sup> One party, with

to recover. In exploring these, he borrowed the aid of the natives, who, as Boturini informs us, frequently led the good man into errors and absurdities; of which he gives several specimens. (*Idea*, p. 116, et seq.)—Boturini himself has fallen into an error equally great, in regard to a map of this same Cholulan pyramid, which Clavigero shows, far from being a genuine antique, was the forgery of a later day. (*Stor. del Messico*, tom. i. p. 130, nota.) It is impossible to get a firm footing in the quicksands of tradition. The further we are removed from the Conquest, the more difficult it becomes to decide what belongs to the primitive Aztec and what to the Christian convert.

<sup>19</sup> Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, lib. i, cap. 6; lib. vi, cap. 28, 32. —Torquemada, not content with the honest record of his predecessor, whose MS. lay before him, tells us that the Mexican Eve had two sons, Cain and Abel. (*Monarch. Ind.*, lib. vi, cap. 31.) The ancient interpreters of the Vatican and Tellerian Codices add the further tradition of her bringing sin and sorrow into the world by plucking the forbidden rose (*Antiq. of Mexico*, vol. vi. explan. of Pl. 7, 20); and Veytia remembers to have seen a Toltec or Aztec map representing a garden with a single tree in it, round which was coiled the serpent with a human face! (*Hist. antiq.*, lib. i, cap. 1.) After this we may be prepared for Lord Kingsborough's deliberate conviction that the "Aztecs had a clear knowledge of the Old Testament, and, most probably, of the New, though somewhat corrupted by time and hieroglyphics"! *Antiq. of Mexico*, vol. vi. p. 409.

<sup>20</sup> *Ante*, vol. i. p. 51, 52.

<sup>21</sup> Veytia, *Hist. antiq.*, lib. i, cap. 15.

pious industry, accumulated proofs to establish his identity with the Apostle St. Thomas;<sup>22</sup> while another, with less scrupulous faith, saw, in his anticipated advent to regenerate the nation, the type, dimly veiled, of the Messiah!<sup>23</sup>

Yet we should have charity for the missionaries who first landed in this world of wonders, where, while man and nature wore so strange an aspect, they were astonished by occasional glimpses of rites and ceremonies which reminded them of a purer faith. In their amazement, they did not reflect whether these things were not the natural expression of the religious feeling common to all nations who have reached even a moderate civilization. They did not inquire whether the same things were not practised by other idolatrous people. They could not suppress their wonder, as they beheld the Cross, the sacred emblem of their own faith, raised as an object of worship in the temples of Anahuac. They met with it in various places; and the image of a cross may be seen at this day, sculptured in bas-relief, on the walls of one of the buildings of Palenque, while a figure bearing some resemblance to that of a child is held up to it, as if in adoration.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., lib. 1, cap. 10.—A sorry argument, even for a casuist. See, also, the elaborate dissertation of Dr. Mier (apud Sahagun, lib. 3, Suplem.), which settles the question entirely to the satisfaction of his reporter, Bustamante.

<sup>23</sup> See, among others, Lord Kingsborough's reading of the Borgian Codex, and the interpreters of the Vatican (*Antiq. of Mexico*, vol. vi., explan. of Pl. 3, 10, 41), equally well skilled with his lordship—and Sir Hudibras—in unravelling mysteries

“Whose primitive tradition reaches  
As far as Adam's first green breeches.”

<sup>24</sup> *Antiquités Mexicaines*, expd. 3, Pl. 36.—The figures are surrounded by hieroglyphics of most arbitrary character, perhaps phonetic. (See, also, Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 2, lib. 3, cap. 1.—Gomara, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 15, ap. Barcia, tom. ii.) Mr. Stephens considers that the celebrated “Cozumel Cross,” preserved at Merida, which claims the credit of being the same originally worshipped by the natives of Cozumel, is, after all, nothing but a cross that was erected by the Spaniards in one of their own temples in that island after the Conquest. This fact he regards as “completely invalidating the strongest proof offered at this day that the Cross was recognized by the Indians as a symbol of worship.” (*Travels in Yucatan*, vol. ii. chap. 20.) But, admitting the truth of this statement, that the Cozumel Cross is only a Christian relic, which the ingenious traveller has made extremely probable, his inference is by no means admissible. Nothing could be more natural than that the friars in Merida should endeavour to give celebrity to their convent by making it the possessor of so remarkable a monument as the very relic which proved, in their eyes, that Christianity had been preached at some earlier date among the natives. But the real proof of the existence of the Cross, as an object of worship, in the New World, does not rest on such spurious monuments as these, but on the unequivocal testimony of the Spanish discoverers themselves.

Their surprise was heightened when they witnessed a religious rite which reminded them of the Christian communion. On these occasions an image of the tutelary deity of the Aztecs was made of the flour of maize, mixed with blood, and, after consecration by the priests, was distributed among the people, who, as they ate it, 'showed signs of humiliation and sorrow, declaring it was the flesh of the deity!'" How could the Roman Catholic fail to recognize the awful ceremony of the Eucharist?

With the same feelings they witnessed another ceremony, that of the Aztec baptism; in which, after a solemn invocation, the head and lips of the infant were touched with water, and a name was given to it; while the goddess Cioacoatl, who presided over childbirth, was implored "that the sin which was given to us before the beginning of the world might not visit the child, but that, cleansed by these waters, it might live and be born anew!"

\* "Lo recibian con gran reverencia, humiliacion, y lágrimas, diciendo que comian la carne de su Dios." Veytia, *Hist. antig.*, lib. 1, cap. 18.—Also, Acosta, lib. 5, cap. 24.

\* *Ante*, vol. 1. p. 57.—Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva-España*, lib. 6, cap. 37.—That the reader may see for himself how like, yet how unlike, the Aztec rite was to the Christian, I give the translation of Sahagun's account, at length: "When everything necessary for the baptism had been made ready, all the relations of the child were assembled, and the midwife, who was the person that performed the rite of baptism, was summoned. At early dawn, they met together in the court-yard of the house. When the sun had risen, the midwife, taking the child in her arms, called for a little earthen vessel of water, while those about her placed the ornaments which had been prepared for the baptism in the midst of the court. To perform the rite of baptism, she placed herself with her face towards the west, and immediately began to go through certain ceremonies. . . . After this she sprinkled water on the head of the infant, saying, 'O my child! take and receive the water of the Lord of the world, which is our life, and is given for the increasing and renewing of our body. It is to wash and to purify. I pray that these heavenly drops may enter into your body, and dwell there; that they may destroy and remove from you all the evil and sin which was given to you before the beginning of the world; since all of us are under its power, being all the children of Chalchiviltlycue' [the goddess of water]. She then washed the body of the child with water, and spoke in this manner: 'Whence ever thou comest, thou that art hateful to this child, leave him and depart from him, for he now liveth anew, and is born anew; now is he purified and cleansed afresh, and our mother Chalchiviltlycue again bringeth him into the world.' Having thus prayed, the midwife took the child in both hands, and, lifting him towards heaven, said, 'O Lord, thou seest here thy creature, whom thou hast sent into this world, this place of sorrow, suffering, and penitence. Grant him, O Lord, thy gifts, and thine inspiration, for thou art the great God, and with thee is the great goddess.' Torches of pine were kept burning during the performance of these ceremonies. When these things were ended, they gave the child the name of some one of his ancestors, in the hope that he might shed a new lustre over it. The name was given by the same midwife, or priestess, who baptized him."

It is true, these several rites were attended with many peculiarities, very unlike those in any Christian church. But the fathers fastened their eyes exclusively on the points of resemblance. They were not aware that the Cross was a symbol of worship, of the highest antiquity, in Egypt and Syria,<sup>27</sup> and that rites resembling those of communion<sup>28</sup> and baptism were practised by pagan nations on whom the light of Christianity had never shone.<sup>29</sup> In their amazement, they not only magnified what they saw, but were perpetually cheated by the illusions of their own heated imaginations. In this they were admirably assisted by their Mexican converts, proud to establish—and half believing it themselves—a correspondence between their own faith and that of their conquerors.<sup>30</sup>

The ingenuity of the chronicler was taxed to find out analogies between the Aztec and Scripture histories, both old and new. The migration from Aztlan to Anahuac was typical of the Jewish exodus.<sup>31</sup> The places where the Mexicans halted on the march

<sup>27</sup> Among Egyptian symbols we meet with several specimens of the Cross. One, according to Justus Lipsius, signified "life to come." (See his treatise, *De Cruce* (Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1598), lib. 3, cap. 8.) We find another in Champollion's catalogue, which he interprets "support or saviour." (*Précis*, tom. ii., *Tableau gén.*, Nos. 277, 348.) Some curious examples of the reverence paid to this sign by the ancients have been collected by McCulloh (*Researches*, p. 330, et seq.), and by Humboldt, in his late work, *Géographie du Nouveau-Continent*, tom. ii. p. 354 et seq.

<sup>28</sup> "Ante, Deos homini quod conciliare valeret  
*Fur erat,*"

says Ovid. (*Fastorum*, lib. 1, v. 337.) Count Carli has pointed out a similar use of consecrated bread, and wine or water, in the Greek and Egyptian mysteries. (*Lettres Améric.*, tom. i. let. 27.) See, also, McCulloh, *Researches*, p. 240, et seq.

<sup>29</sup> Water for purification and other religious rites is frequently noticed by the classical writers. Thus Euripides:

"Ἀγνοῖς καθαροῖς πρῶτά νιν νίψαι θέλω.  
Θύλασσα κλύει πάντα τάνθρώπων κακά."

IPHIG. IN TAUR. vv. 1192, 1194.

The notes on this place, in the admirable Variorum edition of Glasgow, 1821, contain references to several passages of similar import in different authors.

<sup>30</sup> The difficulty of obtaining anything like a faithful report from the natives is the subject of complaint from more than one writer, and explains the great care taken by Sahagun to compare their narratives with each other. See *Hist. de Nueva-España*, Prólogo.—Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., Pról.—Boturini, *Idea*, p. 116.

<sup>31</sup> The parallel was so closely pressed by Torquemada that he was compelled to suppress the chapter containing it, on the publication of his book. See the Proemio to the edition of 1723, sec. 2.



were identified with those in the journey of the Israelites;<sup>22</sup> and the name of Mexico itself was found to be nearly identical with the Hebrew name for the Messiah.<sup>23</sup> The Mexican hieroglyphics afforded a boundless field for the display of this critical acuteness. The most remarkable passages in the Old and New Testaments were read in their mysterious characters; and the eye of faith could trace there the whole story of the Passion, the Saviour suspended from the cross, and the Virgin Mary with her attendant angels!<sup>24</sup>

The Jewish and Christian schemes were strangely mingled together, and the brains of the good fathers were still further bewildered by the mixture of heathenish abominations which were so closely intertwined with the most orthodox observances. In their perplexity, they looked on the whole as the delusion of the devil, who counterfeited the rites of Christianity and the traditions of the chosen people, that he might allure his wretched victims to their own destruction.<sup>25</sup>

But, although it is not necessary to resort to this startling supposition, nor even to call up an apostle from the dead, or any later missionary, to explain the coincidences with Christianity, yet these coincidences must be allowed to furnish an argument in favour of some primitive communication with that great brotherhood of nations on the old continent, among whom similar ideas have been so widely diffused. The probability of such a communication, especially with Eastern Asia, is much strengthened by the resemblance of sacerdotal institutions, and of some religious rites, as those of marriage,<sup>26</sup> and the burial of the

<sup>22</sup> "The devil," says Herrera, "chose to imitate, in everything, the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and their subsequent wanderings." (Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 3, cap. 10.) But all that has been done by monkish annalist and missionary to establish the parallel with the children of Israel falls far short of Lord Kingsborough's learned labours, spread over nearly two hundred folio pages. (See Antiq. of Mexico, tom. vi. pp. 282-410.) *Quantum inane!*

<sup>23</sup> The word משיח, from which is derived *Christ*, "the anointed," is still more nearly—not "precisely," as Lord Kingsborough states (Antiq. of Mexico, vol. vi. p. 186)—identical with that of Mexi, or Mesi, the chief who was said to have led the Aztecs on the plains of Anahuac.

<sup>24</sup> Interp. of Cod. Tel.-Rem. et Vat., Antiq. of Mexico, vol. vi.—Sahagun, Hist. de Nueva-España, lib. 3, Suplem.—Veytia, Hist. antig., lib. 1, cap. 16.

<sup>25</sup> This opinion finds favour with the best Spanish and Mexican writers, from the Conquest downwards. Solís sees nothing improbable in the fact that "the malignant influence, so frequently noticed in sacred history, should be found equally in profane." Hist. de la Conquista, lib. 2 cap. 4.

<sup>26</sup> The bridal ceremony of the Hindoos, in particular, contains curious points of analogy with the Mexican. (See Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. mem. 9.) The institution of a numerous priesthood, with the practices

deceit;<sup>37</sup> by the practice of human sacrifices, and even of cannibalism, traces of which are discernible in the Mongol races;<sup>38</sup> and, lastly, by a conformity of social usages and manners, so striking that the description of Montezuma's court may well pass for that of the Grand Khan's, as depicted by Maundeville and Marco Polo.<sup>39</sup> It would occupy too much room to go into details in this matter, without which, however, the strength of the argument cannot be felt, nor fully established. It has been done by others; and an occasional coincidence has been adverted to in the preceding chapters.

It is true, we should be very slow to infer identity, or even correspondence, between nations, from a partial resemblance of habits and institutions. Where this relates to manners, and is founded on caprice, it is not more conclusive than when it flows from the spontaneous suggestions of nature, common to all. The resemblance, in the one case, may be referred to accident; in the other, to the constitution of man. But there are certain arbitrary peculiarities, which, when found in different nations, reasonably suggest the idea of some previous communication between them. Who can doubt the existence of an affinity, or, at least, intercourse, between tribes who had the same strange habit of burying the dead in a sitting posture, as was practised to some extent by most, if not all, of the aborigines, from Canada to Patagonia?<sup>40</sup> The habit of burning the dead, familiar to both Mongols and Aztecs, is in itself but slender proof of a common origin. The body must be disposed of in some way; and this, perhaps, is

of confession and penance, was familiar to the Tartar people. (Maundeville, *Voiage*, chap. 23.) And monastic establishments were found in Thibet and Japan from the earliest ages. Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 179.

<sup>37</sup> "Doubtless," says the ingenious Carli, "the fashion of burning the corpse, collecting the ashes in a vase, burying them under pyramidal mounds, with the immolation of wives and servants at the funeral, all remind one of the customs of Egypt and Hindostan." *Lettres Améric.*, tom. ii. let. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Marco Polo notices a civilized people in Southeastern China, and another in Japan, who drank the blood and ate the flesh of their captives, esteeming it the most savoury food in the world,—"*la più saporita et migliore, che si possa truovar al mondo.*" (*Viaggi*, lib. 2, cap. 75; lib. 3, 13, 14.) The Mongols, according to Sir John Maundeville, regarded the ears "*sowed in vynes*" as a particular dainty. *Voiage*, chap. 23.

<sup>39</sup> Marco Polo, *Viaggi*, lib. 2, cap. 10.—Maundeville, *Voiage*, cap. 20, et alibi.—See, also, a striking parallel between the Eastern Asiatics and Americans, in the Supplement to Ranking's "*Historical Researches*;" a work embodying many curious details of Oriental history and manners in support of a whimsical theory.

<sup>40</sup> Morton, *Crania Americana* (Philadelphia, 1839), pp. 224-246.—The industrious author establishes this singular fact by examples drawn from a great number of nations in North and South America.

as natural as any other. But when to this is added the circumstance of collecting the ashes in a vase and depositing the single article of a precious stone along with them, the coincidence is remarkable.<sup>41</sup> Such minute coincidences are not unfrequent; while the accumulation of those of a more general character, though individually of little account, greatly strengthens the probability of a communication with the East.

A proof of a higher kind is found in the analogies of *science*. We have seen the peculiar chronological system of the Aztecs; their method of distributing the years into cycles, and of reckoning by means of periodical series, instead of numbers. A similar process was used by the various Asiatic nations of the Mongol family, from India to Japan. Their cycles, indeed, consisted of sixty, instead of fifty-two, years; and for the terms of their periodical series they employed the names of the elements and the signs of the zodiac, of which latter the Mexicans, probably, had no knowledge. But the principle was precisely the same.<sup>42</sup>

A correspondence quite as extraordinary is found between the hieroglyphics used by the Aztecs for the signs of the days, and those zodiacal signs which the Eastern Asiatics employed as one of the terms of their series. The symbols in the Mongolian calendar are borrowed from animals. Four of the twelve are the same as the Aztec. Three others are as nearly the same as the different species of animals in the two hemispheres would allow. The remaining five refer to no creature then found in Anahuac.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Gomara, Crónica de la Nueva-España, cap. 202, ap. Barcia, tom. ii. —Clavigero, Stor. del Messico, tom. i. pp. 94, 95.—McCulloh (Researches, p. 198), who cites the Asiatic Researches.—Dr. McCulloh, in his single volume, has probably brought together a larger mass of materials for the illustration of the aboriginal history of the continent than any other writer in the language. In the selection of his facts he has shown much sagacity, as well as industry; and, if the formal and somewhat repulsive character of the style has been unfavourable to a popular interest, the work must always have an interest for those who are engaged in the study of the Indian antiquities. His fanciful speculations on the subject of Mexican mythology may amuse those whom they fail to convince.

<sup>42</sup> *Ante*, vol. i. p. 114, et seq.

<sup>43</sup> This will be better shown by enumerating the zodiacal signs used as the names of the years by the Eastern Asiatics. Among the Mongols, these were—1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, leopard; 4, hare; 5, crocodile; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, sheep; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, hog. The Mantchou Tartars, Japanese, and Thibetians have nearly the same terms, substituting, however, for No. 3, tiger; 5, dragon; 8, goat. In the Mexican signs for the names of the days we also meet with *hare*, *serpent*, *monkey*, *dog*. Instead of the "leopard," "crocodile," and "hen,"—neither of which animals was known in Mexico at the time of the Conquest,—we find the *ocelotl*, the *lizard*, and the *eagle*.—The lunar calendar of the Hindoos exhibits a correspondence equally extraordinary. Seven of the terms agree with those of the Aztecs, namely,

The resemblance went as far as it could." The similarity of these conventional symbols among the several nations of the East can hardly fail to carry conviction of a common origin for the system, as regards them. Why should not a similar conclusion be applied to the Aztec calendar, which, although relating to days instead of years, was, like the Asiatic, equally appropriated to chronological uses and to those of divination?"

I shall pass over the further resemblance to the Persians, shown in the adjustment of time by a similar system of intercalation ;<sup>46</sup> and to the Egyptians, in the celebration of the remarkable festival of the winter solstice ;<sup>47</sup> since, although sufficiently curious, the coincidences might be accidental, and add little to the weight of evidence offered by an agreement in combinations of so complex and artificial a character as those before stated.

Amid these intellectual analogies, one would expect to meet with that of *language*, the vehicle of intellectual communication, which usually exhibits traces of its origin even when the science and literature that are embodied in it have widely diverged. No

*serpent, cane, razor, path of the sun, dog's tail, house.* (Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 152.) These terms, it will be observed, are still more arbitrarily selected, not being confined to animals ; as, indeed, the hieroglyphics of the Aztec calendar were derived indifferently from them, and other objects, like the signs of our zodiac. These scientific analogies are set in the strongest light by M. de Humboldt, and occupy a large and, to the philosophical inquirer, the most interesting portion of his great work. (*Vues des Cordillères*, pp. 125-194.) He has not embraced in his tables, however, the Mongol calendar, which affords even a closer approximation to the Mexican than that of the other Tartar races. Comp. Ranking, *Researches*, pp. 370, 371, note.

"There is some inaccuracy in Humboldt's definition of the *ocelotl* as "the tiger," "the jaguar." (Ibid., p. 159.) It is smaller than the jaguar, though quite as ferocious, and is as graceful and beautiful as the leopard, which it more nearly resembles. It is a native of New Spain, where the tiger is not known. (See Buffon, *Histoire naturelle* (Paris, An. VIII.), tom. ii., *vox Ocelotl*.) The adoption of this latter name, therefore, in the Aztec calendar, leads to an inference somewhat exaggerated.

"Both the Tartars and the Aztecs indicated the year by its sign ; as the "year of the hare" or "rabbit," etc. The Asiatic signs, likewise, far from being limited to the years and months, presided also over days, and even hours. (Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 165.) The Mexicans had also astrological symbols appropriated to the hours. Gama, *Description*, Parte 2, p. 117.

<sup>46</sup> *Ante*, vol. 1, p. 115, note.

<sup>47</sup> Achilles Tatius notices a custom of the Egyptians,—who, as the sun descended towards Capricorn, put on mourning, but, as the days lengthened, their fears subsided, they robed themselves in white, and, crowned with flowers, gave themselves up to jubilee, like the Aztecs. This account, transcribed by Carli's French translator, and by M. de Humboldt, is more fully criticised by M. Jomard in the *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 309, et seq.

inquiry, however, has led to less satisfactory results. The languages spread over the Western continent far exceed in number those found in any equal population in the Eastern.<sup>40</sup> They exhibit the remarkable anomaly of differing as widely in etymology as they agree in organization; and, on the other hand, while they bear some slight affinity to the languages of the Old World in the former particular, they have no resemblance to them whatever in the latter.<sup>41</sup> The Mexican was spoken for an extent of three hundred leagues. But within the boundaries of New Spain more than twenty languages were found; not simply dialects, but, in many instances, radically different.<sup>42</sup> All these idioms, however, with one exception, conformed to that peculiar synthetic structure by which every Indian dialect appears to have been fashioned, from the land of the Esquimaux to Terra del Fuego;<sup>43</sup> a system which, bringing the greatest number of ideas within the smallest possible compass, condenses whole sentences into a single word,<sup>44</sup> displaying a curious mechanism, in which some discern

<sup>40</sup> Jefferson (Notes on Virginia (London, 1787), p. 164,) confirmed by Humboldt (*Essai politique*, tom. i. p. 353). Mr. Gallatin comes to a different conclusion. (*Transactions of American Antiquarian Society* (Cambridge, 1836), vol. ii. p. 161.) The great number of American dialects and languages is well explained by the unsocial nature of a hunter's life, requiring the country to be parcelled out into small and separate territories for the means of subsistence.

<sup>41</sup> Philologists have, indeed, detected two curious exceptions, in the Congo and primitive Basque; from which, however, the Indian languages differ in many essential points. See Du Ponceau's Report, ap. *Transactions of the Lit. and Hist. Committee of the Am. Phil. Society*, vol. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Vater (*Mithridates*, Theil iii. Abtheil. 3, p. 70), who fixes on the Rio Gila and the Isthmus of Darien as the boundaries within which traces of the Mexican language were to be discerned. Clavigero estimates the number of dialects at thirty-five. I have used the more guarded statement of M. de Humboldt, who adds that fourteen of these languages have been digested into dictionaries and grammars. *Essai politique*, tom. i. p. 352.

<sup>43</sup> No one has done so much towards establishing this important fact as that estimable scholar, Mr. Du Ponceau. And the frankness with which he has admitted the exception that disturbed his favourite hypothesis shows that he is far more wedded to science than to system. See an interesting account of it, in his prize essay before the Institute, *Mémoire sur le Système grammaticale des Langues de quelques Nations Indiennes de l'Amérique*. (Paris. 1838.)

<sup>44</sup> The Mexican language, in particular, is most flexible; admitting of combinations so easily that the most simple ideas are often buried under a load of accessories. The forms of expression, though picturesque, were thus made exceedingly cumbrous. A "priest," for example, was called *nollazonahuizteotlxcataztin*, meaning "venerable minister of God, that I love as my father." A still more comprehensive word is *amatlacuiloliltquitcailaxtlahuittli*, signifying "the reward given to a messenger who bears a hieroglyphical map conveying intelligence."

the hand of the philosopher, and others only the spontaneous efforts of the savage.<sup>43</sup>

The etymological affinities detected with the ancient continent are not very numerous, and they are drawn indiscriminately from all the tribes scattered over America. On the whole, more analogies have been found with the idioms of Asia than of any other quarter. But their amount is too inconsiderable to balance the opposite conclusion inferred by a total dissimilarity of structure.<sup>44</sup> A remarkable exception is found in the Othomi or Otomi language, which covers a wider territory than any other but the Mexican in New Spain,<sup>45</sup> and which, both in its monosyllabic composition, so different from those around it, and in its vocabulary, shows a very singular affinity to the Chinese.<sup>46</sup> The existence of this insulated idiom in the heart of this vast continent offers a curious theme for speculation, entirely beyond the province of history.

The American languages, so numerous and widely diversified, present an immense field of inquiry, which, notwithstanding the labours of several distinguished philologists, remains yet to be explored. It is only after a wide comparison of examples that conclusions founded on analogy can be trusted. The difficulty of making such comparisons increases with time, from the facility which the peculiar structure of the Indian languages affords for new combinations ; while the insensible influence of contact with civilized man, in producing these, must lead to a still further distrust of our conclusions.

The theory of an Asiatic origin for Aztec civilization derives stronger confirmation from the light of *tradition*, which, shining steadily from the far North-west, pierces through the dark

<sup>43</sup> See, in particular, for the latter view of the subject, the arguments of Mr. Gallatin, in his acute and masterly disquisition on the Indian tribes ; a disquisition that throws more light on the intricate topics of which it treats than whole volumes that have preceded it. Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. ii., Introd., sec. 6.

<sup>44</sup> This comparative anatomy of the languages of the two hemispheres, begun by Barton (Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America (Philadelphia, 1797) ), has been extended by Vater (Mithridates, Theil iii. Abtheil. 1. p. 348, et seq.). A selection of the most striking analogies may be found, also, in Malte Brun, book 75, table.

<sup>45</sup> *Othomi*, from *otho*, "stationary," and *mi*, "nothing." Najera, Dissert., *ut infra*.) The etymology intimates the condition of this rude nation of warriors, who, imperfectly reduced by the Aztec arms, roamed over the high lands north of the Valley of Mexico.

<sup>46</sup> See Najera's Dissertatio De Lingua Othomitorum, ap. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. v. New Series.—The author, a learned Mexican, has given a most satisfactory analysis of this remarkable language, which stands alone among the idioms of the New World, as the Basque—the solitary wreck, perhaps, of a primitive age—exists among those of the Old.

shadows that history and mythology have alike thrown around the traditions of the country. 'Traditions of a Western or North-western origin were found among the more barbarous tribes,'<sup>47</sup> and by the Mexicans were preserved both orally and in their hieroglyphical maps, where the different stages of their migration are carefully noted. But who, at this day, shall read them?<sup>48</sup> They are admitted to agree, however, in representing the populous North as the prolific hive of the American races.<sup>49</sup> In this quarter were placed their Aztlan and their Huehuetlapallan,—the bright abodes of their ancestors, whose warlike exploits rivalled those which the Teutonic nations have recorded of Odin and the mythic heroes of Scandinavia. From this quarter the Toltecs, the Chichimecs, and the kindred races of the Nahuatlacs came successively up the great plateau of the Andes, spreading over its hills and valleys, down to the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>50</sup>

Antiquaries have industriously sought to detect some still surviving traces of these migrations. In the north-western districts

<sup>47</sup> Barton, p. 92.—Heckewelder, chap. 1, ap. Transactions of the Hist. and Lit. Committee of the Am. Phil. Soc., vol. 1.—The various traditions have been assembled by M. Warden, in the *Antiquités Mexicaines*, part 2, p. 185, et seq.

<sup>48</sup> The recent work of Mr. Delafield (*Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America* (Cincinnati, 1839) ) has an engraving of one of these maps, said to have been obtained by Mr. Bullock from Boturini's collection. Two such are specified on page 10 of that antiquary's Catalogue. This map has all the appearance of a genuine Aztec painting, of the rudest character. We may recognize, indeed, the symbols of some dates and places, with others denoting the aspect of the country, whether fertile or barren, a state of war or peace, etc. But it is altogether too vague, and we know too little of the allusions, to gather any knowledge from it of the course of the Aztec migration.—Gemelli Carreri's celebrated chart contains the names of many places on the route, interpreted, perhaps, by Siguenza himself, to whom it belonged (*Giro del Mondo*, tom. vi. p. 56); and Clavigero has endeavoured to ascertain the various localities with some precision. *Stor. del Messico*, tom. i. p. 160, et seq.) But, as they are all within the boundaries of New Spain, and, indeed, south of the Rio Gila, they throw little light, of course, on the vexed question of the primitive abodes of the Aztecs.

<sup>49</sup> This may be fairly gathered from the agreement of the *traditional* interpretations of the maps of the various people of Anahuac, according to Veytia; who, however, admits that it is "next to impossible," with the lights of the present day, to determine the precise route taken by the Mexicana. (*Hist. antig.*, tom. i. cap. 2.) Lorenzana is not so modest. "Los Mexicanos por tradicion vinieron por el norte," says he, "y se saben ciertamente sus mansiones." (*Hist. de Nueva-España*, p. 81, nota.) There are some antiquaries who see best in the dark.

<sup>50</sup> *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Hist. Chich.*, MS., cap. 2, et seq.—Idem, *Relaciones*, MS.—Veytia, *Hist. antig.*, ubi supra.—Torquemada, *Monarch. Ind.*, tom. i. lib. 1.







of New Spain, at the distance of a thousand miles from the capital, dialects have been discovered showing intimate affinity with the Mexican.<sup>41</sup> Along the Rio Gila, remains of populous towns are to be seen, quite worthy of the Aztecs in their style of architecture.<sup>42</sup> The country north of the great Rio Colorado has been imperfectly explored; but in the higher latitudes, in the neighbourhood of Nootka, tribes still exist whose dialects, both in the termination and general sound of the words, bear considerable resemblance to the Mexican.<sup>43</sup> Such are the vestiges, few, indeed, and feeble, that still exist to attest the truth of traditions which themselves have remained steady and consistent through the lapse of centuries and the migrations of successive races.

The conclusions suggested by the intellectual and moral analogies with Eastern Asia derive considerable support from those of a *physical nature*. The aborigines of the Western World were distinguished by certain peculiarities of organization, which have led physiologists to regard them as a separate race. These peculiarities are shown in their reddish complexion, approaching a cinnamon colour; their straight, black, and exceedingly glossy hair; their beard thin, and usually eradicated;<sup>44</sup> their high cheek-bones, eyes obliquely directed towards the temples, promi-

<sup>41</sup> In the province of Sonora, especially along the Californian Gulf. The Cora language, above all, of which a regular grammar has been published, and which is spoken in New Biscay, about 30° north, so much resembles the Mexican that Vater refers them both to a common stock. Mithridates, Theil iii. Abtheil. 3, p. 143.

<sup>42</sup> On the southern bank of this river are ruins of large dimensions, described by the missionary Pedro Font on his visit there in 1775. (Antiq. of Mexico, vol. vi. p. 538.)—At a place of the same name, Casas Grandes, about 33° north, and, like the former, a supposed station of the Aztecs, still more extensive remains are to be found; large enough, indeed, according to a late traveller, Lieut. Hardy, for a population of 20,000 or 30,000 souls. The country for leagues is covered with these remains, as well as with utensils of earthen-ware, obsidian, and other relics. A drawing which the author has given of a painted jar or vase may remind one of the Etruscan. "There were, also, good specimens of earthen images in the Egyptian style," he observes, "which are, to me at least, so perfectly uninteresting that I was at no pains to procure any of them. (Travels in the Interior of Mexico (London, 1829), pp. 464-466.) The lieutenant was neither a Boturini nor a Belzoni.

<sup>43</sup> Vater has examined the languages of three of these nations, between 50° and 60° north, and collated their vocabularies with the Mexican, showing the probability of a common origin of many of the words in each. Mithridates, Theil iii. Abtheil. 3, p. 212.

<sup>44</sup> The Mexicans are noticed by M. de Humboldt as distinguished from the other aborigines whom he had seen, by the quantity both of beard and moustaches. (Essai politique, tom. i. p. 361.) The modern Mexican, however, broken in spirit and fortunes, bears as little resemblance, probably, in physical as in moral characteristics to his ancestors, the fierce and independent Aztecs.

nent noses, and narrow foreheads falling backwards with a greater inclination than those of any other race except the African.\* From this general standard, however, there are deviations, in the same manner, if not to the same extent, as in other quarters of the globe, though these deviations do not seem to be influenced by the same laws of local position.\*\* Anatomists, also, have discerned in crania disinterred from the mounds, and in those of the inhabitants of the high plains of the Cordilleras, an obvious difference from those of the more barbarous tribes. This is seen especially in the ampler forehead, intimating a decided intellectual superiority.† These characteristics are found to bear a close resemblance to those of the Mongolian family, and especially to the people of Eastern Tartary;‡ so that, notwithstanding certain differences recognized by physiologists, the skulls of the two races could not be readily distinguished from one another by a common observer. No inference can be surely drawn, however, without a wide range of comparison. That hitherto made has been chiefly founded on specimens from the barbarous tribes.¶

\* Prichard, *Physical History*, vol. i. pp. 167-169, 182, et seq.—Morton, *Crania Americana*, p. 66.—McCulloh, *Researches*, p. 18.—Lawrence, *Lectures*, pp. 317, 565.

¶ Thus we find, amidst the generally prevalent copper or cinnamon tint, nearly all gradations of colour, from the European white, to a black, almost African; while the complexion capriciously varies among different tribes in the neighbourhood of each other. See examples in Humboldt (*Essai politique*, tom. i. pp. 358, 359), also Prichard (*Physical History*, vol. ii. pp. 452, 522, et alibi), a writer whose various research and dispassionate judgment have made his work a text-book in this department of science.

‡ Such is the conclusion of Dr. Warren, whose excellent collection has afforded him ample means for study and comparison. (See his Remarks before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, ap. London Athenæum, Oct. 1837.) In the specimens collected by Dr. Morton, however, the barbarous tribes would seem to have a somewhat larger facial angle, and a greater quantity of brain, than the semi-civilized. *Crania Americana*, p. 259.

§ "On ne peut se refuser d'admettre que l'espèce humaine n'offre pas de races plus voisines que la sont celles des Américains, des Mongols, des Manchoux, et des Malais." Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. i. p. 367.—Also, Prichard, *Physical History*, vol. i. pp. 184-186; vol. ii. pp. 365-367.—Lawrence, *Lectures*, p. 365.

¶ Dr. Morton's splendid work on American crania has gone far to supply the requisite information. Out of about one hundred and fifty specimens of skulls, of which he has ascertained the dimensions with admirable precision, one-third belong to the semi-civilized races; and of them thirteen are Mexican. The number of these last is too small to found any general conclusions upon, considering the great diversity found in individuals of the same nation, not to say kindred.—Blumenbach's observations on American skulls were chiefly made, according to Prichard (*Physical History*, vol. i. pp. 183, 184), from specimens of the Carib tribes, as unfavourable, perhaps, as any on the continent.

Perhaps a closer comparison with the more civilized may supply still stronger evidence of affinity.<sup>70</sup>

In seeking for analogies with the Old World, we should not pass by in silence the *architectural remains* of the country, which, indeed, from their resemblance to the pyramidal structures of the East, have suggested to more than one antiquary the idea of a common origin.<sup>71</sup> The Spanish invaders, it is true, assailed the Indian buildings, especially those of a religious character, with all the fury of fanaticism. The same spirit survived in the generations which succeeded. The war has never ceased against the monuments of the country; and the few that fanaticism has spared have been nearly all demolished to serve the purposes of utility. Of all the stately edifices, so much extolled by the Spaniards who first visited the country, there are scarcely more vestiges at the present day than are to be found in some of those regions of Europe and Asia which once swarmed with populous cities, the great marts of luxury and commerce.<sup>72</sup> Yet some of

<sup>70</sup> Yet these specimens are not so easy to be obtained. With uncommon advantages for procuring these myself in Mexico, I have not succeeded in obtaining any specimens of the genuine Aztec skull. The difficulty of this may be readily comprehended by any one who considers the length of time that has elapsed since the Conquest, and that the burial-places of the ancient Mexicans have continued to be used by their descendants. Mr. Morton more than once refers to his specimens as those of the "genuine Toltec skull, from cemeteries in Mexico, older than the Conquest." (*Crania Americana*, pp. 152, 155, 231, et alibi.) But how does he know that the heads are Toltec? That nation is reported to have left the country about the middle of the eleventh century, nearly eight hundred years ago,—according to Ixtlilxochitl, indeed, a century earlier; and it seems much more probable that the specimens now found in these burial-places should belong to some of the races who have since occupied the country, than to one so far removed. The presumption is manifestly too feeble to authorize any positive inference.

<sup>71</sup> The tower of Belus, with its retreating stories, described by Herodotus (*Clio*, sec. 181), has been selected as the model of the *teocalli*; which leads Vater somewhat shrewdly to remark that it is strange no evidence of this should appear in the erection of similar structures by the Aztecs in the whole course of their journey to Anahuac. (*Mithridates*, Theil iii. Abtheil. 3, pp. 74, 75.) The learned Niebuhr finds the elements of the Mexican temple in the mythic tomb of Porosenna. (*Roman History*, Eng. trans. (London, 1827), vol. i. p. 88.) The resemblance to the accumulated pyramids composing this monument is not very obvious. Comp. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. 36, sec. 19). Indeed, the antiquarian may be thought to encroach on the poet's province when he finds in Etruscan *fable*—"cum omnia excedat fabulositas," as Pliny characterizes this—the origin of Aztec science.

<sup>72</sup> See the powerful description of Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. 9, v. 966.—The Latin bard has been surpassed by the Italian, in the beautiful stanza beginning *Giace l'alta Cartago* (*Gierusalemme Liberata*, c. 15, a. 20), which may be said to have been expanded by Lord Byron into a canto,—the fourth of *Childe Harold*.

these remains, like the temple of Xochicalco,<sup>73</sup> the palaces of Tezcotzinco,<sup>74</sup> the colossal calendar-stone in the capital, are of sufficient magnitude, and wrought with sufficient skill, to attest mechanical powers in the Aztecs not unworthy to be compared with those of the ancient Egyptians.

But, if the remains on the Mexican soil are so scanty, they multiply as we descend the south-eastern slope of the Cordilleras, traverse the rich Valley of Oaxaca, and penetrate the forests of Chiapa and Yucatan. In the midst of these lonely regions we meet with the ruins, recently discovered, of several ancient cities, Mitla, Palenque, and Itzalana or Uxmal,<sup>75</sup> which argue a higher civilization than anything yet found on the American continent ;

<sup>73</sup> The most remarkable remains on the proper Mexican soil are the temple or fortress of Xochicalco, not many miles from the capital. It stands on a rocky eminence, nearly a league in circumference, cut into terraces faced with stone. The building on the summit is seventy-five feet long and sixty-six broad. It is of hewn granite, put together without cement, but with great exactness. It was constructed in the usual pyramidal, terraced form, rising by a succession of stories, each smaller than that below it. The number of these is now uncertain ; the lower one alone remaining entire. This is sufficient, however, to show the nice style of execution, from the sharp, salient cornices, and the hieroglyphical emblems with which it is covered, all cut in the hard stone. As the detached blocks found among the ruins are sculptured with bas-reliefs in like manner, it is probable that the whole building was covered with them. It seems probable, also, as the same pattern extends over different stones, that the work was executed after the walls were raised.—In the hill beneath, subterraneous galleries, six feet wide and high, have been cut to the length of one hundred and eighty feet, where they terminate in two halls, the vaulted ceilings of which connect by a sort of tunnel with the buildings above. These subterraneous works are also lined with hewn stone. The size of the blocks, and the hard quality of the granite of which they consist, have made the buildings of Xochicalco a choice quarry for the proprietors of a neighbouring sugar-refinery, who have appropriated the upper stories of the temple to this ignoble purpose ! The Barberini at least built palaces, beautiful themselves, as works of art, with the plunder of the Coliseum. See the full description of this remarkable building, both by Dupaix and Alzate. (*Antiquités Mexicaines*, tom. i., Exp. I., pp. 15-20 ; tom. iii. Exp. 1, Pl. 33.) A recent investigation has been made by order of the Mexican government, the report of which differs, in some of its details, from the preceding. *Revista Mexicana*, tom. i. mem. 5.

<sup>74</sup> *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 151-153.

<sup>75</sup> It is impossible to look at Waldeck's finished drawings of buildings, where Time seems scarcely to have set his mark on the nicely chiselled stone, and the clear tints are hardly defaced by a weather-stain, without regarding the artist's work as a *restoration* ; a picture true, it may be, of those buildings in the day of their glory, but not of their decay.—Cogolludo, who saw them in the middle of the seventeenth century, speaks of them with admiration, as works of "accomplished architects," of whom history has preserved no tradition. *Historia de Yucatan* (Madrid, 1688), lib. 4, cap. 2.

and, although it was not the Mexicans who built these cities, yet, as they are probably the work of cognate races, the present inquiry would be incomplete without some attempt to ascertain what light they can throw on the origin of the Indian, and consequently of the Aztec, civilization.<sup>76</sup>

Few works of art have been found in the neighbourhood of any of the ruins. Some of them, consisting of earthen or marble vases, fragments of statues, and the like, are fantastic, and even hideous; others show much grace and beauty of design, and are apparently well executed.<sup>77</sup> It may seem extraordinary that no iron in the buildings themselves, nor iron tools, should have been discovered, considering that the materials used are chiefly granite, very hard, and carefully hewn and polished. Red copper chisels and axes have been picked up in the midst of large blocks of granite imperfectly cut, with fragments of pillars and architraves, in the quarries near Mitla.<sup>78</sup> Tools of a similar kind have been discovered, also, in the quarries near Thebes; and the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of cutting such masses from the living rock with any tools which we possess, except iron, has confirmed an ingenious writer in the supposition that this metal must have been employed by the Egyptians, but that its tendency to decomposition, especially in a nitrous soil, has prevented any specimens of it from being preserved.<sup>79</sup> Yet iron has been found, after the lapse of some thousands of years, in the remains of antiquity; and it is certain that the Mexicans, down to the time of the Conquest, used only copper instruments, with an alloy of tin, and a silicious powder, to cut the hardest stones, some of them of enormous dimensions.<sup>80</sup> This fact, with the additional circumstance that only similar tools have been found in Central America, strengthens the conclusion that iron was neither known there nor in ancient Egypt.

<sup>76</sup> In the original text is a description of some of these ruins, especially of those of Mitla and Palenque. It would have had novelty at the time in which it was written, since the only accounts of these buildings were in the colossal publications of Lord Kingsborough, and in the *Antiquités Mexicaines*, not very accessible to most readers. But it is unnecessary to repeat descriptions now familiar to every one, and so much better executed than they can be by me, in the spirited pages of Stephens.

<sup>77</sup> See, in particular, two terra-cotta busts with helmets, found in Onaxca, which might well pass for Greek, both in the style of the heads and the casques that cover the n. *Antiquités Mexicaines*, tom. iii. Exp. 2, Pl. 36.

<sup>78</sup> Dupaix speaks of these tools as made of pure copper. But doubtless there was some alloy mixed with it, as was practised by the Aztecs and Egyptians; otherwise their edges must have been easily turned by the hard substances on which they were employed.

<sup>79</sup> Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. pp. 246-254.

<sup>80</sup> *Ants*, vol. i. p. 118.

But what are the nations of the Old Continent whose style of architecture bears most resemblance to that of the remarkable monuments of Chiapa and Yucatan? The points of resemblance will probably be found neither numerous nor decisive. There is, indeed, some analogy both to the Egyptian and Asiatic style of architecture in the pyramidal, terrace-formed bases on which the buildings repose, resembling also the Toltec and Mexican *teocalli*. A similar care, also, is observed in the people of both hemispheres to adjust the position of their buildings by the cardinal points. The walls in both are covered with figures and hieroglyphics, which, on the American as on the Egyptian, may be designed, perhaps, to record the laws and historical annals of the nation. These figures, as well as the buildings themselves, are found to have been stained with various dyes, principally vermilion;<sup>21</sup> a favourite colour with the Egyptians also, who painted their colossal statues and temples of granite.<sup>22</sup> Notwithstanding these points of similarity, the Palenque architecture has little to remind us of the Egyptian or of the Oriental. It is, indeed, more conformable, in the perpendicular elevation of the walls, the moderate size of the stones, and the general arrangement of the parts, to the European. It must be admitted, however, to have a character of originality peculiar to itself.

More positive proofs of communication with the East might be looked for in their sculpture and in the conventional forms of their hieroglyphics. But the sculptures on the Palenque buildings are in relief, unlike the Egyptian, which are usually in *intaglio*. The Egyptians were not very successful in their representations of the human figure, which are on the same invariable model, always in profile, from the greater facility of execution this presents over the front view; the full eye is placed on the side of the head, while the countenance is similar in all, and perfectly destitute of expression.<sup>23</sup> The Palenque artists were equally awkward in representing the various attitudes of the body, which they delineated also in profile. But the parts are executed with

<sup>21</sup> Waldeck, *Atlas pittoresque*, p. 73.—The fortress of Xochicalco was also coloured with a red paint (*Antiquités Mexicaines*, tom. i. p. 20); and a cement of the same colour covered the Toltec pyramid at Teotihuacan, according to Mr. Bullock, *Six Months in Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 143.

<sup>22</sup> *Description de l'Égypte*, Antiq., tom. ii. cap. 9, sect. 4.—The huge image of the Sphinx was originally coloured red. (Clarke's *Travels*, vol. v. p. 202.) Indeed, many of the edifices, as well as statues, of ancient Greece, also, still exhibit traces of having been painted.

<sup>23</sup> The various causes of the stationary condition of art in Egypt, for so many ages, are clearly exposed by the duke di Serradifalco, in his *Antichità della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1834, tom. ii. pp. 33, 34); a work in which the author, while illustrating the antiquities of a little island, has thrown a flood of light on the arts and literary culture of ancient Greece.

much correctness, and sometimes gracefully; the costume is rich and various; and the ornamented head-dress, typical, perhaps, like the Aztec, of the name and condition of the person represented, conforms in its magnificence to the Oriental taste. The countenance is various, and often expressive. The contour of the head is, indeed, most extraordinary, describing almost a semi-circle from the forehead to the tip of the nose, and contracted towards the crown, whether from the artificial pressure practised by many of the aborigines, or from some preposterous notion of ideal beauty.<sup>44</sup> But, while superior in the execution of the details, the Palenque artist was far inferior to the Egyptian in the number and variety of the objects displayed by him, which on the Theban temples comprehend animals as well as men, and almost every conceivable object of use or elegant art.

The hieroglyphics are too few on the American buildings to authorize any decisive inference. On comparing them, however, with those of the Dresden Codex, probably from this same quarter of the country,<sup>45</sup> with those on the monument of Xochicalco, and with the ruder picture-writing of the Aztecs, it is not easy to discern anything which indicates a common system. Still less obvious is the resemblance to the Egyptian characters, whose refined and delicate abbreviations approach almost to the simplicity of an alphabet. Yet the Palenque writing shows an advanced stage of the art, and, though somewhat clumsy, intimates, by the conventional and arbitrary forms of the hieroglyphics, that it was symbolical, and perhaps phonetic, in its character.<sup>46</sup> That its mysterious import will ever be deciphered is scarcely to be expected. The language of the race who employed it, the race itself, is unknown. And it is not likely that another Rosetta stone will be found, with its trilingual inscription, to supply the means of comparison, and to guide the American Champollion in the path of discovery.

It is impossible to contemplate these mysterious monuments

<sup>44</sup> "The ideal is not always the beautiful," as Winckelmann truly says, referring to the Egyptian figures. (*Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens*, liv. 4, chap. 2, trad. Fr.) It is not impossible, however, that the portraits mentioned in the text may be copies from life. Some of the rude tribes of America distorted their infants' heads into forms quite as fantastic; and Garcilaso de la Vega speaks of a nation discovered by the Spaniards in Florida, with a formation apparently not unlike the Palenque: "*Tienen cabezas increíblemente largas, y ahuecadas para arriba, que las ponen así con artificio, atándoselas desde el punto, que nascen las criaturas, hasta que son de nueve ó diez años.*" *La Florida* (Madrid, 1723), p. 190.

<sup>45</sup> For a notice of this remarkable codex, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 89. There is, indeed, a resemblance, in the use of straight lines and dots, between the Palenque writing and the Dresden MS. Possibly these dots denoted years, like the rounds in the Mexican system.

<sup>46</sup> The hieroglyphics are arranged in perpendicular lines. The heads are uniformly turned towards the right, as in the Dresden MS.



of a lost civilization without a strong feeling of curiosity as to who were their architects and what is their probable age. The data on which to rest our conjectures of their age are not very substantial; although some find in them a warrant for an antiquity of thousands of years, coeval with the architecture of Egypt and Hindostan.<sup>67</sup> But the interpretation of hieroglyphics, and the apparent duration of trees, are vague and unsatisfactory.<sup>68</sup> And how far can we derive an argument from the discoloration and dilapidated condition of the ruins, when we find so many structures of the Middle Ages dark and mouldering with decay, while the marbles of the Acropolis and the gray stones of Pæstum still shine in their primitive splendour?

There are, however, undoubted proofs of considerable age to be found there. Trees have shot up in the midst of the buildings, which measure, it is said, more than nine feet in diameter.<sup>69</sup> A still more striking fact is the accumulation of vegetable mould in one of the courts, to the depth of nine feet above the pavement.<sup>70</sup> This in our latitude would be decisive of a very great antiquity. But in the rich soil of Yucatan, and under the ardent sun of the tropics, vegetation bursts forth with irrepressible exuberance, and generations of plants succeed each other without intermission, leaving an accumulation of deposits that would have perished under a northern winter. Another evidence of their age is

<sup>67</sup> "Les ruines," says the enthusiastic chevalier Le Noir, "sans nom, à qui l'on a donné celui de *Palenque*, peuvent remonter comme les plus anciennes ruines du monde à trois mille ans. Ceci n'est point mon opinion seule; c'est celle de tous les voyageurs qui ont vu les ruines dont il s'agit, de tous les archéologues qui en ont examiné les dessins ou lu les descriptions, enfin des historiens qui ont fait des recherches, et qui n'ont rien trouvé dans les annales du monde qui fasse soupçonner l'époque de la fondation de tels monuments, dont l'origine se perd dans la nuit des temps." (*Antiquités Mexicaines*, tom. ii., Examen, p. 73.) Colonel Galindo, fired with the contemplation of the American ruins, pronounces this country the true cradle of civilization, whence it passed over to China, and latterly to Europe, which, whatever "its foolish vanity" may pretend, has but just started in the march of improvement! See his Letter on Copan, ap. *Trans. of Am. Ant. Soc.*, vol. ii.

<sup>68</sup> From these sources of information, and especially from the number of the concentric rings in some old trees, and the incrustation of stalactites found on the ruins of Palenque, M. Waldeck computes their age at between two and three thousand years. (*Voyage en Yucatan*, p. 78.) The criterion, as far as the trees are concerned, cannot be relied on in an advanced stage of their growth; and as to the stalactite formations, they are obviously affected by too many casual circumstances, to afford the basis of an accurate calculation.

<sup>69</sup> Waldeck, *Voyage en Yucatan*, ubi supra.

<sup>70</sup> *Antiquités Mexicaines*, Examen, p. 76.—Hardly deep enough, however, to justify Captain Dupax's surmise of the antediluvian existence of these buildings; especially considering that the accumulation was in the sheltered position of an interior court.

afforded by the circumstance that in one of the courts of Uxmal the granite pavement, on which the figures of tortoises were raised in relief, is worn nearly smooth by the feet of the crowds who have passed over it;<sup>11</sup> a curious fact, suggesting inferences both in regard to the age and population of the place. Lastly, we have authority for carrying back the date of many of these ruins to a certain period, since they were found in a deserted, and probably dilapidated, state by the first Spaniards who entered the country. Their notices, indeed, are brief and casual, for the old Conquerors had little respect for works of art;<sup>12</sup> and it is fortunate for these structures that they had ceased to be the living temples of the gods, since no merit of architecture, probably, would have availed to save them from the general doom of the monuments of Mexico.

If we find it so difficult to settle the age of these buildings, what can we hope to know of their architects? Little can be gleaned from the rude people by whom they are surrounded. The old Tezucan chronicler so often quoted by me, the best authority for the traditions of his country, reports that the Toltecs, on the breaking up of their empire,—which he places, earlier than most authorities, in the middle of the tenth century,—migrating from Anahuac, spread themselves over Guatemala,

<sup>11</sup> Waldeck, *Voyage en Yucatan*, p. 97.

<sup>12</sup> The chaplain of Grijalva speaks with admiration of the "lofty towers of stone and lime, some of them very ancient," found in Yucatan. (*Itinerario*, MS. (1515).) Bernal Diaz, with similar expressions of wonder, refers the curious antique relics found there to the Jews. (*Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. 2, 6.) Alvarado, in a letter to Cortés, expatiates on the "maravillosos et grandes edificios" to be seen in Guatemala. (Oviedo, *Hist. de las Ind.*, MS., lib. 33, cap. 42.) According to Cogolludo, the Spaniards, who could get no tradition of their origin, referred them to the Phœnicians or Carthaginians. (*Hist. de Yucatan*, lib. 4, cap. 2.) He cites the following emphatic notice of these remains from Las Casas: "Ciertamente la tierra de Yucathan da á entender cosas mui especiales, y de mayor antigüedad, por las grandes, admirables, y excessivas maneras de edificios, y letreros de ciertos caracteres, que en otra ninguna parte se hallan." (*Loc. cit.*) Even the inquisitive Martyr has collected no particulars respecting them, merely noticing the buildings of this region with general expressions of admiration. (*De Insulis nuper Inventis*, pp. 334-340.) What is quite as surprising is the silence of Cortés, who traversed the country forming the base of Yucatan, in his famous expedition to Honduras, of which he has given many details we would gladly have exchanged for a word respecting these interesting memorials. *Carta Quinta de Cortés*, MS.—I must add that some remarks in the above paragraph in the text would have been omitted, had I enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Stephens's researches when it was originally written. This is especially the case with the reflections on the probable condition of these structures at the time of the Conquest; when some of them would appear to have been still used for their original purposes.

Tehuantepec, Campeachy, and the coasts and neighbouring isles on both sides of the Isthmus.<sup>33</sup> This assertion, important, considering its source, is confirmed by the fact that several of the nations in that quarter adopted systems of astronomy and chronology, as well as sacerdotal institutions, very similar to the Aztec,<sup>34</sup> which, as we have seen, were also probably derived from the Toltecs, their more polished predecessors in the land.

If so recent a date for the construction of the American buildings be thought incompatible with this oblivion of their origin, it should be remembered how treacherous a thing is tradition, and how easily the links of the chain are severed. The builders of the pyramids had been forgotten before the time of the earliest Greek historians.<sup>35</sup> The antiquary still disputes whether the frightful inclination of that architectural miracle, the tower of Pisa, standing as it does in the heart of a populous city, was the work of accident or design. And we have seen how soon the Tezcucana, dwelling amidst the ruins of their royal palaces, built just before the Conquest, had forgotten their history, while the more inquisitive traveller refers their construction to some remote period before the Aztecs.<sup>36</sup>

The reader has now seen the principal points of coincidence insisted on between the civilization of ancient Mexico and the Eastern hemisphere. In presenting them to him, I have endeavoured to confine myself to such as rest on sure historic grounds, and not so much to offer my own opinion as to enable him to form one for himself. There are some material embarrassments in the way to this, however, which must not be passed over in silence. These consist, not in explaining the fact that, while the mythic system and the science of the Aztecs afford some striking points of analogy with the Asiatic, they should differ in so many more; for the same phenomenon is found among the nations of the Old World, who seem to have borrowed from one another those ideas, only, best suited to their peculiar genius and institutions. Nor

<sup>33</sup> "Asimismo los Tultecas que escaparon se fueron por las costas del Mar del Sur y Norte, como son Huatimala, Tecuantepec, Cuauhzacualco, Campechy, Tecolotlan, y los de las Islas y Costas de una mar y otra, que despues se viniéron á multiplicar." Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, MS., No. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 4, lib. 10, cap. 1-4.—Cogolludo, Hist. de Yucatan, lib. 4, cap. 5.—Pet. Martyr, De Insulis, ubi supra.—M. Waldeck comes to just the opposite inference, namely, that the inhabitants of Yucatan were the true sources of the Toltec and Aztec civilization. (Voyage en Yucatan, p. 72.) "Doubt must be our lot in everything," exclaims the honest Captain Dupaix.—"*the true faith always excepted.*" Antiquités Mexicaines, tom. i. p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> "Inter omnes eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu, obliteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus." Pliny, Hist. Nat., lib. 36, cap. 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ants*, vol. i. p. 154.

does the difficulty lie in accounting for the great dissimilarity of the American languages to those in the other hemisphere ; for the difference with these is not greater than what exists among themselves ; and no one will contend for a separate origin for each of the aboriginal tribes.<sup>97</sup> But it is scarcely possible to reconcile the knowledge of Oriental science with the total ignorance of some of the most serviceable and familiar arts, as the use of milk and iron, for example ; arts so simple, yet so important to domestic comfort, that when once acquired they could hardly be lost.

The Aztecs had no useful domesticated animals. And we have seen that they employed bronze, as a substitute for iron, for all mechanical purposes. The bison, or wild cow of America, however, which ranges in countless herds over the magnificent prairies of the west, yields milk like the tame animal of the same species in Asia and Europe ;<sup>98</sup> and iron was scattered in large masses over the surface of the table-land. Yet there have been people considerably civilized in Eastern Asia who were almost equally strangers to the use of milk.<sup>99</sup> The buffalo range was not so much on the western coast as on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains ;<sup>100</sup> and the migratory Aztec might well doubt whether the wild, uncouth monsters whom he occasionally saw bounding with

<sup>97</sup> At least, this is true of the etymology of these languages, and, as such, was adduced by Mr. Edward Everett, in his Lectures on the Aboriginal Civilization of America, forming part of a course delivered some years since by that acute and highly accomplished scholar.

<sup>98</sup> The mixed breed, from the buffalo and the European stock, was known formerly in the northwestern counties of Virginia, says Mr. Gallatin (Synopsis, sec. 5) ; who is, however, mistaken in asserting that "the bison is not known to have ever been domesticated by the Indians." (Ubi supra.) Gomara speaks of a nation, dwelling about 40° north latitude, on the northwestern borders of New Spain, whose chief wealth was in droves of these cattle (*bueyes con una giba sobre la cruz*, "oxen with a hump on the shoulders"), from which they got their clothing, food, and drink, which last, however, appears to have been only the blood of the animal. *Historia de las Indias*, cap. 214, ap. Barcia, tom. ii.

<sup>99</sup> The people of parts of China, for example, and, above all, of Cochín China, who never milk their cows, according to Macartney, cited by Humboldt, *Essai politique*, tom. iii. p. 58, nota. See, also, p. 118.

<sup>100</sup> The native regions of the buffalo were the vast prairies of the Missouri, and they wandered over the long reach of country east of the Rocky Mountains, from 55° north, to the headwaters of the streams between the Mississippi and the Rio del Norte. The Columbia plains, says Gallatin, were as naked of game as of trees. (Synopsis, sec. 5.) That the bison was sometimes found also on the other side of the mountains, is plain from Gomara's statement. (*Hist. de las Ind.*, loc. cit.) See, also, Laet, who traces their southern wanderings to the river Vaquimi (?), in the province of Cinaloa, on the Californian Gulf. *Novus Orbis* (Lugd. Bat., 1633), p. 286.

such fury over the distant plains were capable of domestication, like the meek animals which he had left grazing in the green pastures of Asia. Iron, too, though met with on the surface of the ground, was more tenacious, and harder to work, than copper, which he also found in much greater quantities on his route. It is possible, moreover, that his migration may have been previous to the time when iron was used by his nation; for we have seen more than one people in the Old World employing bronze and copper with entire ignorance, apparently, of any more serviceable metal.<sup>101</sup>—Such is the explanation, unsatisfactory, indeed, but the best that suggests itself, of this curious anomaly.

The consideration of these and similar difficulties has led some writers to regard the antique American civilization as purely indigenous. Whichever way we turn, the subject is full of embarrassment. It is easy, indeed, by fastening the attention on one portion of it, to come to a conclusion. In this way, while some feel little hesitation in pronouncing the American civilization original, others, no less certainly, discern in it a Hebrew, or an Egyptian, or a Chinese, or a Tartar origin, as their eyes are attracted by the light of analogy too exclusively to this or the other quarter. The number of contradictory lights, of itself, perplexes the judgment and prevents us from arriving at a precise and positive inference. Indeed, the affectation of this, in so doubtful a matter, argues a most unphilosophical mind. Yet where there is most doubt there is often the most dogmatism.

The reader of the preceding pages may perhaps acquiesce in the general conclusions,—not startling by their novelty,—

First, that the coincidences are sufficiently strong to authorize a belief that the civilization of Anahuac was in some degree influenced by that of Eastern Asia

<sup>101</sup> *Ante*, vol. i. p. 118.

Thus Lucretius :

“ Et prior seris erat, quam ferri cognitus usus,  
Quo facilis magis est natura, et copia major.  
Ære solum terræ tractabant, æreque belli  
Miscebant fluctus.”

DE RERUM NATURA, lib. 5.

According to Carli, the Chinese were acquainted with iron 3000 years before Christ. (*Lettres Améric.*, tom. ii. p. 63.) Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in an elaborate inquiry into its first appearance among the people of Europe and Western Asia, finds no traces of it earlier than the sixteenth century before the Christian era. (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. pp. 241–246.) The origin of the most useful arts is lost in darkness. Their very utility is one cause of this, from the rapidity with which they are diffused among distant nations. Another cause is, that in the first ages of the discovery men are more occupied with availing themselves of it than with recording its history; until time turns history into fiction. Instances are familiar to every school-boy.

And, secondly, that the discrepancies are such as to carry back the communication to a very remote period ; so remote that this foreign influence has been too feeble to interfere materially with the growth of what may be regarded in its essential features as a peculiar and indigenous civilization.

## APPENDIX, PART II.

### ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

No. 1.—See vol. i. p. 127.

ADVICE OF AN AZTEC MOTHER TO HER DAUGHTER ; TRANSLATED  
FROM SAHAGUN'S "HISTORIA DE NUEVA-ESPAÑA," LIB. VI.  
CAP. XIX.

[I have thought it best to have this translation made in the most literal manner, that the reader may have a correct idea of the strange mixture of simplicity, approaching to childishness, and moral sublimity, which belongs to the original. It is the product of the twilight of civilization.]

My beloved daughter, very dear little dove, you have already heard and attended to the words which your father has told you. They are precious words, and such as are rarely spoken or listened to, and which have proceeded from the bowels and heart in which they were treasured up ; and your beloved father well knows that you are his daughter, begotten of him, are his blood, and his flesh ; and God our Lord knows that it is so. Although you are a woman, and are *the image of your father*, what more can I say to you than has already been said ? What more can you hear than what you have heard from your lord and father ? who has fully told you what it is becoming for you to do and to avoid ; nor is there anything remaining, which concerns you, that he has not touched upon. Nevertheless, that I may do towards you my whole duty, I will say to you some few words.—The first thing that I earnestly charge upon you is, that you observe and do not forget what your father has now told you, since it is all very precious ; and persons of his condition rarely publish such things ; for they are the words which belong to the noble and wise,—valuable as rich jewels. See, then, that you take them and lay them up in your heart, and write them in your bowels. If God gives you life, with these same words will you teach your sons and daughters, if God shall give you them.—The second thing that I desire to say to you is, that I love you much, that you are my dear daughter. Remember that nine months I bore you in my womb, that you were born and brought up in my arms. I placed you in your cradle, and in my lap, and with my milk I nursed you. This I tell you, in order that you may know that I and your father are the source of your being ; it is we who now instruct you. See that you receive our words, and treasure them in your breast.—Take care that your garments are such as are decent and proper ; and observe that you do not adorn yourself with much finery, since this is a mark of vanity and of folly. As little becoming is it, that your dress should be

very mean, dirty, or ragged ; since rags are a mark of the low, and of those who are held in contempt. Let your clothes be becoming and neat, that you may neither appear fantastic nor mean. When you speak, do not hurry your words from uneasiness, but speak deliberately and calmly. Do not raise your voice very high, nor speak very low, but in a moderate tone. Neither mince, when you speak, nor when you salute, nor speak through your nose ; but let your words be proper, of a good sound, and your voice gentle. Do not be nice in the choice of your words. In walking, my daughter, see that you behave becomingly, neither going with haste, nor too slowly ; since it is an evidence of being puffed up, to walk too slowly, and walking hastily causes a vicious habit of restlessness and instability. Therefore neither walk very fast, nor very slow ; yet, when it shall be necessary to go with haste, do so,—in this use your discretion. And when you may be obliged to jump over a pool of water, do it with decency, that you may neither appear clumsy nor light. When you are in the street, do not carry your head much inclined, or your body bent ; nor as little go with your head very much raised ; since it is a mark of ill breeding ; walk erect, and with your head slightly inclined. Do not have your mouth covered, or your face, from shame, nor go looking like a near-sighted person, nor, on your way, make fantastic movements with your feet. Walk through the street quietly, and with propriety. Another thing that you must attend to, my daughter, is, that when you are in the street you do not go looking hither and thither, nor turning your head to look at this and that ; walk neither looking at the skies nor on the ground. Do not look upon those whom you meet with the eyes of an offended person, nor have the appearance of being uneasy ; but of one who looks upon all with a serene countenance ; doing this, you will give no one occasion of being offended with you. Show a becoming countenance ; that you may neither appear morose, nor, on the other hand, too complaisant. See, my daughter, that you give yourself no concern about the words you may hear, in going through the street, nor pay any regard to them, let those who come and go say what they will. Take care that you neither answer nor speak, but act as if you neither heard nor understood them ; since, doing in this manner, no one will be able to say with truth that you have said anything amiss. See, likewise, my daughter, that you never paint your face, or stain it or your lips with colours, in order to appear well ; since this is a mark of vile and unchaste women. Paints and colouring are things which bad women use,—the immodest, who have lost all shame and even sense, who are like fools and drunkards, and are called *rameras* [prostitutes]. But, that your husband may not dislike you, adorn yourself, wash yourself, and cleanse your clothes ; and let this be done with moderation ; since if every day you wash yourself and your clothes it will be said of you that you are over-nice,—too delicate ; they will call you *tapepetzon tinmazoch*.—My daughter, this is the course you are to take ; since in this manner the ancestors from whom you spring brought us up. Those noble and venerable dames, your grandmothers, told us not so many things as I have told you,—they said but few words, and spoke thus : “Listen, my daughters ; in this world it is necessary to live with much prudence and circumspection. Hear this allegory, which I shall now tell you, and preserve it, and take from it a warning and example for living aright. Here, in this world, we travel by a very narrow, steep, and dangerous road, which is as a lofty mountain ridge, on whose top passes a narrow path ; on either side is a great gulf without bottom ;



and if you deviate from the path you will fall into it. There is need, therefore, of much discretion in pursuing the road." My tenderly loved daughter, my little dove, keep this illustration in your heart, and see that you do not forget it,—it will be to you as a lamp and a beacon so long as you shall live in this world. Only one thing remains to be said, and I have done. If God shall give you life, if you shall continue some years upon the earth, see that you guard yourself carefully, that no stain come upon you; should you forfeit your chastity, and afterwards be asked in marriage and should marry any one, you will never be fortunate, nor have true love,—he will always remember that you were not a virgin, and this will be the cause of great affliction and distress; you will never be at peace, for your husband will always be suspicious of you. O my dearly beloved daughter, if you shall live upon the earth, see that not more than one man approaches you; and observe what I now shall tell you, as a strict command. When it shall please God that you receive a husband, and you are placed under his authority, be free from arrogance, see that you do not neglect him, nor allow your heart to be in opposition to him. Be not disrespectful to him. Beware that in no time or place you commit the treason against him called adultery. See that you give no favour to another; since this, my dear and much-loved daughter, is to fall into a pit without bottom, from which there will be no escape. According to the custom of the world, if it shall be known, for this crime they will kill you, they will throw you into the street, for an example to all the people, where your head will be crushed and dragged upon the ground. Of these says a proverb, "You will be stoned and dragged upon the earth, and others will take warning at your death." From this will arise a stain and dishonour upon our ancestors, the nobles and senators from whom we are descended. You will tarnish their illustrious fame, and their glory, by the filthiness and impurity of your sin. You will, likewise, lose your reputation, your nobility, and honour of birth; your name will be forgotten and abhorred. Of you will it be said that you were buried in the dust of your sins. And remember, my daughter, that, though no man shall see you, nor your husband ever know what happens, *God, who is in every place, sees you*, will be angry with you, and will also excite the indignation of the people against you, and will be avenged upon you as he shall see fit. By his command, you shall either be maimed, or struck blind, or your body will wither, or you will come to extreme poverty, for daring to injure your husband. Or perhaps he will give you to death, and put you under his feet, sending you to the place of torment. Our Lord is compassionate; but, if you commit treason against your husband, God, who is in every place, shall take vengeance on your sin, and will permit you to have neither contentment, nor repose, nor a peaceful life; and he will excite your husband to be always unkind towards you, and always to speak to you with anger. My dear daughter, whom I tenderly love, see that you live in the world in peace, tranquillity, and contentment, all the days that you shall live. See that you disgrace not yourself, that you stain not your honour, nor pollute the lustre and fame of your ancestors. See that you honour me and your father, and reflect glory on us by your good life. May God prosper you, my first-born, and may you come to God, who is in every place.

## No. II.—See vol. i. p. 145.

**A CASTILIAN AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A POEM ON THE MUTABILITY OF LIFE, BY NEZAHUALCOYOTL, LORD OF TEZCUCO.**

[This poem was fortunately rescued from the fate of too many of the Indian MSS., by the Chevalier Boturini, and formed part of his valuable *Musé*. It was subsequently incorporated in the extensive collection of documents made by Father Manuel de la Vega, in Mexico, 1792. This magnificent collection was made in obedience to an enlightened order of the Spanish government, "that all such MSS. as could be found in New Spain, fitted to illustrate the antiquities, geography, civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history of America, should be copied and transmitted to Madrid." This order was obeyed, and the result was a collection of thirty-two volumes in folio, which, amidst much that is trivial and of little worth, contains also a mass of original materials, of inestimable value to the historian of Mexico and of the various races who occupied the country of New Spain.]

Un rato cantar quiero,  
pues la ocasion y el tiempo se ofrece ;  
ser admitido espero,  
si intento lo merece ;  
y comienzo mi canto,  
aunque fuera mejor llamarle llanto.  
Y tú, querido Amigo,  
goza la amenidad de aquestas flores,  
alégrate conmigo ;  
desechemos de pena los temores,  
que el gusto trae medida,  
por ser al fin con fin la mala vida.  
Yo tocaré cantando  
el músico instrumento sonoro,  
tú de flores gozando  
danza, y festeja á Dios que es Poderoso ;  
gocemos de esta gloria,  
porque la humana vida es transitoria.  
De Ocblehacan pusiste  
en esta noble Corte, y siendo tuyo,  
tus sillas, y quisiste  
vestirlas ; donde arguyo,  
que con grandeza tanta  
el Imperio se aumenta y se levanta.  
Oyoyotzin prudente,  
famoso Rey y singular Monarca,  
goza del bien presente,  
que lo presente lo florido abarca ;  
porque vendrá algun dia  
que busques este gusto y alegría.

Entonces tu Fortuna  
te ha de quitar el Cetro de la mano,  
ha de menguar tu Luna  
no te verás tan fuerte y tan ufano ;  
entonces tus criados  
de todo bien serán desamparados.

Y en tan triste suceso  
los nobles descendientes de tu nido,  
de Príncipes el peso,  
los que de nobles Padres han nacido,  
faltando tú Cabeza,  
gustarán la amargura de pobreza.

Y traerán á la memoria  
quien fuiste en pompa de todos envidiado,  
tus triunfos y victoria ;  
y con la gloria y Magestad pasada  
cotejando pesares,  
de lágrimas harán crecidas Mares.

Y estos tus descendientes,  
que te sirven de pluma y de corona  
de tí viéndose ausentes,  
de Culhuacan extrañarán la cuna,  
y tenidos por tales  
con sus desdichas crecerán sus males.

Y de esta grandeza rara,  
digna de mil coronas y blasones,  
será la fama avara ;  
solo se acordarán en las naciones,  
lo bien que gobernaron,  
las tres Cabezas que el imperio honraron.

En México formosa.  
Moctezumá, valor de pecho Indiano ;  
á Culhuacan dichosa  
de Neçahualcoyotl rigió la mano ;  
Acatlapan la fuerte  
Totoquihuastli le salió por suerta.

Y ningún olvido temo  
de lo bien que tu reyno dispusiste,  
estando en el supremo  
lugar, que de la mano recibiste  
de aquel Señor del Mundo,  
factor de aquestas cosas sin segunda.

Y goza pues muy gustoso,  
O Neçahualcoyotl, lo que agora tienes  
con flores de este hermoso  
jardín corona tus ilustres sienes ;  
oye mi canto, y lira  
que á darte gustos y placeres tira.

Y los gustos de esta vida,  
sus riquezas, y mandos son prestados,  
son sustancia fingida,  
con apariencias solo matizados ;  
y es tan gran verdad esta,  
que á una pregunta me has de dar respuesta.

¡ Y que es de Cihuatlan,  
 y Quantzintecomtzin el valiente,  
 y Conahuatzin ;  
 que es de toda esa gente !  
 sus voces ; ¡ agora acaso !  
 ya están en la otra vida, este es el caso.  
 ¡ Ojala los, que agora  
 juntos los tiene del amor el hilo,  
 que amistad atesora,  
 vieramos de la muerte el duro filo !  
 porque no hay bien seguro,  
 que siempre trae mudanza á lo futuro.

---

Now would I sing, since time and place  
 Are mine,—and oh ! with thee  
 May this my song obtain the grace  
 My purpose claims for me.  
 I wake these notes on song intent,  
 But call it rather a lament.  
 Do thou, beloved, now delight  
 In these my flowers, pure and bright,  
 Rejoicing with thy friend ;  
 Now let us banish pain and fear,  
 For, if our joys are measured here,  
 Life's sadness hath its end.

And I will strike, to aid my voice,  
 The deep, sonorous chord ;  
 Thou, dancing, in these flowers rejoice,  
 And feast Earth's mighty Lord ;  
 Seize we the glories of to-day,  
 For mortal life fleets fast away.—  
 In Ooblehacan, all thine own,  
 Thy hand hath placed the noble throne  
 Which thou hast richly dressed ;  
 From whence I argue that thy sway  
 Shall be augmented day by day,  
 In rising greatness blessed.

Wise Oyoyotzin ! prudent king !  
 Unrivalled Prince, and great !  
 Enjoy the fragrant flowers that spring  
 Around thy kingly state ;  
 A day will come which shall destroy  
 Thy present bliss,—thy present joy,—  
 When fate the sceptre of command  
 Shall wrench from out thy royal hand,—  
 Thy moon diminished rise ;  
 And, as thy pride and strength are quenched,  
 From thy adherents shall be wrenched  
 All that they love or prize.

When sorrow shall my truth attest,  
 And this thy throne decline,—  
 The birds of thy ancestral nest,  
 The princes of thy line,—  
 The mighty of thy race,—shall see  
 The bitter ills of poverty ;—  
 And then shall memory recall  
 Thy envied greatness, and on all  
 Thy brilliant triumphs dwell ;  
 And as they think on by-gone years,  
 Compared with present shame, their tears  
 Shall to an ocean swell.

And those who, though a royal hand,  
 Serve thee for crown, or plume,  
 Remote from Culhuacan's land  
 Shall find the exile's doom.  
 Deprived of thee,—their rank forgot,—  
 Misfortune shall o'erwhelm their lot.  
 Then fame shall grudgingly withhold  
 Her meed to greatness, which of old  
 Blazons and crowns displayed ;  
 The people will retain alone  
 Remembrance of that *triple throne*  
 Which this our land obeyed.

Brave Moctezuma's Indian land  
 Was Mexico the great,  
 And Nezahualcoyotl's hand  
 Blessed Culhuacan's state,  
 Whilst Totoquil his portion drew  
 In Acatlapan, strong and true ;  
 But no oblivion can I fear,  
 Of good by thee accomplished here,  
 Whilst high upon thy throne ;  
 That station, which, to match thy worth,  
 Was given by the Lord of Earth,  
 Maker of good alone.

Then, Nezahualcoyotl,—now,  
 In what thou *hast*, delight ;  
 And wreath around thy royal brow  
 Life's garden blossoms bright ;  
 List to my lyre and my lay,  
 Which aim to please thee, and obey.  
 The pleasures which our lives present—  
 Earth's sceptres, and its wealth—are *lent*,  
 Are shadows fleeting by ;  
 Appearance colours all our bliss ;  
 A truth so great, that now to this  
 One question, make reply.

What has become of Cihuapan,  
 Quantzintecountzin brave,  
 And Conahuatzin, mighty man ;  
 Where are they ? In the grave !

Their names remain, but they are fled,  
 Forever numbered with the dead.  
 Would that those now in friendship bound,  
 We whom Love's thread encircles round,  
 Death's cruel edge might see!  
 Since good on earth is insecure,  
 And all things must a change endure  
 In dark futurity!

No. III.—See vol. i. p. 147.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESIDENCE OF NEZAHUALCOYOTL AT TEZCOTZINCO, EXTRACTED FROM IXTLILXOCHITL'S "HISTORIA CHICHIMECA," MS., CAP. XLII.

De los jardines el mas ameno y de curiosidades fué el Bosque de Tezcoztzinco; porque demas de la cerca tan grande que tenia, para subir á la cumbre de él, y andarlo todo, tenia sus gradas, parte de ellas de argamasa, parte labrada en la misma peña; y el agua que se trahia para les Fuentes, Pilas, y Baños, y los caños que se repartian para el riego de las Flores y arboledas de este Bosque, para poderla traer desde su Nacimiento, fué menester hacer fuertes y altísimas murallas de argamasa desde unas sierras á otras, de increíble grandeza; sobre la qual hizo una Fargesa hasta venir á dar á la mas alta del Bosque, y á las espaldas de la cumbre de él. El primer Estanque de Agua estaba una Peña esculpida en ella en circunferencia los años desde que havia nacido el Rey Nezahualcoyotzin hasta la edad de aquel tiempo; y por la parte de afuera los años en fin de cada uno de ellos, así mismo esculpidas las cosas mas memorables que hizo: y por dentro de la rueda esculpidas sus Armas, que eran una casa, que estaba ardiendo, en llamas y desaciéndose; otra que estaba muy ennoblecida de edificios: y en medio de las dos un pie de venado, atada en él una piedra preciosa, y salian del pie unos penachos de plumas preciosas, y así mismo una cierva, y en ella un Brazo asido de un Arco con unas Flechas, y como un Hombre armado con su Morrión y oregeras, coselete, y dos tigres á los Lados, de cuinas bocas salian agua y fuego, y por orla, doce cabezas de Reyes y Señores, y otras cosas que el primer Arzobispo de México, Don Fray Juan de Zumarraga, mandó hacer pedazos, entendiendo ser algunos ídolos; y todo lo referido era la etimología de sus Armas. Y de allí se partia esta agua en dos partes, que la una iba cercando y rodeando el Bosque por la parte del Norte, y la otra por la parte del Sur. En la cumbre de este Bosque estaban edificadas unas casas á manera de torre, y por remate y Chápitel estaba hecha de cantería una como á manera de Mazeta, y dentro de ella salian unos Penachos y plumeros, que era la etimología del nombre del Bosque; y luego mas abajo, hecho de una Peña, un Leon de mas de dos brazos de largo con sus alas y plumas: estaba hechado y mirando á la parte del Oriente, en cuya boca asomaba un rostro, que era el mismo retrato del Rey, el qual Leon estaba de ordinario debajo de un palio hecho de oro y plumería. Un poquito mas abajo estaban tres Albercas de agua, y en la de en medio estaban en sus Bordes tres Damas esculpidas y labradas en la misma Peña, que signifi-

caban la gran Laguna y las Ramas las cabezas del Imperio; y por un lado (que era hacia la parte del Norte) otra Alberca, y en una Peña esculpido el nombre y Escudo de Armas de la Ciudad de Tolan, que fué cabecera de los Tultecas; y por el lado izquierdo, que caía hacia la parte del Sur, estaba la otra Alberca, y en la Peña esculpido el Escudo de Armas y nombre de la Ciudad de Tenaioacan, que fué la cabecera del Imperio de los Chichimecas; y de esta Alberca salía un caño de Agua, que saltando sobre unas peñas salpicaba el Agua, que iba á caer á un Jardín de todas flores olorosas de Tierra caliente, que parecia que llovía con la precipitacion y golpe que daba el agua sobre la Peña. Tras este jardín se seguían los Baños hechos y labrados de Peña viva, que con dividirse en dos Baños eran de una pieza; y por aquí se bajaba por una Peña grandísima de unas gradas hechas de la misma Peña, tan bien gravadas y lizas, que parecían Espejos; y por el pretil de estas gradas estaba esculpido el día, mes, y año, y hora, en que se le dió aviso al Rey Nezahualcoyotzin de la muerte de un Señor de Huexotzinco, á quien quiso y amó notablemente, y le cojió esta nueva quando se estaban haciendo estas gradas. Luego consecutivamente estaba el Alcazar y Palacio que el Rey tenía en el Bosque, en los quales havia, entre otras muchas salas, aposentos, y retretes, una muy grandísima, y delante de ella un Patio, en la qual recibía á los Reyes de México y Tlacopan, y á otros Grandes Señores, quando se iban á holgar con él, y en el Patio se hacían las Damas, y algunas representaciones de gusto y entretenimiento. Estaban estos alcazares con tan admirable y maravillosa hechura, y con tanta diversidad de piedras, que no parecían ser hechos de industria humana. El Aposento donde el Rey dormía era redondo; todo lo demás de este Bosque, como dicho tengo, estaba plantado de diversidad de Árboles, y flores odoríferas, y en ellos diversidad de Aves, sin las que el Rey tenía en jaulas, traídas de diversas partes, que hacían una armonía, y canto, que no se oían las Gentes. Fuera de las florestas, que las dividía, una Pared entraba la Montaña, en que havia muchos venados, conejos, y liebres, que si de cada cosa muy particular se describiese, y de los demás Bosques de este Reyno, era menester hacer Historia muy particular.

---

No. IV.—See vol. i. p. 167.

TRANSLATION FROM IXTILXOCHITL'S "HISTORIA CHICHIMECA,"  
MS., CAP. LXIV.

OF THE EXTRAORDINARY SEVERITY WITH WHICH THE KING  
NEZAHUALPILLI PUNISHED THE MEXICAN QUEEN FOR HER  
ADULTERY AND TREASON.

When Axaiacatzin, king of Mexico, and other lords, sent their daughters to king Nezahualpilli, for him to choose one to be his queen and lawful wife, whose son might succeed to the inheritance, she who had highest claims among them, from nobility of rank and birth, was Chachiuhnenetzin, daughter of the Mexican king. But, being at that time very young, she was brought up by the monarch in a separate palace, with great pomp and numerous attendants, as became the

daughter of so great a king. The number of servants attached to her household exceeded two thousand. Young as she was, she was yet exceedingly artful and vicious ; so that, finding herself alone, and seeing that her people feared her, on account of her rank and importance, she began to give way to the unlimited indulgence of her lust. Whenever she saw a young man who pleased her fancy, she gave secret orders to have him brought to her, and, having satisfied her desires, caused him to be put to death. She then ordered a statue or effigy of his person to be made, and, adorning it with rich clothing, gold, and jewelry, had it placed in the apartment in which she lived. The number of statues of those whom she thus put to death was so great as almost to fill the apartment. When the king came to visit her, and inquired respecting these statues, she answered that they were her gods ; and he, knowing how strict the Mexicans were in the worship of their false deities, believed her. But, as no iniquity can be long committed with entire secrecy, she was finally found out in this manner. Three of the young men, for some reason or other, she had left alive. Their names were Chicuhcoatl, Huitzilimitzin, and Maxtla, one of whom was lord of Tesoyucan, and one of the grandes of the kingdom ; and the other two, nobles of high rank. It happened that one day the king recognized on one of these a very precious jewel, which he had given to the queen ; and, although he had no fear of treason on her part, it gave him some uneasiness. Proceeding to visit her that night, her attendants told him that she was asleep, supposing that the king would then return, as he had done at other times. But the affair of the jewel made him insist on entering the chamber in which she slept ; and, going to awake her, he found only a statue in the bed, adorned with her hair, and closely resembling her. This being seen by the king, and also that the attendants around were in much trepidation and alarm, he called his guards, and, assembling all the people of the house, made a general search for the queen, who was shortly found, at an entertainment with the three young lords, who were likewise arrested with her. The king referred the case to the judges of his court, in order that they might make an inquiry into the matter and examine the parties implicated. These discovered many individuals, servants of the queen, who had in some way or other been accessory to her crimes, workmen who had been engaged in making and adorning the statues, others who had aided in introducing the young men into the palace, and others again who had put them to death and concealed their bodies. The case having been sufficiently investigated, he despatched ambassadors to the kings of Mexico and Tlacopan, giving them information of the event, and signifying the day on which the punishment of the queen and her accomplices was to take place ; and he likewise sent through the empire to summon all the lords to bring their wives and their daughters, however young they might be, to be witnesses of a punishment which he designed for a great example. He also made a truce with all the enemies of the empire, in order that they might come freely to see it. The time being arrived, so great was the concourse of people gathered on the occasion, that, large as was the city of Tezcuco, they could scarcely all find room in it. The execution took place publicly, in sight of the whole city. The queen was put to the *garrote* [a method of strangling by means of a rope twisted round a stick], as well as her three gallants ; and, from their being persons of high birth, their bodies were burned, together with the effigies before mentioned. The other parties who had been accessory to the crime, who were more than two thousand persons, were also put to the *garrote*, and buried in a pit made for the purpose in



a ravine near a temple of the Idol of Adulterers. All applauded so severe and exemplary a punishment, except the Mexican lords, the relations of the queen, who were much incensed at so public an example, and, although for the present they concealed their resentment, meditated future revenge. It was not without cause that the king experienced this disgrace in his household, since he was thus punished for the unworthy means made use of by his father to obtain his mother as a wife.

---

No. V.—See vol. i. p. 206.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY VELASQUEZ, GOVERNOR OF CUBA, TO  
CORTÉS ON HIS TAKING COMMAND OF THE EXPEDITION;  
DATED AT FERNANDINA, OCTOBER 23, 1518.

[The instrument forms part of the Muñoz collection.]

Por quanto yo Diego Velasquez, Alcalde, capitan general, é repartidor de los caciques é yndios de esta isla Fernandina por sus Altezas, &c., embié los dios pasados, en nombre é servicio de sus Altezas, aver é bojar la ysla de Yucatan S<sup>ta</sup> Maria de los remedios, que nuevamente habia descubierto, é á descubrir lo demas que Dios N<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>or</sup> fuese servido, y en nombre de sus Altezas tomar la posesion de todo, una armada con la gente necesaria, en que fué é nombre por capitan della é Juan de Grijalva, vezino de la villa de la Trinidad desta ysla, el qual me embió una caravela de las que llevaba, porque le facia mucha agua, é en ella cierta gente, que los Indios en la dicha S<sup>ta</sup> Maria de los remedios le habian herido, é otros adolecido, y con la razon de todo lo que le habia ocurrido hasta otras yslas é tierras que de nuebo descubrió; que la una es una ysla que se dice Cozumel, é le puso por nombre S<sup>ta</sup> Cruz; y la otra es una tierra grande, que parte della se llama Ulua, que puso por nombre S<sup>ta</sup> Maria de las Niebes; desde donde me embió la dicha caravela é gente, é me escribió como iba siguiendo su demanda principalmente á saber si aquella tierra era Isla, ó tierra firme; é ha muchos dias que de razon habia de haber sabido nueva dél, de que se presume, pues tal nueva dél fasta oy no se sabe, que debe de tener ó estar en alguna ó extrema necesidad de socorro: é así mesmo porque una caravela, que yo embié al dicho Juan de Grijalva desde el puerto desta cibdad de Santiago, para que con él é la armada que lleva se juntase en el puerto de S<sup>ta</sup> Cristóbal de la Havana, porque muy mas proveido de todo é como al servicio de sus Altezas convenia fuesen, quando llegó donde pensó fallarle, el d<sup>ho</sup> Juan de Grijalva se habia fecho á la vela é hera ido con toda la dicha armada, puesto pue dejó abiso del vinge que la d<sup>ha</sup> carabela habia de llevar; é como la d<sup>ha</sup> carabela, en que iban ochenta, ó noventa hombres, no falló la d<sup>ha</sup> armada, tomó el dicho aviso, y fué en seguimiento del d<sup>ho</sup> Juan de Grijalva; y segun parece é se ha sabido por informacion de las personas heridas é dolientes, que el d<sup>ho</sup> Juan de Grijalva me embió, no se habia juntado con él, ni della habia habido ninguna nueva, ni los d<sup>hos</sup> dolientes ni feridos la supieron á la buelta, puesto que viniéron mucha parte del biage costa á costa de la ysla de S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>a</sup> de los remedios por donde habien ydo; de que se presume que con tiempo forzoso podria de caer acia tierra firme, ó llegar á alguna parte donde los dichos ochenta

6 noventa ombres españoles corran detrimento por el nabío, ó por ser pocos, ó por andar perdidos en busca del d<sup>ho</sup> Juan de Grijalva, puesto que iban muy bien pertrechados de todo lo necesario: ademas de esto porque despues que con el d<sup>ho</sup> Juan de Grijalva embié la dicha armada he sido informado de muy cierto por un yndio de los de la d<sup>ha</sup> ysla de Yucatan S<sup>ra</sup> María de los remedios, como en poder de ciertos Caciques principales della están seis cristianos cautibos, y los tienen por esclavos, é se sirben dellos en sus haciendas, que los tomaron muchos dias ha de una carabela que con tiempo por allí diz que aportó perdida, que se cree que alguno dellos deve ser Nicuesa capitan, que el católico Rey D<sup>a</sup> Fernando de glorioso memoria mandó ir á tierra firme, é redimirlos seria grandísimo servicio de Dios N<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>or</sup> é de sus Altezas: por todo lo qual pareciéndome que al servicio de Dios N<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>or</sup> é de sus Altezas convenia inhiar así en seguimiento é socorro de la d<sup>ha</sup> armada quel d<sup>ho</sup> Juan de Grijalva llebó, y busca de la carabela que tras él en su seguimiento fué como á redimir si posible fuese los d<sup>hos</sup> cristianos que en poder de los d<sup>hos</sup> Indios están cautivos; acordé, habiendo muchas veces pensado, é pesado, platicádolo con personas cuerdas, de embiar como embié otra armada tal, é tambien bastecida é aparejada an-sí de nabíos é mantenimientos como de gente é todo lo demas para semejante negocio necesario; que si por caso á la gente de la otra primera armada, ó de la d<sup>ha</sup> carabela que fué en su seguimiento hallase en alguna parte cerca de infieles, sea bastante para los socorrer ó descercar; é si así no los hallare, por sí sola pueda seguramente andar é calar en su busca todas aquellas yalas tierras, é saber el secreto dellas, y faser todo lo demas que al servicio é de Dios N<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>or</sup> cumpla é al de sus Altezas combenga: é para ello he acordado de la encomendar á vos Fernando Cortés, é os imbiar por capitan della, por la esperiencia que de vos tengo del tiempo que ha que en esta yala en mi compañía habeis servido á sus Altezas, confiando que soys persona cuerda, y que con toda pendencia é zelo de su real servicio daréis buena razon é quenta de todo lo que por mí en nombre de sus Altezas os fuere mandado acerca de la dicha negociacion, y la guiaréis ó encaminaréis como mas al servicio de Dios N<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>or</sup> é de sus Altezas combenga; y porque mejor guiada la negociacion de todo vaya, lo que habeis de fazer, y mirar, é con mucha vigilancia y diligencia ynquirir é saber, es lo siguiente.

1. Hágase el servicio de Dios en todo, y quien saltaré castiga con rigor.

2. Castigaréis en particular la fornicacion.

3. Proibiréis dados y naipes, ocasion de discordias y otros excesos.

4. Ya salido la armada del p<sup>to</sup> desta ciud<sup>a</sup> de Santiago en los otros, dotaréis desta esta cuidado no se haga agravio á Españoles ni Indios.

5. Tomados los bastimentos necesarios en d<sup>hos</sup> puertos, partiréis á v<sup>ro</sup> destino, haciendo antes alarde de gente ó armas.

6. No consentiréis vaya ningun Indio ni India.

7. Salido al mar y metidas las barcas, en la de v<sup>ro</sup> navío visitaréis los otros, y reconoceréis otra vez la gente con las copias [has listas] de cada uno.

8. Apercibiréis á los capitanes y Maestres de los otros navíos que jamas se aparten de v<sup>ra</sup> conserva, y haréis quanto convenga para llegar todos juntos á la ysla de Cozumel Santa Cruz, donde será vuestra derecha derrota.

9. Si por algun caso llegaren antes que vos, les mandaréis que nadie sea osado á tratar mal á los Indios, ni les diga la causa porque vaia, ni les demande ó interroge por los cristianos captivos en la Isla de S<sup>ra</sup> María de los remedios: digan solo que vos hablaréis en llegando.

10. Llegado á d<sup>ha</sup> ysla de S<sup>ta</sup> Cruz veréis y sondearéis los puertos, entradas, y aguadas, así della como de S<sup>ta</sup> María de los remedios, y la punta de S<sup>ta</sup> María de las Nieves, para dar cumplida relacion de todo.

11. Diréis á los Indios de Cozumel, S<sup>ta</sup> Cruz, y demas partes, que vais por mandado del Rey á visitarles; hablaréis de su poder y conquistas, individnando las hechas en estas Islas y Tierra firme, de sus mercedes á quantos le sirven; que ellos se vengán á su obediencia y den muestras dello, regalándole, como los otros han hecho, con oro, perlas, &c., para que eche de ver su buena voluntad y les favorezca y defienda: que yo les aseguro de todo en su nombre, que me pesó mucho de la batalla que con ellos ovo Francisco Hernandez, y os embió para darles á entender como Su Alteza quiere que sean bien tratados, &c

12. Tomaréis entera informacion de las cruces que diz se hallan en d<sup>ha</sup> Isla S<sup>ta</sup> Cruz adoradas por los Indios, del origen y causas de semejante costumbre.

13. En general sabréis quanto concierne á la religion de la tierra.

14. Y cuidad mucho de doctrinarlos en la verdadera fee, pues esta es la causa principal porque sus Altezas permiten estos descubrimientos.

15. Inquirid de la armada de Juan de Grijalva, y de la caravela que llevó en su seguimiento Cristóv. de Olid.

16. Caso de juntaros con la armada, búsquese la caravela, y concertad donde podréis juntaros otra vez todos.

17. Lo mismo haréis si 1<sup>o</sup> se halla la caravela.

18. Iréis por la costa de la Isla de Yucatan S<sup>ta</sup> María de los remedios, do están seis cristianos en poder de unos caciques á quienes dice conocer Melchor Indio de allí, que con vos llevais. Tratadlo con mucho amor, para que os le tenga y sirva fielmente. No sea que os suceda algun daño, por que los Indios de aquella tierra en caso de guerra son mañosos.

19. Donde quiera, trataréis muy bien á los Indios.

20. Quantos rescates hicierdes meteréis en arca de tres llaves de que tendréis vos una, las otras el Veedor y el Tesorero que nombraredes.

21. Quando se necesite hacer agua, ó leña, &c., embiaréis personas cuerdas al mando dél de mayor confianza, que ni causen escándalo ni se pongan en peligro.

22. Si adentro la tierra viereis alguna poblacion de Indios que ofrecieren amistad, podréis ir á ella con la gente mas pacifica y bien armada, mirando mucho en que ningun agravio se les haga en sus bienes y mugeres.

23. En tal caso dejaréis á mui buen recabdo los navíos; estaréis mui sobre aviso que no os engañen ni se entrometan muchos Indios entre los Españoles, &c.

24. Aviso que placiendo á Dios N. S. ayais los X<sup>mos</sup> que en la d<sup>ha</sup> Isla de S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>a</sup> de los remedios están captivos, y buscado que por ella ayais la d<sup>ha</sup> armada é la d<sup>ha</sup> caravela, seguiréis vuestro viage á la punta llana ques el principio de la tierra grande que agora nuevamente el d<sup>ho</sup> J. de Grijalva descubrió, y correréis en su busca por la costa della adelante buscando todos los rios é puertos della fasta llegar á la baia de S. Juan, y S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>a</sup> de los Nieves, que es desde donde el d<sup>ho</sup> J. de Grijalva me embió los heridos é dolientes, é me escribió lo que hasta allí le habia ocurrido; é si allí hallaredes, juntaros é ir con el J.; porque entre los Españoles que llevais ó allá están no haya diferencias, . . . cada uno tenga cargo de la gente que consigo lleva, . . . y entramos mui conformes, consultaréis lo que mas convenga conforme

á esta instruccion, y á la que Grijalva llevó de sus Paternidades y mias : en tal caso los rescates todos se harán en presencia de Francisco de Peñalosa, veedor nombrado por sus Paternidades.

25. Inquiriréis las cosas de las tierras á do llegareis, así morales como físicas, si hai perlas, especiería, oro, &c., part<sup>da</sup> en S<sup>ra</sup> M<sup>a</sup> de las Nieves, de donde Grijalva me embió ciertos granos de oro por fundir é fundidos.

26. Quando salteis en tierra sea ante v<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>ra</sup> y muchos testigos, y tomaréis posesion della con las solemnidades usadas: inquirid la calidad de las gentes: porque diz que hay gentes de orejas grandes y anchas, y otras que tienen las caras como perros, . . . á que parte están las Amazonas, que dicen estos Indios que con vos llevais, que están cerca de allí.

27. Las demas cosas deixo á v<sup>ra</sup> prudencia, confiando de vos que en todo tomeis el cuidadoso cuidado de hacer lo que mas cumpla al servicio de Dios y de SS. AA.

28. En todos los puertos de esta ysla do hallareis Españoles que quieran ir con vos, no lleveis á quien tuviere deudas, si antes no las paga ó da fianzas suficientes.

29. Luego en llegando á S<sup>ra</sup> M<sup>a</sup> de las Nieves, me embiaréis en el navio que menos falta hiciere, quanto hubieredes rescatado y hallado de oro, perlas, especiería, animales, aves, &c., con relacion de lo hecho y lo que pensais hacer, p<sup>a</sup> que yo lo mande y diga al Rey.

30. Conoceréis conforme á derecho de las causas civiles y criminales que ocurran, como Capitan desta armada con todos los poderes, &c., &c. F<sup>ha</sup> en esta cibdad de Santiago puerto desta isla Fernandina, á 23 Oct., 1518.

No. VI.—See vol. i. p. 225.

EXTRACT FROM LAS CASAS' "HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS INDIAS,"  
MS., LIB. III. CAP. CXVI.

[Few Spanish scholars have had access to the writings of Las Casas; and I have made this short extract from the original, as a specimen of the rambling but vigorous style of a work the celebrity of which has been much enhanced by the jealous reserve with which it has been withheld from publication.]

Esto es uno de los errores y disparates que muchos han tenido y echo en estas partes; porque simprimero por mucho tiempo aver á los yndios y á qualquiera nacion ydolatria dotrinado es gran desvario quitarles los ydolos; lo qual nunca se hace por voluntad sino contra de los ydólatras; porque ninguno puede dexar por su voluntad é de buena gana aquello que tiene de muchos años por Dios y en la leche mamado y autorizado por sus mayores, sin que primero tenga entendido que aquello que les dan ó en que les comutan su Dios, sea verdadero Dios. Mirad que doctrina les podian dar en dos ó en tres ó en quatro ó en diez dias, que allí estuviéron, y que mas estuvieran, del verdadero Dios, y tampoco les supieran dar para desarraygalles la opinion erronea de sus dioses, que en yéndose, que se fuéron, no tornáron á ydolatrar. Primero se han de rraer de los corazones los ydolos, conviene á saber el

concepto y estima que tienen de ser aquellos Dios los ydólatras por diuturna y diligente é continua doctrina, y pintalles en ellos el concepto y verdad del verdadero Dios, y despues ellos mismos viendo su engaño y error an de derrocar é destruir, con sus mismas manos y de toda su voluntad, los ydolos que veneraban por Dios é por dioses. Y así lo enseña San Agustín en el sermón, *De puero centurionis, de verbis Domini*. Pero no fué aqueste el postrero disparate que en estas yndias cerca desta materia se a hecho poner cruces, ynduciendo á los yndios á la rreverencia dellas. Si ay tiempo para ello con sinificacion alguna del fruto que pueden sacar dello, si se lo pueden dar á entender para hacerse y bien hacerse, pero no aviendo tiempo ni lengua ni sazón, cosa superflua é ynútil parece. Porque pueden pensar los yndios que les dan algun ydolo de aquella figura que tienen por Dios los christianos, y así lo arán ydólatra adorando por Dios aquel palo. La mas cierta é conveniente regla é doctrina que por estas tierras y otras de ynfielos semejantes á estos los christianos deben dar é tener, quando van de pasada como estos yvan, é quando tambien quisieren morar entre ellas, es dalles muy buen exemplo de hobras virtuosas y christianas, para que, como dice nuestro Redemptor, viéndolas alaben y den gloria al Dios é padre de los christianos, é por ellas juzguen que quien tales cultores tiene no puede ser sino bueno é verdadero Dios.

---

No. VII.—See vol. i. p. 273.

DEPOSITION OF ALONSO HERNANDEZ DE PUERTO-CARRERO, MS.

[Puerto-Carrero and Montejo were the two officers sent home by Cortés from Villa Rica with despatches to the government. The emissaries were examined under oath before the venerable Dr. Carbajal, one of the Council of the Indies, in regard to the proceedings of Velasquez and Cortés; and the following is the deposition of Puerto-Carrero. He was a man of good family, superior in this respect to most of those embarked in the expedition. The original is in the Archives of Simancas.]

En la cibdad de la Coruña, á 30 dias del mes de Abril, de 1520 años, se tomó el d<sup>ho</sup> é depusicion de Alonso Hernandez Puerto-Carrero por mí, Joan de Samano, del qual haviendo jurado en forma so cargo del juramento dijo lo sig<sup>te</sup>.

Primeramente dijo, que en ell armada que hizo Fran<sup>co</sup> Hernandez de Cordova é Caycedo é su compañero él no fué en ella; de la qual armada fué el d<sup>ho</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Hernandez de Cordova por Capitan General é principal armador; é que ha oido decir como estos descubrieron la Isla que se llama de Yucatan.

Item: dijo que en ell armada de que fué Cap<sup>ta</sup> General Joan de Grijalva este testigo no fué; pero que vido un Cap<sup>ta</sup>, que se dice Pedro de Alvarado, que embió Joan de Grijalva en una caravela con cierto oro é joyas á Diego Velasquez; é que oyó decir, que des que Diego Velasquez vido que traian tan poco oro, é el Capitan Joan de Grijalva se queria luego bolver é no hacer mas rescate, acordó de hablar á

Hernandez Cortés para que hiciesen esta armada, por que al presente en Santiago no havia persona que mejor aparejo tuviese, i que mas bien quisto en la iala fuese, por que al presente tenia tres navios; fuéle preguntado, como savia lo susodho; respondió, que porque lo avia oido decir á muchas personas de la iala.

Dice mas que se pregonó en el pueblo don este testigo vivia, que todas las personas que quisiesen ir en ell armada, de todo lo que se oviese ó rescátase habria la una tercera parte, é las otras dos partes eran para los armadores i navios.

Fuéle preguntado, quien hizo dar el dho pregon, é en cuyo nombre se hacia, é quien se decia entonces que hacia la dha armada; respondió, que oyó decir, que Hernando Cortés havia escripto una carta á un Alcde de aquel pueblo para que hiciese á pregonarlo; é que oyó decir, que Diego Velasquez habló con Herndo Cortés para que juntamte con él hiciesen la dha armada, por que al presente no havia otra persona que mejor aparejo en la dicha iala para ello tuviese, porque al presente tenia tres navios, é era bien quisto en la iala; é que oyó decir, que si él no fuera por Capitan, que no fuera la tercera parte de la gente que con él fué; é que no sabe el concierto que entre sí tienen, mas de que oyó decir, que amvos hacian aquella armada, é que ponía Herndo Cortés mas de las dos partes della, é que la otra parte cree este testigo que la puso Diego Velasquez, porque lo oyó decir, é despues que fué en la dha armada vido ciertos navios que puso Herndo Cortés, en lo que gastaba con la gente, que le pareció que ponía las dos partes ó mas, é que de diez navios que fuéron en ell armada los tres puso Diego Velasquez, é los siete Cortés suyos é de sus amigos.

Dijo que le dijéron muchas personas que ivan en ell armada como Herndo Cortés hizo pregonar, que todos los que quisiesen ir en su compañía, si toviessen nescésida de dineros así para comprar vestidos como provisiones ó armas para ellos, que fuesen á él, é que él les socorria é les daria lo que hoviesen menester, é que á todos los que á él acodían que lo dava, é que esto sabe, porque muchas personas á quien el socorria con dineros que lo dijéron; é que estando en la villa de la Trinidad, vió que él é sus amigos davan á toda la gente que allí estaba todo lo que havian menester; é así mesmo estando en la villa de Sant Cristobal en la Havana, vió hacer lo mismo, é comprar muchos puercos é pan, que podian ser tres ó quatro meses.

Fuéle preguntado, á quien tenían por principal armador desta armada, é quien era público que la hacia; dijo que lo que oyó decir é vido, que Herndo Cortés gastava las dos partes, é que los dhos Diego Velasquez é Herndo Cortés la hiciéron como dho tiene, é que no sabe mas en esto de este articulo.

Fuéle preguntado, si sabia quel dho Diego Velasquez fuese el principal por respecto de ser Gobernador por su Al. en las tierras é islas que por su industria se descubriesen; que no lo sabe, por que no le eran entonces llegados Gonzalo de Guzman é Narvaez.

Fuéle preguntado, si sabe el dho Diego Velasquez sea lugar teniente de Gobernador é capitan de la iala de Cuba; dijo que ha oido decir, ques teniente de Almirante.

Fuéle preguntado, si sabia dellasi é capitulac que el dicho Diego Velasquez tomó con los Frailes Gerónimos en nombre de S. M., é de la instruccion que ellos para el descubrimiento le diéron; dijo que oyó decir, que les havia fto relacion que havia descovierto una tma que era mui rica, é les embió á pedir le diesen lic para vojallá é para reatar en ella, é los Padres Gerónimos que la diéron, é que esto sabe

por que lo oyó decir: fuéle preguntado, si vió este asiento ó poderes algunos de los d<sup>nos</sup> Padres ó la d<sup>na</sup> instruccion; dijo que bien los puede haver visto, mas lo que en ellos iba, no se acuerda mas que lo arriva d<sup>no</sup>.

Fuéle preguntado, si vió ó oyó decir, que los dichos poderes ó capitulac<sup>on</sup> de los d<sup>nos</sup> Padres Gerónimos fuese nombrado Diego Velasquez ó el d<sup>no</sup> Cortés; dijo que en los poderes que los P<sup>res</sup> Gerónimos embiaron á Diego Velasquez que á él seria, é no há Hernando Cortés, por que el d<sup>no</sup> Diego Velasquez lo embió á pedir.

Fuéle preguntado, como é porque causa obedecia á Hern<sup>do</sup> Cortés por Cap<sup>n</sup> General de aquella armada; dijo que porque Diego Velasquez le dió su poder en nombre de su Al. para ir hacer aquel rescate; é que lo sabe, porque vió el poder é lo oyó decir á todos ellos.

Fuéle preguntado, que fué la causa por que no usaron con el d<sup>no</sup> Hern<sup>do</sup> Cortés de los poderes que llevaba del d<sup>no</sup> Diego Velasquez; dijo que esta armada iba en achaque de buscar á Juan de Grijalva; que oyó decir, que no tenia poder Diego Velasquez de los P<sup>res</sup> Gerónimos para hacer esta armada; é con este achaque que arriva dice hiciéron esta armada, é que él usó del poder que Diego Velasquez le dió, é allí rescató.

Fuéle preguntado, que fué la causa porque, quando quisieron poblar, le nombraron ellos por Capitan General é justicia mayor de nuevo; dijo que Hernando Cortés, desque havia rescatado é vido que tenia pocos vastim<sup>tos</sup>, que no havia mas de para bolver tasadamente á la isla de Cuba, dijo que se queria bolver; é entonces toda la gente se juntaron é le requirieron que poblase, pues los Yndios les tenian buena voluntad é mostravan que holgaban con ellos, é la t<sup>ra</sup> era tan aparejada para ello, é S. M. seria dello mui servido; é respondió, que él no traia poder para poblar, que él responderia; é respondió, que pues era servicio de S. M. poblar, otejava que poblasen; é hiciéron Alc<sup>de</sup> é Rexidores, é se juntaron en su cabildo, é le proveyeron de Xusticia mayor é Capitan General en nombre de S. M.

Fuéle preguntado, que se hiciéron los navios que llebaron; dijo que desque poblaron venian los maestres de los navios, á decir al capitán que todos los navios se ivan á fondo, que no los podian tener encima dell agua; i el d<sup>no</sup> Capitan mandó á ciertos maestres é pilotos que entrasen en los navios é viesen los que estavan para poder navegar, é ver si se podiesen remediar; é los d<sup>nos</sup> maestres é pilotos digéron, que no havia mas de tres navios que pudiesen navegar é remediarse, é que havia de ser con mucha costa; é que los demas que no havia medio ninguno en ellos, é que alguno dellos se undió en la mar, estando echada el ancla; é que con los demás que no estavan para poder navegar é remediarse, los dejaron ir al traves; é que esta es la verdad, é firmólo de su nombre.

Dijo que se acuerda que oyó decir, que Hernando Cortés havia gastado en esta armada cinco mill ducados ó castellanos; é que Diego Velasquez oyó decir, que havia gastado mill é setecientos, poco mas ó menos; é que esto que gastó fué en vinos é aceites é vinagre é ropas de vestir, las que les vendió un factor que allá está de Diego Velasquez, en que les vendia el arroba de vino á quatro castellanos que salia al respecto por una pipa cient. castellanos, el arroba del aceite á seis castellanos, é alomesmo la arrova del vinagre, é las camisas á dos pesos, y el par de los alpargates á castellano, é un mazo de cuentas de valoria á dos castellanos costándole á él á dos reales, é á este respecto fueron todas las otras cosas; é que esto que gastó Diego Velasquez lo sabe, porque lo vido vender, é este testigo se le vendió hasta parte dello.— Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero declaró ante mí, Johan de Samano.

No. VIII.—See vol. i. p. 276.

## EXTRACT FROM THE "CARTA DE VERA CRUZ," MS.

[The following extract from this celebrated letter of the Municipality of La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz to the Emperor gives a succinct view of the foundation of the first colony in Mexico, and of the appointment of Cortés by that body as Chief Justice and Captain-General. The original is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna.]

Despues de se aver despedido de nosotros el dicho Cacique, y buuelto á su casa, en mucha conformidad, como en esta armada venimos, personas nobles, cavalleros, hijos dalgo, zelosos del servicio de n<sup>ro</sup> Señor y de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas, y deseosos de ensalzar su Corona Real, de acrecentar sus Señoríos, y de aumentar sus rentas, nos juntámos y platicámos con el dicho capitan Fernando Cortés, diciendo que esta tierra era buena, y que segun la muestra de oro que aquel Cacique avia traido, se creia que debia de ser mui rica, y que segun las muestras que el dicho Cacique avia dado, era de creer que él y todos sus Indios nos tenían muy buena voluntad; por tanto que nos parecia que nos convenia al servicio de V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades, y que en tal tierra se hiziese lo que Diego Velasquez avia mandado hacer al dicho Capitan Fernando Cortés, que era rescatar todo el oro que pudiese, y rescatado bolverse con todo ello á la Isla Fernandina, para gozar solamente de ello el dicho Diego Velasquez y el dicho Capitan; y que lo mejor que á todos nos parecia era, que en nombre de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas se poblase y fundase allí un pueblo en que huviese justicia, para que en esta tierra tuviesen Señorío, como en sus Reinos y Señoríos lo tienen; porque siendo esta tierra poblada de Españoles, de mas de acrecentar los Reinos y Señoríos de V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades, y sus rentas, nos podrian hacer mercedes á nosotros y á los pobladores que de mas allá viniessen adelante; y acordado esto, nos juntámos todos en concord de un ánimo y voluntad, y hizímos un requerimiento al dicho capitan, en el qual dixímos, que pues él veia quanto al servicio de Dios n<sup>ro</sup> Señor y al de V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades convenia, que esta tierra estuviese poblada, dándole las causas de que arriba á V<sup>ras</sup> Altezas se ha hecho relación, que le requerimos que luego cesase de hacer rescates de la manera que los venia á hacer, porque seria destruir la tierra en mucha manera, y V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades serian en ellos muy desservidos; y que ansí mismo le pedimos y requerimos que luego nombrase para aquella villa, que se avia por nosotros de hacer y fundar, Alcaldes y Regidores, en nombre de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas, con ciertas protestaciones, en forma que contra él protestámos si ansí no lo hiziesen; y hecho este requerimiento al dicho Capitan, dixo que daria su respuesta el dia siguiente; y viendo pues el dicho Capitan como convenia al servicio de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas lo que le pediamos, luego otro dia nos respondió diciendo, que su voluntad estava mas inclinada al servicio de V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades que á otra cosa alguna, y que no mirando al interesse que á él se le siguiese, si prosiguiera en el rescate que traia propuesto de rehacer los grandes gastos que de su hacienda avia hecho en aquella armada juntamente con el dicho Diego Velasquez, antes poniéndolo todo le placia y era contento de hacer lo que



por nosotros le era pedido, pues que tanto convenia al servicio de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas; y luego comenzó con gran diligencia á poblar y á fundar una villa la qual puso por nombre la rica Villa de Vera Cruz, y nombrónos á los que lá delantes subscribimos, por Alcaldes y Regidores de la dicha Villa, y en nombre de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas recibió de nosotros el juramento y solemnidad que en tal caso se acostumbra y suele hacer; despues de lo qual otro dia siguiente entrámos en nuestro cabildo y ajuntamiento, y estando así juntos embiamos á llamar al dicho Capitan Fernando Cortés, y le pedimos en nombre de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas que nos mostrase los poderes y instrucciones que el dicho Diego Velasquez le avia dado para venir á estas partes, el qual embió luego por ellos y nos los mostró; y vistos y leidos por nosotros, bien examinados segun lo que pudimos mejor entender, hallámos á nuestro parecer que por los dichos poderes y instrucciones no tenia mas poder el dicho capitan Fernando Cortés, y que por aver ya espirado no podia usar de justicia ni de Capitan de allí adelante; pareciéndonos pues, mui Excellentísimos Príncipes! que para la pacificacion y concordia de entre nosotros, y para nos gobernar bien, convenia poner una persona para su Real servicio, que estuviere en nombre de V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades en la dicha villa y en estas partes por justicia mayor y capitan y cabeza, á quien todos acatasemos hasta hacer relacion de ello á V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas para que en ello proveyesen lo que mas servidos fuesen, y visto que á ninguna persona se podria dar mejor el dicho cargo que al dicho Fernando Cortés, porque demas de ser persona tal qual para ello conviene, tiene muy gran zelo y deseo del servicio de V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades, y así mismo por la mucha experiencia que de estas partes y Islas tiene, de causa de los quales ha siempre dado buena cuenta, y por haver gastado todo quanto tenia por venir como vino con esta armada en servicio de V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades, y por aver tenido en poco, como hemos hecho relacion, todo lo que podia ganar y interese que se le podia seguir si rescatare como traia concertado, y le proveimos en nombre de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas de justicia y Alcalde mayor, del qual recibimos el juramento que en tal caso se requiere, y hecho como convenia al Real servicio de V<sup>ra</sup> Magestad, lo recibimos en su Real nombre en n<sup>ro</sup> ajuntamiento y cabildo por Justicia mayor y capitan de V<sup>ras</sup> Reales armas, y así está y estará hasta tanto que V<sup>ras</sup> Magestades provean lo que mas á su servicio convenga: hemos querido hacer de todo esto relacion á V<sup>ras</sup> Reales Altezas, porque sepan lo que acá se ha hecho, y al estado y manera en que quedamos.

---

No. IX.—See vol. i. p. 339.

EXTRACT FROM CAMARGO'S "HISTORIA DE TLASCALA," MS.

[This passage from the Indian chronicler relates to the ceremony of inauguration of a Tecuhtle, or merchant-knight, in Tlascala. One might fancy himself reading the pages of Sta. Palaye, or any other historian of European chivalry.]

Esta ceremonia de armarse caballeros los naturales de México y Tlaxcala y otras provincias de la Laguna Mejicana es cosa muy notoria; y así no nos detendremos en ella, mas de pasar secuntamente. Es de

saber, que cualquier Señor, ó hijos de Señores, que por sus personas habian ganado alguna cosa en la guerra, ó que hubiesen hecho ó emprendido cosas señaladas y aventajadas, conio tubiese indicios de mucho valor, y que fuese de buen consejo y aviso en la república, le armaban caballero; que como fuesen tan ricos que por sus riquezas se ennoblecian y hacian negocios de hijos y dalgo y caballero, los armaban caballeros por dos, diferentemente que los caballeros de linea recta, porque los llamaban Tepilhuan: Al Mercader que era armado caballero, y á los finos que por descendencia lo eran, llamaban Tecuhtles. Estos Tecuhtles se armaban caballeros con muchas ceremonias. Ante todas cosas, estaban encerrados 40 ó 60 dias en un templo de sus ídolos, y ayunaban todo este tiempo, y no trataban con gente mas que con aquellos que les servian, y al cabo de los cuales eran llevados al templo mayor, y allí se les daban grandes doctrinas de la vida que habian de tener y guardar; y antes de todas estas cosas les daban grandes bejamenes con muchas palabras afrentosas y satiricas, y les daban de puñadas con grandes reprensiones, y aun en su propio rostro, segun atras dejámos tratado, y les horadaban las narices y labios y orejas; y la sangre que de ellos salia la ofrecian á sus ídolos. Allí les daban publicamente sus arcos y flechas y macanas y todo género de armas usadas en su arte militar. Del templo era llevado por las calles y plazas acostumbradas con gran pompa y regocijo y solemnidad: ponianles en las orejas orejeras de oro, y bezotes de lo mismo, llevando adelante muchos truhanes y chocarreros que decian grandes donaires, con que hacian reir las gentes; pero como vamos tratando, se ponian en las narices piedras ricas, oradábanles las orejas y narices y bezos, no con yerros ni cosa de oro ni plata, sino con quesos de Tigres y leones y águilas agudos. Este armado caballero hacia muy solemnes fiestas y costosas, y daban muy grandes presentes á los antiguos Señores caballeros así de ropas como de esclavos, oro y piedras preciosas y plumas ricas, y divisas, escudos, rodela y arcos y flechas, á manera de propinas cuando se doctoran nuestros letrados. Andan de casa en casa de estos Tecuhtles dándoles estos presentes y dadivas, y lo propio hacen con estos armados caballeros despues que lo eran, y se tenia cuenta con todos ellos. Y era república; y así no se armaban muchos caballeros hidalgos pobres, por su poca posibilidad, sino eran aquellos que por sus nobles y loables hechos lo habian merecido, que en tal caso los cuciques cabeceros y los mas supremos Señores Reyes, pues tenian meromixto imperio con sus tierras, y orca y cuchillo para ejecutar los casos de justicia, como en efecto era así. Finalmente, que los que oradaban las orejas, bezos, y narices de estos, que así se armaban caballeros, eran caballeros ancianos y muy antiguos, los cuales estaban dedicados para esto; y así como para en los casos de justicia y consejos de guerra. Servian estos caballeros veteranos en la república, los cuales eran temidos, obedecidos, y reverenciados en muy gran veneracion y estima. Y como atras dejámos dicho, que al cabo de los 40 ó 60 dias de ayuno de los caballeros nobles les sacaban de allí para llevarlos al templo mayor donde tenian sus simulacros; no les oradaban entonces las orejas, narices, ni labios, que son los labios de la parte de abajo, sino que cuando se ponian en el ayuno, entonces; y ante todas cosas les hacian estos bestiales espectáculos; y en todo el tiempo de ayuno estaba en cura, para que el dia de la mayor ceremonia fuese sano de las heridas, que pudiesen ponerle las orejeras y bezotes sin ningun detrimento ni dolor; y en todo este tiempo no se lavaban, antes estaban todo tiznados y embisajados de negro, y con muestras de gran humildad para conseguir y alcanzar tan gran merced y premio, velando las armas todo el tiempo

del ayuno segun sus ordenanzas, constitutiones, y usos y costumbres entre ellos tan celebrados. Tambien usaban tener las puertas donde estaban ayunando cerradas con ramos de laurel, cuyo árbol entre los naturales era muy estimado.

No. X.—See vol. i. p. 496.

EXTRACT FROM OVIEDO'S "HISTORIA DE LAS INDIAS," KS, LIB.  
XXXIII. CAP. XLVI.

[This chapter, which has furnished me with many particulars for the narrative, contains a minute account of Montezuma's household and way of life, gathered by the writer, as he tells us, from the testimony of different individuals of credit, who had the best means of information. It affords a good specimen of the historian's manner, and may have interest to the Castilian scholar, since the original has never been published, and, to judge from appearances, is not likely to be so.]

Quando este gran Principe Montezuma comia, estaba en una gran sala enalada é mui pintada de pinturas diversas; alli tenia enanos é chocarreros que le decian gracias é donaires, é otros que jugaban con vn palo puesto sobre los pies grande, é le traian é meneaban con tanta facilidad é ligereza, que parecia cosa imposible; é otros hacian otros juegos é cosas de mucho para se admirar los hombres. Á la puerta de la sala estaba vn patio mui grande, en que habia cien aposentos de 25 ó 30 pies de largo, cada uno sobre sí, en torno de dicho patio, é allí estaban los Señores principales aposentados como guardas del palacio ordinarias, y estos tales aposentos se llaman galpones, los quales á la continua ocupan mas de 600 hombres, que jamas se quitaban de allí, é cada vno de aquellos tenian mas de 30 servidores, de manera que á lo menos nunca faltaban 3000 hombres de guerra en esta guarda cotediana del palacio. Quando queria comer aquel principe grande, daban le agua á manos sus mugeres, é salian allí hasta 20 dellas las mas queridas é mas hermosas é estaban en pie en tanto que él comia: É traiale vn Mayordomo ó Maestre-sala 3000 platos ó mas de diversos manjares de gallinas, codornices, palomas, tórtolas, é otras aves, é algunos platos de muchachos tiernos guisados á su modo, é todo mui lleno de axi, é el comia de lo que las mugeres le trahian ó queria. Despues que habia acabado de comer se tornaba á labar las manos, é las Mugeres se iban á su aposento dellas, donde eran mui bien servidas; É luego ante el señor allegábanse á sus burias é gracias aquellos chocarreros é donosos, é mandaba les dar de comer sentados á vn cabo de la sala; é todo lo restante de la comida mandaba dar á la otra gente que se ha dicho que estaban en aquel gran patio; y luego venian 3000 Xicalos i cantaros ó ánforas de breuage, é despues que el señor habia comido ó bebido, é labádose las manos, ibanse las Mugeres, é acabadas de salir de la sala, entraban los negociantes de muchas partes, así de la misma cibdad como de sus señorios; é los que le habian de hablar incábanse de rodillas quatro varas de medir ó mas, apartados dél é descalzos, é sin manta de algodón que algo valiese; é sin mirarle á la

cara decian su razonamiento ; é él proveia lo que la parecia ; é aquellos se levantaban é tornaban atras retraiéndose sin volver las espaldas vn buen tiro de piedra, como lo acostumbraban hacer los Moros de Granada delante de sus señores é príncipes. Allí habia muchos jugadores de diversos juegos, en especial con vnos fesoles á manera de habas, é apuntadas como dados, que es cosa de ver ; é juegan quanto tienen los que son Tahures entrellos. Ivan los Españoles á ver á Montezuma, é mandábales dar dñchos, que son vnos banquillos ó escabelos, en que se sentasen, mui lindamente labrados, é de gentil madera, é decíanles que querian, que lo pidiesen é dárselo han. Su persona era de pocas carnes, pero de buena gracia é afabil, é tenia cinco ó seis pelos en la barba tan luengos como un gema. Si le parecia buena alguna ropa que el Español tubiese, pedíasela, é si se la dada liberalmente sin le pedir nada por ella, luego se la cobria é la miraba mui particularmente, é con placer la loaba ; mas si le pedian precio por ella hacíalo dar luego, é tomaba la ropa é tornábасela á dar á los christianos sin se la cobrir, é como descontento de la mala crianza dél que pedia el precio, decia : Para mí no ha de haber precio alguno, porque yo soy señor, é no me han de pedir nada deso ; que yo lo daré sin que me den alguna cosa ; que es mui gran afrenta poner precio de ninguna cosa á los que son señores, ni ser ellos Mercaderes. Con esto concuerlan las palabras que de Scipion Africano, que de sí decian aquella contienda de prestancia, que escribe Luciano, entre los tres capitanes mas excelentes de los antiguos, que son Alexandro Magno, é Anibal, é Scipion : Desde que nasci, ni vendí ni compré cosa ninguna. Así que decia Montezuma quando así le pedian precio : Otro dia no te pediré cosa alguna, porque me has hecho mercader ; yete con Dios á tu casa, é lo que obieses menester pídelo, é dárselo ha : É no tornes acá, que no soy amigo desos tratos, ni de los que en ellos entienden, para mas de dexárselos vsar con otros hombres en mi Señorío. Tenia Montezuma mas de 3000 señores que le eran subgetos, é aquellos tenían muchos vasallos cada uno dellos ; É cada qual tenia casa principal en Temixtitán, é habia de residir en ella ciertos meses del año ; É quando se habian de ir á su tierra con licencia de Montezuma, habia de quedar en la casa su hijo ó hermano hasta quel señor della tornase. Esto hacia Montezuma por tener su tierra segura, é que ninguno se le alzase sin ser sentido. Tenia vna seña, que trahian sus Almoxarifes é Mensageros quando recogian los tributos, é él que erraba lo mataban á él é á quantos dél venian. Dábanle sus vasallos en tributo ordinario de tres hijos uno, é él que no tenia hijos habia de dar vn Indio ó India pará sacrificar á sus Dioses, é sino lo daban, habian de sacrificarle á él : Dábanle tres hanegas de mahiz vna, é de todo lo que grangeaban, ó comian, ó bebian ; En fin, de todo se le daba el tercio ; É él que desto faltaba pagaba con la cabeza. En cada pueblo tenían Mayordomo con sus libros del número de la gente é de todo lo demas asentado por tales figuras é caracteres quellos se entendian sin discrepancia, como entre nosotros con nuestras letras se entenderia vna cuenta mui bien ordenada. É aquellos particulares Mayordomos daban quenta á aquellos que residian en Temixtitán, é tenían sus alholies é magazenes é depósitos donde se recogian los tributos, é oficiales para ello, é ponian en cárceles los que á su tiempo no pagaban, é dábanles término para la paga, é aquel pasado é no pagado, justiciaban al tal deudor, ó le hacian esclavo.

Dex-mos esta materia, é volvamos á este gran Príncipe Montezuma, el qual en vna gran sala de 150 pies de largo, é de 50 de ancho, de grandes vigas é postes de madera que lo sostenian, encima de la qual, era

todo vn terrado é azutea, é tenia dentro desta sala muchos géneros de avea, é de animalca. Havia 30 águilas caudales en jaolas, tigres, lobos, culebras, tan gruesas como la pierna, de mucho espanto, é en sus jaolas así mismo, é allí se les llevaba la sangre de los hombres é mugeres é niños que sacrificaban, é cebaban con ella aquellas bestias; é habia vn suelo hecho de la mesma sangre humana en toda la dicha sala, é si se metia vn palo ó vara temblaba el suelo. En entrando por la sala, el hedor era mucho é aborrecible é asqueroso; las culebras daban grandes é horribles silvos, é los gemidos é tonos de los otros animales allí presos era una melodía infernal, é para poner espanto; tenian 500 gallinas de racion cada dia para la sustentacion desos animales. En medio de aquella sala habia vna capilla á manera de vn horno grande, é por encima chapada de las minas de oro é plata é piedras de muchas maneras, como ágatas é cornesinas, nides, topacios, planas desmeraldas, é de otras suertes, muchas é mui bien engastadas. Allí entraba Montezuma é se retrahia á hablar con el Dieblo, al qual nombraban Atezcatepoca, que aquella gente tienen por Dios de la guerra, y él les daba á entender, que era Señor y criador de todo, y que en su mano era el vencer; é los Indios en sus arreitos y cantares é hablas le dan gracias y lo invocan en sus necesidades. En aquel patio é sala habia continuamente 5000 hombres pintados de cierto betun ó tinta, los quales no llegan á mugeres é son castos; llámanlos papas, é aquestos son religiosos.

Tenia Montezuma vna casa mui grande en que estaban sus Mugeres, que eran mas de 4000 hijas de señores, que se las daban para ser sus Mugeres, é él lo mandaba hacer así; é las tenia mui guardadas y servidas; y algunas veces él daba algunas dellas á quien queria favorecer y honrar de sus principales: Ellos las recibian como vn don grandísimo. Habia en su casa muchos jardines é 100 vaños, ó mas, como los que vean los Moros, que siempre estaban calientes, en que se bañaban aquellas sus Mugeres, las quales tenian sus guarilas, é otras mugeres como Prioras que las governaban: É á estas mayores, que eran ancianas, acataban como á Madres, y ellas las trataban como á hijas. Tuvo su padre de Montezuma 150 hijos é hijas, de los quales los mas mató Montezuma, y las hermanas casó muchas dellas con quien le pareció; y él tubo 50 hijos y hijas, ó mas; y acaeció algunas veces tener 50 mugeres preñadas, y las mas dellas mataban las criaturas en el cuerpo, porque así dicen que se lo mandaba el Diablo, que hablaba con ellas y decíales que se sacrificasen ellas las orejas y las lenguas y sus naturas, é se sacasen mucha sangre é se la ofreciesen, é así lo hacian en efeto. Parecia la casa de Montezuma vna cibdad mui poblada. Tenia sus porteros en cada puerta. Tenia 20 puertas de servicio; entraban muchas calles de agua á ellas, por las quales entraban é salian las canoas con mahiz, é otros bastimentos, é leña. Entraba en esta casa un caño de agua dulce, que venia de dos leguas de allí, por encima de vna calzada de piedra, que venia de vna fuente, que se dice chapictepeque, que nace en vn peñon, que está en la Laguna salada, de mui excelente agua.

## No. XI.—See vol. ii. p. 84, et alibi.

DIALOGUE OF OVIEDO WITH DON THOAN CANO, AP. "HISTORIA DE LAS INDIAS," MS., LIB. XXXIII. CAP. LIV.

[The most remarkable, in some respects, of Oviedo's compositions is his *Quincuagenas*, a collection of imaginary dialogues with the most eminent persons of his time, frequently founded, no doubt, on the personal communications which he had held with them. In his "History of the Indies" he has also introduced a dialogue which he tells us he actually had with Don Thoan Cano, a Castilian hidalgo, who married Guatemozin's widow, the lovely daughter of Montezuma. He came into the country originally with Narvaez; and, as he was a man of intelligence, according to Oviedo, and his peculiar position both before and after the Conquest opened to him the best sources of information, his testimony is of the highest value. As such I have made frequent use of it in the preceding pages, and I now transcribe it entire, in the original, as an important document for the history of the Conquest.]

DIÁLOGO DEL ALCAYDE DE LA FORTALEZA DE LA CIUDAD  
PUERTO DE SANTO DOMINGO DE LA ISLA ESPAÑOLA, AUTOR Y  
CHRONISTA DESTAS HISTORIAS, DE LA VNA PARTE, É DE LA  
OTRA, VN CABALLERO VECINO DE LA GRAND CIUDAD DE MÉXICO,  
LLAMADO THOAN CANO.

ALC. Señor, ayer supe que Vm. vive en la grand cibdad de México, y que os llamais Thoan Cano; y porque yo tube amistad con vn caballero llamado Diego Cano, que fué criado del serenísimo Príncipe Don Thoan, mi señor, de gloriosa memoria, deseo saber si es vivo, é donde sois señor natural, é como quedásteis avecindado en estas partes, é rescibiré merced, que no rescibais pesadumbre de mis preguntas; porque tengo necesidad de saber algunas cosas de la Nueva España, y es razon, que para mi satisfaccion yo procure entender lo que deseo de tales personas é hábito que merezcan crédito; y así, Señor, recibiré mucha merced de la vuestra en lo que digo.

THOAN CANO. Señor Alcayde, yo soy él que gano mucho en cono-  
ceros; y tiempo ha que deseaba ver vuestra persona, porque os soi aficionado, y querria que mui de veras me tubiesedes por tan amigo é servidor como yo os lo seré. É satisfaciendo á lo que Vm. quiere saber de mí, digo, que Diego Cano, Escribano de Cámara del Príncipe Don Thoan, y camarero de la Tapicería de su Alteza, fué mi tío, é ha poco tiempo que murió en la cibdad de Caceres, donde vivia é yo soy natural: Y quanto á lo demas, yo, Señor, pasé desde la Isla de Cuba á la Nueva España con el capitan Pámphilo de Narvaez, é aunque mozo é de poco edad, yo me hallé cerca del quando fué preso por Hernando Cortés é sus mañas; é en ese trance le quebráron vn ojo, peleando él como mui valiente hombre; pero como no le acudió su gente, é con él se halláron mui pocos, quedó preso é herido, é se hizo Cortés señor del campo, é truxo á su devocion la gente que con Pámphilo habia ido, é en ren-

cuentros é en batallas de manos en México; y todo lo que ha sucedido despues yo me he hallado en ello. Mandais que diga como quedé avendado en estas partes, y que no reciba pesadumbre de vuestras preguntas; satisfaciendo á mi asiento, digo, Señor, que yo me casé con una Señora hija legítima de Montezuma, llamada doña Isabel, tal persona, que aunque se holiera criado en nuestra España, no estubiera mas enseñada é bien dotrinada é Católica, é de tal conversacion é arte, que os satisfaria su manera é buena gracia; y no es poco útil é provechosa al sosiego é contentamientos de los naturales de la tierra; porque, como es Señora en todas sus cosas é amiga de los christianos, por su respecto é exemplo mas quietud é reposo se imprime en los ánimos de los Mexicanos. En lo demas que se me preguntare, é de que yo tenga memoria, yo, Señor, diré lo que supiere conforme á la verdad.

ALC. Yo acepto la merced que en eso recibiré; y quiero comenzar á decir lo que me ocurre, porque me acuerdo, que fui informado que su padre de Montezuma tubo 150 hijos é hijas, ó mas, é que le accedió tener 50 mugeres preñadas; É así escrebí esto, é otras cosas á este propósito en el capítulo 46; lo qual si así fué, queria saber, ¿ como podeis vos tener por legítima hija de Montezuma á la S<sup>ra</sup> Doña Isabel vuestra Muger, é que forma tenia vuestro suegro para que se conociesen los hijos bastardos entre los legítimos ó espurios, é quales eran mugeres legítimas é concubinas?

CAN. Fué costumbre usada y guardada entre los Mexicanos, que las mugeres legítimas que tomaban, era de la manera que agora se dirá. Concertados el hombre é muger que habian de contraer matrimonio, para le efectuar se juntaban los parientes de ambas partes é hacian vn areito despues que habian comido ó cenado; é al tiempo que los Novios se habian de acostar é dormir en vno, tomaban la halsa delantera de la camisa de la Novia é atábanla á la manta de algodón que tenia cubierto el Novio. É así ligados tomábanlos de las manos los principales parientes de ambos, é metian los en una cámara, donde los dejaban solos é oscuros por tres dias contiguos sin que de allí saliesen él ni ella, ni allá entraba mas de vna India á los proveer de comer é lo que habian menester; en el qual tiempo deste encerramiento siempre habia bailes ó areitos, que ellos llaman nitote; é en fin de los tres dias no hai mas fiesta. É los que sin esta cerimonia se casan no son habidos por matrimonios, ni los hijos que proceden por legítimos, ni heredan. Así como murió Montezuma, quedáronle solamente por hijos legítimos mi Muger é vn hermano suyo, é muchachos ambos; á causa de lo qual fué elegido por Señor vn hermano de Montezuma, que se decia Cuitcavaci, Señor de Iztapalapa, el qual vivió despues de su eleccion solos 60 dias, y murió de viruelas; á causa de lo qual vn sobrino de Montezuma, que era Papa ó sacerdote maior entre los Indios, que se llamaba Guatimuci, mató al primo hijo legítimo de Montezuma, que se decia Asupacaci, hermano de padre é madre de doña Isabel, é hizose señor, é fué mui valeroso. Este fué él que perdió á México, é fué preso, é despues injustamente muerto con otros principales Señores é Indios; pues como Cortés é los christianos fueron enseñoreados de México, ningun hijo quedó legítimo sino bastardos de Montezuma, excepto mi Muger, que quedaba viuda, porque Guatimuci señor de México, su primo, por fixar mejor su estado, siendo ella mui muchacha, la tubo por muger con la cerimonia ya dicha del atar la camisa con la manta; é no obieron hijos, ni tiempo para procreallos; é ella se convirtió á nuestra santa fee católica, é casóse con va hombre de bien de los conquistadores primeros, que se llamaba

**Pedro Gallego**, é ovo vn hijo en ella, que se llama **Thoan Gallego Montezuma**; é murió el dicho **Pedro Gallego**, é yo casé con la dicha **doña Isabel**, en la qual me ha dado Dios tres hijos é dos hijas, que se llaman **Pedro Cano**, **Gonzalo Cano de Saavedra**, **Thoan Cano**, **doña Isabel**, é **doña Catalina**.

**ALC.** Señor **Thoan Cano**, suplicoos que me digais porque mató **Hernando Cortés á Guatimuci**: ¿revelóse despues, ó que hizo para que muriese?

**CAN.** Habeis de saber, que así á **Guatimuci**, como al **Rey de Tacuba**, que se decia **Tetepanquezal**, é al **Señor de Tezcuco**, el capitan **Hernando Cortés** les hizo dar muchos tormentos é crudos, quemándoles los pies, é untándoles las plantas con aceite, é poniéndoselas cerca de las brasas, é en otras diversas maneras, porque les diesen sus tesoros; é teniéndolos en contiguas fatigas, supo como el capitan **Cristóval de Olit** se le habia alzado en puerto de Caballos é **Honduras**, la qual provincia los Indios llaman **Guaimuras**, é determinó de ir á buscar é castigar el dicho **Cristóval de Olit**, é partió de México por tierra con mucha gente de Españoles, é de los naturales de la tierra; é llevóse consigo aquellos tres principales ya dichos, y despues los ahorcó en el camino; é así envidió **doña Isabel**, é despues ella se casó de la manera que he dicho con **Pedro Gallego**, é despues conmigo.

**ALC.** Pues en cierta informacion, que se envió al Emperador **Nuestro Señor**, dice **Hernando Cortés**, que habia sucedido **Guatimuci** en el Señorío de México tras **Montezuma**, porque en las puentes murió el hijo é heredero de **Montezuma**, é que otros dos hijos que quedáron vivos, el vno era loco ó mentecapto, é el otro paralítico, é inváliles por sus enfermedades: É yo lo he escripto así en el capítulo 16, pensando quello seria así.

**CAN.** Pues escriba Vm. lo que mandare, y el **Marques Hernando Cortés** lo que quisiere, que yo digo en Dios y en mi conciencia la verdad, y esto es mui notorio.

**ALC.** Señor **Thoan Cano**, dígame Vm. ¿de que procedió el alzamiento de los Indios de México en tanto que **Hernando Cortés** salió de aquella cibdad é fué á buscar á **Pámphilo de Narvaez**, é dexó preso á **Montezuma** en poder de **Pedro de Alvarado**? Porque he oido sobre esto muchas cosas, é mui diferentes las unas de las otras; é yo querria escrebir verdad, así Dios salve mi ánima.

**CAN.** Señor **Alcayde**, eso que preguntais es vn paso en que pocos de los que hai en la tierra sabrán dar razon, aunque ello fué mui notorio, é mui manifesta la sinrazon que á los Indios se les hizo, y de allí tomáron tanto odio con los Christianos que no fiáron mas dellos, y se siguiéron quantos males ovo despues, é la rebelion de México, y pienso desta manera: Esos Mexicanos tenían entre las otras sus idolatrías ciertas fiestas del año en que se juntaban á sus ritos é cerimonias; y llegado el tiempo de una de aquellas, estaba **Alvarado** en guarda de **Montezuma**, é **Cortés** era ido donde habeis dicho, é muchos Indios principales juntáronse é pidieron licencia al capitan **Alvarado**, para ir á celebrar sus fiestas en los patios de sus mezquitas ó qq. maiores junto al aposento de los españoles, porque no pensaban que aquel aiuntamiento se hacia á otro fin; É el dicho capitan les dió la licencia. É así los Indios, todos Señores, mas de 600, desnudos, é con muchas joyas de oro, é hermosos penachos, é muchas piedras preciosas, é como mas aderezados é gentiles hombres se padieron é supieron aderezar, é sin arma alguna defensiva ni ofensiva, bailaban é cantaban é hacian su areito é fiesta segund su costumbre; é al mejor tiempo que ellos estaban embebecidos en su regocijo, movido de



cobdicia el Alvarado hizo poner en cinco puertas del patio cada 15 hombres, é en él entró con la gente restante de los Españoles, é comenzaron á acuchillar é matar los Indios sin perdonar á vno di á ninguno, hasta que á todos los acabaron en poco espacio de hora. I esta fué la causa porque los de México, viendo muertos é robados aquellos sobre seguro, é sin haber merecido que tal crueldad en ellos hobiese fecho, se alzaron é hiciéron la guerra al dicho Alvarado, é á los christianos que con él estauan en guarda de Montezuma, é con mucha razon que tenian para ello.

ALC. ¿Montezuma, como murió? porque diversamente lo he entendido, y así lo he yo escripto diferenciadamente.

CAN. Montezuma murió de vna pedrada que los de fuera tiráron, lo qual no se hiciera, si delante dél no se pusiera vn rodadero, porque como le vieran ninguno tirara; y así por le cubrir con la rodela, é no creer que allí estaba Montezuma, le diéron vna pedrada de que murió. Pero quiero que sepais, Señor Alcayde, que desde la primera revelion de los Indios hasta que el Marques volvió á la cibdad despues de preso Narvaez, non obstante la pelea ordinaria que con los christianos tenian, siempre Montezuma les hacia dar de comer; é despues que el Marques tornó se le hizo grand recebimiento, é le diéron á todos los Españoles mucha comida. Mas habeis de saber, que el capitan Alvarado, como le acusaba la conciencia, é no arrepentido de su culpa, mas queriéndole dar color, é por aplacar el ánimo de Montezuma, dixo á Hernando Cortés, que fingiese que le queria prender é castigar, porque Montezuma le rogase por él, é que se fuesen muertos por muertos; lo qual Hernando Cortés no quiso hacer, antes mui enojado dixo, que eran vnos perros, é que no habia necesidad de aquel cumplimiento; é envió á vn principal á que hiciesen el Franquez ó Mercado; el qual principal enojado de ver la ira de Cortés y la poca estimacion que hacia de los Indios vivos, y lo poco que se le daba de los muertos, desdenado el principal é determinado en la venganza fué el primero que renovó la guerra contra los Españoles dentro de vno hora.

ALC. Siempre oí decir que es buena la templanza, é sancta la piedad, é abominable la soberbia. Dicen que fué grandísimo el tesoro que Hernando Cortés repartió entre sus milites todos, quando determinó de dexar la cibdad é irse fuera della por consejo de vn Botello, que se preciaba de pronosticar lo que estaba por venir.

CAN. Bien sé quien era ese, y en verdad que él fué de parecer que Cortés y los Christianos se saliesen; y al tiempo del efectuarlo no lo hizo saber á todos, antes no lo supieron, sino los que con él se halláron á esa plática; é los demas que estaban en sus aposentos é cuarteles se quedaron, que eran 270 hombres; los quales se defendiéron ciertos dias peleando hasta que de hambre se diéron á los Indios, é guardáronles la palabra de la manera que Alvarado la guardó á los que es dicho; é así los 270 Christianos, é los que dellos no habian sido muertos peleando todos, quando se rindiéron, fuéron cruelmente sacrificados: pero habeis, Señor, de saber, que deesa liberalidad que Hernando Cortés usó, como decís, entre sus milites, los que mas parte alcanzáron della, é mas se cargáron de oro é joyas, mas presto los matáron; porque por salvar el albarda murió el Asno que mas pesado la tomó; é los que no la quisieron, sino sus espaldas é armas, pasáron con menos ocupacion, haciéndose el camino con el espada.

ALC. Grand lástima fué perderse tanto Tesoro y 154 Españoles, é 45 yeguas, é mas de 2000 Indios, é entrellos al Hijo é Hijas de Montezuma, é á todos los otros Señores que trahian presos. Iso así lo tengo escripto en el capítulo 14 de esta Historia.

CAN. Señor Alcaide, en verdad quien tal os dixo, ó no lo vidó, ni supo ó quiso callar la verdad. Io os certifico, que fuéron los Españoles muertos en eso, con los que como dixé de suso que quedaron en la cibdad y en los que se perdiéron en el camino siguiendo á Cortés, y continuándose nuestra fuga, mas de 1170; é así pareció por alarde; é de los Indios nuestros amigos de Tascaltecle, que decís 2000, sin dubda fuéran mas de 8000.

ALC. Maravillome como despues que Cortés se acogió, é los que escapáron á la tierra de Tascaltecle, como no acabáron á él é á los christianos dexando allá muertos á los amigos; y aun así diz, que no les daban de comer sino por rescate los de Guaulip, que es ya término de Tascaltecle, é el rescate no le querian sino era oro.

CAN. Tenedlo, Señor, por falso todo eso; porque en casa de sus Padres no pudiéron hallar mas buen acogimiento los Christianos, é todo quanto quisieron, é aun sin pedirlo, se les dió gracioso é de mui buena voluntad.

ALC. Parz, mucho, ha sido el Marques é digno es de quanto tieme, é de mucho mas. É tengo lástima de ver lisiado vn cavallero tan valeroso é manco de dos dedos de la mano izquierda, como lo escrebí é saqué de su relacion, é puse en el capítulo 15. Pero las cosas de la guerra así son, é los honores, é la palma de la victoria no se adquieren durmiendo.

CAN. Sin dubda, Señor, Cortés ha sido venturoso é sagaz capitan, é los principales suelen hacer mercedes á quien los sirve, y es bien las hagan á todos los que en su servicio real trabajan; pero algunos he visto yo que trabajan é sirven é nunca medran, é otros que no hacen tanto como aquellos son gratificados é aprovechados; pera así fuesen todos remunerados como el Marques lo ha sido en lo de sus dedos de lo que le habeis lástima. Tubo Dios poco que hacer en sanarlo; y salid, Señor, de ese cuidado, que así como los sacó de Castilla, quando pasó la primera vez á estas partes, así se los tiene agora en España; porque nunca fué manco dellos, ni le faltan; y así, ni hubo menester cirujano ni milagro para guarecer de ese trabajo.

ALC. Señor Thon Cano, ¿es verdad aquella crueldad que dicen que el Marques usó con Chulula, que es vna Cibdad por donde pasó la primera vez que fué á México?

CAN. Mui grand verdad es, pero eso yo no lo ví, porque aun no era yo ido á la tierra; pero supe lo despues de muchos que los viéron é se halláron en esa cruel hazaña.

ALC. ¿Como oísteis decir que pasó?

CAN. Lo que oi por cosa mui notoria es, que en aquella cibdad pidió Hernando Cortés 3000 Indios para que llevasen el fardage, é se los diéron, é los hizo todos poner á cuchillo sin que escapase ninguno.

ALC. Razon tiene el Emperador Nuestro Señor de mandar quitar los Indios á todos los Christianos.

CAN. Hágase lo que S. M. mandare é fuese servido, que eso es lo que es mejor; pero yo no querria que padeciesen justos por pecadores: ¿quien hace crueldades paguelas, mas él que no comete delito porque le han de castigar? Esto es materia para mas espacio; y yo me tengo de envarcar esta noche, é es ya quasi hora del Ave Maria. Mirad, Señor Alcaide, si hay en México en que pueda yo emplearme en vuestro servicio, que yo lo haré con entera voluntad é obra. Y en lo que toca á la libertad de los Indios, sin dubda á vnos se les habia de rogar con ellos á que los tuviesen é governasen, é los industrasen en las cosas de nuestra sancta fee Católica, é á otros se debian quitar: Pero pues aquí está el Obispo

de Chiapa, Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, que ha sido el movedor é inventor destas mudanzas, é va cargado de frailes mancebos de su orden, con él podeis, Señor Alcaide, desenvolver esta materia de Indios. E yo no me quiero mas entremeter ni hablar en ella, aunque sabria decir mi parte.

ALC. Sin duda, Señor Thoan Cano, Vmd. habla como prudente, y estas cosas deben ser así ordenadas de Dios, y es de pensar, que este reverendo Obispo de Cíudad Real en la provincia de Chiapa, como celoso del servicio de Dios é de S. M., se ha movido á estas peregrinaciones en que anda, y plega á Dios que él y sus Frailes acierten á servirles; pero él no está tan bien con migo como pensais, antes se ha quejado de mí por lo que escrebí cerca de aquellos Labradores é nuevos cavalleros que quiso hacer, y con sendas cruces, que querian parecer á las de Calatrava, siendo labradores é de otras mezclas é género de gente baja, quando fué á Cubagua é á Cumaná, é lo dixo al Señor Obispo de S. Joan, don Rodrigo de Bastidas, para que me lo dixese, y así me lo dixo; y lo que yo respondí á su quexa no lo hice por satisfacer al Obispo de San Joan, é su sancta intencion; fué que le supliqué que le dixese, que en verdad yo no tube cuenta ni respecto, quando aquello escreví, á le hacer pesar ni placer, sino á decir lo que pasó; y que vieses vn Libro, que es la primera parte destas Historias de Indias, que se imprimió el año de 1535, y allí estaba lo que escrebí; é que holgaba porque estabamos en parte que todo lo que dixe y lo que dexé de decir se provaria facilmente; y que supiese que aquel Libro estaba ya en Lengua Toscana y Francesa é Alemana é Latina é Griega é Turca é Aráviga, aunque yo le escreví en Castellana; y que pues él continuaba nuevas empresas, y yo no habia de cesar de escribir las materias de Indias en tanto que S. S. M. desto fuesen servidos, que yo tengo esperanza en Dios que le dexara mejor acertar en lo porvenir que en lo pasado, y así adelante le pareceria mejor mi pluma. Y como en Señor Obispo de San Joan es tan noble é le consta la verdad, y quan sin pasion yo escribo, el Obispo de Chiapa quedó satisfecho, aun yo no ando por satisfacer á su paladar ni otro, sino por cumplir con lo que debo, hablando con vos, Señor, lo cierto; y por tanto quanto á la carga de los muchos Frailes me parece en verdad que estas tierras manan, ó que llueven Frailes, pero pues son sin canas todos y de 30 años abajo, plega á Dios que todos acierten á servirle. Ya los ví entrar en esta Cíudad de dos en dos hasta 30 dellos, con sendos bordones, é sus sayas é escapularios é sombreros é sin capas, é el Obispo detras dellos. E no parecia vna devota farsa, é agora la comienzan no sabemos en que parará; el tiempo lo dirá, y esto haga Nuestra Señor al propósito de su sancto servicio. Pero pues van hacia aquellos nuevos vulcanes, decidme, Señor, ¿que cosa son, si los habeis visto, y que cosa es otro que teneis allá en la Nueva España, que se dice Guaxocingo?

CAN. El Vulcan de Chalco ó Guaxocingo todo es vna cosa, é alumbraba de noche 3 ó 4 leguas ó mas, é de dia salia continuo humo é á veces llamas de fuego, lo qual está en vn escollo de la sierra revada en la qual nunca falta perpetua nieve, é está á 9 leguas de México; pero este fuego é humo que he dicho turó hasta 7 años, poco mas ó menos, despues que Hernando Cortés pasó á aquellas partes, é ya no sale fuego alguno de allí; pero ha quedado mucho azufre é mui bueno, que se ha sacado para hacer pólvora, é hai quanto quisieron sacar dello: pero en Guatimala hai dos volcanes é montes fogosos, é echan piedras mui grandísimas fuera de sí quemadas, é lanzan aquellas bocas mucho humo, é es cosa de mui horrible aspecto, en especial como le

viéron quando murió la pecadora de doña Beatriz de la Cueva, Muger del Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado. Plega á nuestro Señor de quedar con Vmd., Señor Alcaide, é dadme licencia que atiende la Barca para irme á la Nao.

ALC. Señor Thoan Cano, el Espíritu Sancto vaya con Vm., y os dé tan próspero viage é navegacion, que en pocos dias y en salvamento llegueis á Vuestra Casa, y halleis á la S<sup>a</sup> doña Isabel y los hijos é hijas con la salud que Vmd. y ellos os deseais.

No. XII.—See vol. ii. p. 80.

GRANT OF CORTÉS TO DOÑA ISABEL MONTEZUMA, DAUGHTER OF THE EMPEROR MONTEZUMA; DATED AT MEXICO, JUNE 27, 1526.

[Montezuma, on his death-bed, commended, as we have seen in the History, three favourite daughters to the protection of Cortés. After their father's death they were baptized, and after the Conquest were married to Spaniards of honourable family, and from them have descended several noble houses in Spain. Cortés granted, by way of dowry, to the eldest, Doña Isabel, the city of Tacuba and several other places, embracing an extensive and very populous district. I have given here the instrument containing this grant, which has a singular degree of interest, from the notices it contains of Montezuma's last moments, and the strong testimony it bears to his unswerving friendship for the Spaniards. Some allowance must be made by the reader for the obvious endeavour of Cortés to exhibit Montezuma's conduct in so favourable a light to the Castilian government as might authorize the extensive grant to his daughter.

The instrument in the Muñoz collection was taken from an ancient copy in the library of Don Rafael Floranes of Valladolid.]

PRIVILEGIO DE DOÑA ISABEL MOTEZUMA, HIJA DEL GRAN MOTEZUMA, ÚLTIMO REY INDIO DEL GRAN REYNO Y CIDBAD DE MÉXICO, QUE BAUTIZADA Y SIENDO CHRISTIANA CASÓ CON ALONSO GRADO, NATURAL DE LA VILLA DE ALCANTARA, HIDALGO, Y CRIADO DE SU MAGESTAD, QUE HABIA SERVIDO Y SERVIA EN MUCHOS OFFICIOS EN AQUEL REYNO.

ORTORGADO POR DON HERNANDO CORTÉS, CONQUISTADOR DEL DICHO REYNO, EN NOMBRE DE SU MAGESTAD, COMO SU CAPITAN GENERAL Y GOVERNADOR DE LA NUEVA ESPAÑA.

Por quanto al tiempo que yo, Don Hernando Cortés, capitan general é Governador desta nueva España é sus provincias por S. Mag<sup>a</sup>, pasé á estas partes con ciertos Navíos é gente para las pacificar é poblar y traer las gentes della al dominio y servidumbre de la Corona Imperial de S. M. como al presente está, y despues de á ellos benido tuve noticia

de un gran Señor, que en esta gran cibdad de Tenextitlan residió, y hera Señor della, y de todas las demas provincias y tierras á ella comarcanas, que se llamaba Moteçuma, al qual hize saber mi venida, y como lo supo por los Mensageros que le envié para que me obedeciese en nombre de S. M. y se ofreciese por su vasallo: Tuvo por bien la dicha mi venida, é por mejor mostrar su buen celo y voluntad de servir á S. M., y obedecer lo que por mí en su Real nombre le fuese mandado, me mostró mucho amor, é mandó, que per todas las partes que pasasen los Españoles hasta llegar á esta Cibdad se nos hiciese mui buen acogimiento, y se nos diese todo lo que hubiesemos menester, como siempre se hizo, y mui mejor despues que á esta cibdad llegámos, donde fuimos mui bien recevidos, yo y todos los que en mi compañía benímos; y aun mostró haberle pesado mucho de algunos recuentros y batallas que en el camino se me ofrecieron antes de la llegada á esta dicha cibdad, queriéndose él desculpar dello: y que de lo demas dicho para efetuar y mostrar mejor su buen deseo, hubo por bien el dicho Moteçuma de estar debajo de la obediencia de S. M., y en mi poder á manera de preso asta que yo hiciese relacion á S. M., y del estado y cosas destas partes, y de la voluntad del dicho Moteçuma; y que estando en esta paz y sosiego, y teniendo yo pacificada esta dicha tierra docientas leguas y mas hacia una parte y otra con el sello y seguridad del dicho señor Moteçuma, por la voluntad y amor que siempre mostró al servicio de S. M., y complacerme á mí en su real nombre, hasta mas de un año, que se ofreció la venida de Pánfilo de Narvaez, que los alborotó y escandalizó con sus dañadas palabras y temores que les puso; por cuyo respeto se levantó contra el dicho señor Moteçuma un hermano suyo, llamado Auit Lavaci, Señor de Iztapalapa, y con mucha gente que traxo assí hizo mui cruda guerra al dicho Moteçuma y a mí y á los Españoles que en mi compañía estaban, poniéndonos mui recio cerco en los aposentos y casas donde estavamos; y para quel dicho su hermano y los principales que con él venian cesasen la dicha guerra y alzasen el cerco, se puso de una ventana el dicho Moteçuma, y estándoles mandando y amonestando que no lo hiciesen, y que fuesen vasallos de S. M. y obedeciesen los mandamientos que yo en su real nombre le mandaba, le tiraron con muchas hondas, y le diéron con una piedra en la cabeza, que le hiciéron mui gran herida; y temiendo de morir della, me hizo ciertos razonamientos, trayéndome á la memoria que por el entrañable amor que tenia al servicio de S. M. y á mí en su Real nombre y á todos los Españoles, padecia tantas heridas y afrentas, lo qual dava por bien empleado; y que si él de aquella herida fallecia, que me rogava y encargaba muy afetosamente, que aviendo respeto á lo mucho que me queria y deseava complacer, tuviese por bien de tomar á cargo tres hijas suyas que tenia, y que las hiciese bautizar y mostrar nuestra doctrina, porque conocia que era mui buena; á las quales, despues que yo gané esta dicha cibdad, hize luego bautizar, y poner por nombres á la una que es la mayor, su legítima heredera, Doña Isabel, y á las otras dos, Doña María y Doña Marina; y estando en finamiento de la dicha herida me tornó á llamar y rogar mui ahincadamente, que si él muriese, que quirase por aquellas hijas, que eran las mejores joyas que él me daba, y que partiese con ellas de lo que tenia, por que no quedasen perdidas, especialmente á la mayor, que esta queria él mucho; y que si por ventura Dios le escapaba de aquella enfermedad, y le daba Victoria en aquel cerco, que él mostraria mas largamente el deseo que tenia de servir á S. M. y pagarme con obras la voluntad y amor que me tenia; y que demas desto yo hiciese relacion á su Magestad de como me dexaba estas sus hijas, y le suplicasen en su

nombre se sirviese de mandarme que yo mirase por ellas y las tuviese so mi amparo y administracion, pues él hera tan servidior y vasallo de S. M. y siempre tuvo mui buena voluntad á los Españoles, como yo havia visto y via, y por el amor que les tenia le havian dado el pago que tenia, aunque no le pesaba dello. Y aun en su lengua me dixo, y entre estos razonamientos que encargaba la conciencia sobre ellb.—Por ende acatando los muchos servicios que el dicho Señor Moteçuma hizo á S. M. en las buenas obras que siempre en su vida me hizo, y buenos tratamientos de los Españoles que en mi compañía yo tenia en su real nombre, y la voluntad que me mostró en su real servicio; y que sin duda él no fué parte en el levantamiento desta dicha cibdad, sino el dicho su hermano; antes se esperaba, como yo tenia por cierto, que su vida fuera mucha ayuda para que la tierra estuviera siempre mui pacífica, y vinieran los naturales della en verdadero conocimiento, y se sirviera S. M. con mucha suma de pesos de oro y joyas y otras cosas, y por causa de la venida del dicho Narvaez y de la guerra que el dicho su hermano Auit Lavaci levantó, se perdiéron; y considerando así mismo que Dios nuestro señor y S. M. son mui servidos que en estas partes planté nuestra santissima Religion, como de cada dia la en crecimiento: Y que las dichas hijas de Moteçuma y los demas Señores y principales y otras personas de los naturales desta Nueva España se les dé y muestre toda la mas y mejor Dotrina que fuere posible, para quitarlos de las idolatrias en que hasta aquí han estado, y traerlos al verdadero conocimiento de nuestra sancta fee cathólica, especialmente los hijos de los mas principales, como lo era este Señor Moteçuma, y que en esto se descargava la conciencia de S. M. y la mia; en su real nombre tuve por bien de azetar su ruego, y tener en mi casa á las dichas tres sus hijas, y hacer, como he hecho, que se les haga todo el mejor tratamiento y acogimiento que ha podido, haciéndoles administrar y enseñar los mandamientos de nuestra santa fe cathólica y las otras buenas costumbres de Christianos, para que con mejor voluntad y amor sirvan á Dios nuestro Señor y conozcan y los Artículos della, y que los demas naturales tomen exemplo. Me pareció que segun la calidad de la persona de la dicha Doña Isabel, que es la mayor y legítima heredera del dicho Señor Moteçuma, y que mas encargada me dejó, y que su edad requeria tener compañía, le he dado por marido y esposo á una persona de honra, Hijo-Dalgo, y que ha servido á S. M. en mi compañía dende el principio que á estas partes pasó, teniendo por mí y en nombre de S. M. cargos y oficios mui honrosos, así de Contador y mi lugarteniente de Capitan Governador como de otras muchas, y dado dellas mui buena cuenta, y al presente está á su administracion el cargo y oficio de visitador general de todos los Indios desta dicha Nueva España, el qual se dice y nombra Alonso Grado, natural de la villa de Alcantara. Con la qual dicha Doña Isabel le prometo y doi en dote y arras á la dicha Doña Isabel y sus descendientes, en nombre de S. M., como su Governador y Capitan General destas partes, y porque de derecho le pertenece de su patrimonio y legítima, el Señorío y naturales del Pueblo de Tacuba, que tiene ciento é veinte casas; y Yeteve, que es estancia que tiene quarenta casas; y Izqui Luca, otra estancia, que tiene otras ciento y veinte casas; y Chimalpan, otra estancia, que tiene quarenta casas; y Chapulma Loyan, que tiene otras quarenta casas; y Escapulcaltango, que tiene veinte casas; é Xiloango, que tiene quarenta casas: y otra estancia que se dice Ocoiacaque, y otra que se dice Castepeque, y otra que se dice Talanco, y otra estancia que se dice Goatrizzo, y otra estancia que se dice Duotepeque, y otra que se dice Tacala, que podrá

naver en todo mil y docientas y quarenta casas; las quales dichas estancias y pueblos son sujetos al pueblo de Tacuba y al Señor della. Lo qual, como dicho es, doy en nombre de S. M. en dote y arras á la dicha Doña Isabel para que lo haya y tenga y goce por juro de heredad, para agora y para siempre jamas, con título de Señora de dicho Pueblo y de lo demas aqui contenido. Lo qual le doy en nombre de S. M. por descargar su Real conciencia y la mia en su nombre.—Por esta digo; que no le será quitado ni removido por cosa alguna, en ningun tiempo, ni por alguna manera; y para mas saneamiento prometo y doy mi fe en nombre de S. M., que si se lo escribiese, le haré relacion de todo, para que S. M. se sirva de confirmar esta Merced de la dicha Doña Isabel y á los dichos sus herederos y subcesores del dicho Pueblo de Tacuba y lo demas aqui contenido, y de otras estancias á él sujetas, que están en poder de algunos Españoles, para que S. M. asimismo se sirva demandárselas dar y confirmar juntamente con las que al presente le doy; que por estar, como dicho es, en poder de Españoles, no se las di hasta ver si S. M. es dello servido; y doy por ninguna y de ningun valor y efeto qualquier cédula de encomienda y depósito que del dicho pueblo de Tacuba y de las otras estancias aqui contenidas y declaradas yo aya dado á qualquiera persona; por quanto yo en nombre de S. M. las revoco y lo restituyo y doi á la dicha Doña Isabel, para que lo tenga como cosa suya propia y que de derecho le pertenece. Y mando á todas y qualesquier personas, vecinos y moradores desta dicha Nueva España, estantes y habitantes en ella, que hayan y tengan á la dicha Doña Isabel por Señora del dicho pueblo de Tacuba con las dichas estancias, y que no le impidan ni estorven cosa alguna della, so pena de quinientos pesos de oro para la cámara y fino de S. Mag<sup>d</sup>.—Fecho á veinte y siete dias del mes de Junio de mil y quinientos y veinte y seis años.—Don Hernando de Cortés.—Por mandado del Governador mi señor.—Alonso Balienta.

---

No. XIII.—See vol. ii. p. 169.

MILITARY CODE; DATED AT TLASCALA, DEC. 22, 1520.

[These Regulations, proclaimed by Cortés at Tlascala on the eve of the final march against Mexico, show the careful discipline established in his camp, and, to some extent, the nature of his military policy. The Code forms part of the collection of Muñoz.]

ORDENANZAS MILITARES.

Este día á voz de pregonero publicó sus Ordenanzas, cuyo proemio es este.

Porque por muchas escrituras y corónicas auténticas nos es notorio é manifesto quanto los antiguos que siguiéron el exercicio de la guerra procuráron é travaxáron de introducir tales y tan buenas costumbres y ordenaciones, con las cuales y con su propia virtud y fortaleza pudiesen alcanzar y conseguir victoria y próspero fin en las conquistas y guerras, que hobiesen de hacer é seguir; é por el contrario vemos haber sucedido grandes infortunios, desastres, é muertes á los que no siguiéron la buena costumbre y órden que en la guerra se debe tener; é les haber sucedido

semejantes casos con poca pujanza de los enemigos, segun parece claro por muchos exemplos antiguos é modernos, que aquí se podrian espresar; é porque la órden es tan loable, que no tan solamente en las cosas humanas mas aun en las divinas se ama y sigue, y sin ella ninguna cosa puede haber cumplido efecto, como que ello sea un principio, medio, y fin para el buen reximiento de todas las cosas: Por ende yo, H. C., Capitan general é Justicia mayor en esta Nueva España del mar océano por el mui alto, mui poderoso, é mui católico D. Carlos nuestro Señor, electo Rey de Romanos, futuro Emperador semper Augusto, Rey de España é de otros muchos grandes reynos é Señoríos, considerando todo lo suso dicho, y que si los pasados fallaron ser necesario hacer Ordenanzas é costumbres por donde se rigiesen é gobernasen aquellos que hubiesen de seguir y exercer el uso de la guerra, á los Españoles que en mi compañía agora están é estubiesen é á mí nos es mucho mas necesario é conveniente seguir y observar toda la mejor costumbre y órden que nos sea posible, así por lo que toca al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de la sacra Católica Magestad, como por tener por enemigos y contrarios á la mas belicosa y astuta gente en la guerra é de mas géneros de armas que ninguna otra generacion, especialmente por ser tanta que no tiene número, é nosotros tan pocos y tan apartados y destituidos de todo humano socorro; viendo ser mui necesario y cumplidero al servicio de su Cesarea Magestad é utilidad nuestra, Mandé hacer é hicemas Ordenanzas que de yuso serán contenidas é irán firmadas di mi nombre é del infrascrito en la manera siguiente.

PRIMERAMENTE, por quanto por la experiencia que habemos visto é cada dia vemos quanta solicitud y vigilancia los naturales de estas partes tienen en la cultura y veneracion de sus ídolos, de que á Dios nuestro Señor se hace gran deservicio, y el demonio por la ceguedad y engaño en que los trae es de ellos muy venerado; y en los apartar de tanto error é idolatría y en los reducir al conocimiento de nuestra Santa Fe católica nuestro Señor será muy servido, y demas de adquirir gloria para nuestras ánimas con ser causa que de aquí adelante no se pierdan ni condenen tantos, acá en lo temporal seria Dios siempre en nuestra ayuda y socorro: por ende, con toda la justicia que puedo y debo, exhorto y ruego á todos los Españoles que en mi compañía fuesen á esta guerra que al presente vanos, y á todas las otras guerras y conquistas que en nombre de S. M. por mi mandado hubiesen de ir, que su principal motivo é intencion sea apartar y desarraigar de las dichas idolatrías á todos los naturales destas partes, y reducirlos, ó á lo menos desear su salvacion, y que sean reducidos al conocimiento de Dios y de su Santa Fe católica; porque si con otra intencion se hiciese la dicha guerra, seria injusta, y todo lo que en ella se oviese Onoloxio é obligado á restitution, é S. M. no ternia razon de mandar gratificar á los que en ellas sirviesen. E sobre ello encargo la conciencia á los dichos Españoles, é desde ahora protesto en nombre de S. M. que mi principal intencion é motivo en facer esta guerra é las otras que ficiese por traer y reducir á los dichos naturales al dicho conocimiento de nuestra Santa Fe é creencia; y despues por los sozjugar é supeditar debajo del yugo é dominio imperial é real de su Sacra Magestad, á quien jurdicamente el Señorío de todas estas partes.

Yt. En por quanto de los reniegos é blasfemias Dios nuestro Señor es mucho deservido, y es la mayor ofensa que á su Santísimo nombre se puede hacer, y por eso permite en las gentes recios y duros castigos; y no basta que seamos tan malos que por los inmensos beneficios que de cada dia dél recibimos no le demos gracias, mas decimos mal é



blasfemamos de su santo nombre; y por evitar tan aborrecible uso y pecado, mando que ninguna persona, de qualquiera condicion que sea, no sea osado decir, No creo en Dios, ni Pese, ni Reniego, ni Del cielo, ni No ha poder en Dios; y que lo mismo se entienda de Nuestra Señora y de todos los otros Santos: sopena que demas de ser executadas las penas establecidas por las leyes del reyno contra los blasfemos, la persona que en lo susodicho incurriese pague 15 castellanos de oro, la tercera parte para la primera Cofradía de Nuestra Señora que en estas partes se hiciese, y la otra tercera parte para el fisco de S. M., y la otra tercera parte para el juez que lo sentenciase.

Yt. Porque de los juegos muchas y las mas veces resultan reniegos y blasfemias, é nacen otros inconvenientes, é es justo que del todo se prohiban y defiendan; por ende mando que de aqui adelante ninguna persona sea osada de jugar á naypes ni á otros juegos vedados dineros ni prescas ni otra cosa alguna; sopena de perdimiento de todo lo que jugase é de 20 pesos de oro, la mitad de todo ello para la Cámara, é la otra mitad para el juez que lo sentenciase. Pero por quanto en las guerras es bien que tenga la gente algun exercicio, y se acostumbra y permítase que jueguen por que se eviten otros mayores inconvenientes; permítase que en el aposento donde estubiese se jueguen naypes é otros juegos moderadamente, con tanto que no sea á los dados, porque alli es curarse han de no de decir mal, é á lo menos si lo dixesen seria castigados.

Yt. Que ninguno sea osado de echar mano á la espada ó puñal ó otra arma alguna para ofender á ningun Español; sopena que é l que lo contrario hiciese, si fuese hidalgo, pague 100 pesos de oro, la mitad para el fisco de S. M., y la otra mitad para los gastos de la Xusticia; y al que no fuese hidalgo se le han de dar 100 azotes publicamente.

Yt. Por quanto acaese que algunos Españoles por no valar é hacer otras cosas se dexan de apurar en las copias de los Capitanes que tienen gente: por ende mando que todos se alisten en las Capitanías que yo tengo hechas é hiciese, excepto los que yo señalaré que queden fuera dellas, con apercibimiento que dende agora se les face, que é l que así no lo hiciese, no se le dará parte ni partes algunas.

Otrosi, por quanto algunas veces suele acaecer, que en burlas é por pasar tiempo algunas personas que están en una capitania burlan é porfian de algunos de las otras Capitanías, y los unos dicen de los otros, y los otros de los otros, de que se suelen recrecer quisiones é escándalos; por ende mando que de aqui adelante ninguno sea osado de burlar ni decir mal de ninguna Capitania in la perjudicar; sopena de 20 pesos de oro, la mitad para la Cámara, y la otra mitad para los gastos de Xusticia.

Otrosi, que ninguno de los dichos Españoles no se aposente ni posea en ninguna parte, exepto en el lugar é parte donde estubiese aposentada su capitan; supena de 12 pesos de oro, aplicados en la forma contenida en el capitulo antecedente.

Yt. Que ningun capitan se aposente en ninguna poblacion ó villa ó ciudad, sino en el pueblo que le fuese señalado por el Maestro de Campo, sopena de 10 pesos de oro, aplicados en la forma suso dicha.

Yt. Por quanto cada Capitan tenga mejor acaudillada su gente, mando que cada uno de los dichos Capitanes tenga sus cuadrillas de 20 en 20 Españoles, y con cada una quadrilla un quadrillero ó cabo de escuadra, que sea persona hávil y de quien se deba confiar; so la dicha pena.

Otrosi, que cada uno de los dichos quadrilleros ó cabos desquadra rondan sobre las velas todos los quartos que les cupiesse de velar, so la

dicha pena ; é que la vela que hallasen durmiendo, ó ausente del lugar donde debiese velar, pague cuatro Castellanos, aplicados en la forma suso dicha, y demas que esté atado medio dia.

Otrosí, que los dichos quadrilleros tengan cuidado de avisar y avisen á las velas que hubiesen de poner, que puesto que recaudo en el Real no desumparen ni dexen los portillos ó calles ó pasos donde les fuese mandado velar y se vayan de allí á otra parte por ninguna necesidad que digan que les constriñó hasta que sean mandado ; sopena de 50 castellanos, aplicados en la forma suso dicha al que fuese hijo dalgo ; y sino lo fuese, que le sean dados 100 azotes publicamente.

Otrosí, que cada Capitan que por mí fuese nombrado tenga y traiga consigo su tambor é bandera para que rija y acudille mejor la gente que tenga á su cargo ; sopena de 10 pesos de oro, aplicados en la forma suso dicha.

Otrosí, que cada Español que oyese tocar el atambor de su compañía sea obligado á salir e salga á acompañar su bandera con todas sus armas en forma y á punto de guerra ; sopena de 20 castellanos, aplicados en la forma arriba declarada.

Otrosí, que todas las veces que yo mandase mover en Real para alguna parte cada Capitan sea obligado de llevar por el camino toda su gente junta y apartada de las otras Capitanías, sinque se entrometa en ella ningun Español de otra Capitanía ninguna ; y para ello constriñan é apremien á los que así llevasen debaxo de su bandera segun uso de guerra ; sopena de 10 pesos de oro, aplicados en la forma suso declarada.

Yt. Por quanto acaece que antes ó al tiempo de romper en los enemigos algunos Españoles se meten entre el fardage, demas de ser pusilanimidad, es cosa fea el mal exemplo para los Indios nuestros amigos que nos acompañan en la guerra : por ende mando que ningun Español se entremeta ni vaya con el fardage, salvo aquellos que para ello fuesen dados é señalados : sopena de 20 pesos de oro, aplicados segun que de suso contiene.

Otrosí, por quanto acaece algunas veces que algunos Españoles fuera de orden y sin les ser mandado arremeten ó rompen en algun esquadron de los enemigos, é por se desmandar así se desbaratan y salen fuera de ordenanza, de que suele recrecerse peligro á los mas : por ende mando que ningun Capitan se desmande á romper por los enemigos sin que primeramente por mí le sea mandado ; sopena de muerte. En otra persona se desmanda, si fuese hijodalgo, pena de 100 pesos, aplicados en la forma suso dicha ; y si na fuese hidalgo, le sean dados 100 azotes publicamente.

Yt. Por quanto podria ser que al tiempo que entran á tomar por fuerza alguna poblacion ó villa ó ciudad á los enemigos, antes de ser del todo echados fuera, con codicia de robar, algun Español se entrase en alguna casa de los Enemigos, de que se podria seguir daño : por ende mando que ningun Español ni Españoles entren á robar ni á otra cosa alguna en las tales casas de los enemigos, hasta ser del todo echados fuera, y haber conseguido el fin de la victoria ; sopena de 20 pesos de oro, aplicados en la manera que dicha es.

Yt. Si por escusar y evitar los hurtos encubiertos y fraudes que se hacen en las cosas habidas en la guerra ó fuera de ella, así por lo que toca al quanto que dellas pertenece á su católica Magestad, como porque han de ser repartidas conforme á lo que cada una sirve é merece : por ende mando que todo el oro. plata, perlas, piedras, plumas, ropa, esclavos, y otras cosas qualesquier que se adquieran, hubiesen, ó tomasen en qualquier manera, así en las dichas poblaciones, villas, ó ciudades,

como en el campo, que la persona ó personas á cuyo poder viniese ó la hallasen ó tomasen, en qualquier forma que sea, lo traigan luego incontinentemente á manifesten ante mí ó ante otra persona que fuese sin lo meter ni llevar á su posada ni á otra parte alguna; sopena de muerte é perdimiento de todos sus bienes para la Cámara é fisco de S. M.

E por quanto lo suso dicho é cada una cosa é parte dello se guarde é cumpla segun é de la manera que aquí de suso se contiene, y de ninguna cosa de lo aquí contenida pretendan ignorancia, mando que sea apregonado publicamente, para que venga á noticia de todos: Que fuéron hechas las dichas Ordenanzas en la ciudad y provincia de Taxlateque selado 22 dias del mes de Diciembre, año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de 1520 años.

Pregonáronse las dichas Ordenanzas desuso contenidas en la ciudad é provincia de Taxlatecle, miércoles dia de San Estéban, que fuesen 25 dias del mes de Diciembre, año del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de 1520 años; estando presente el magnífico Señor Fernando Cortés, capitan general é Justicia mayor de esta Nueva España del mar Occéano por el Emperador nuestro Señor, por ante mí, Juan de Rivera, escribano é Notario público en todos los Reinos é Señorios de España por las Autoridades apostólica y Real. Lo qual pregonó en voz alta Anton Garcia pregonero, en el Alarde que la gente de á caballo é de á pie que su merced mandó facer é se fizo el dicho dia. A lo qual fuéron testigos que estaban presentes, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Algacil mayor, é Alonso de Prado, contador, é Rodrigo Alvarez Chico, veedor por S. M., é otras muchas personas.—Fecho ut supra.—Juan de Rivera.

---

No. XIV.—See vol. ii. p. 420.

TRANSLATION OF PASSAGES IN THE HONDURAS LETTER OF  
CORTÉS.

[I have noticed this celebrated Letter, the *Carta Quinta* of Cortés, so particularly in the body of the work, that little remains to be said about it here. I have had these passages translated to show the reader the circumstantial and highly graphic manner of the general's narrative. The latter half of the Letter is occupied with the events which occurred in Mexico in the absence of Cortés and after his return. It may be considered, therefore, as part of the regular series of his historical correspondence, the publication of which was begun by Archbishop Lorenzana. Should another edition of the Letters of Cortés be given to the world, this one ought undoubtedly to find a place in it.]

A lake of great width and proportionate depth was the difficulty which we had to encounter. In vain did we turn to the right and to the left; the lake was equally wide in every direction. My guides told me that it was useless to look for a ford in the vicinity, as they were certain the nearest one was towards the mountains, to reach which would necessarily be a journey of five or six days. I was extremely puzzled what measure to adopt. To return was certain death; as,

besides being at a loss for provisions, the roads, in consequence of the rains which had prevailed, were absolutely impassable. Our situation was now perilous in the extreme; on every side was room for despair, and not a single ray of hope illumined our path. My followers had become sick of their continual labour, and had as yet reaped no benefit from their toils. It was therefore useless for me to look to them for advice in our present truly critical position. Besides the primitive band and the horses, there were upwards of three thousand five hundred Indians who followed in our train. There was one solitary canoe lying on the beach, in which, doubtless, those whom I had sent in advance had crossed. At the entrance of the lake, and on the other side, were deep marshes, which rendered our passage of the lake considerably more doubtful. One of my companions entered into the canoe, and found the depth of the lake to be five-and-twenty feet, and, with some lances tied together, I ascertained that the mud and slime were twelve feet more, making in all a depth of nearly forty feet. In this juncture, I resolved that a floating bridge should be made, and for this purpose requested that the Indians would lend their assistance in felling the wood, whilst I and my followers would employ ourselves in preparing the bridge. The undertaking seemed to be of such magnitude that scarcely any one entertained an idea of its being completed before our provisions were all exhausted. The Indians, however, set to work with the most commendable zeal. Not so with the Spaniards, who already began to comment upon the labours they had undergone, and the little prospect which appeared of their termination. They proceeded to communicate their thoughts one to another, and the spirit of disaffection had now attained such a height that some had the hardihood to express their disapprobation of my proceedings to my very face. Touched to the quick with this show of desertion when I had least expected it, I said to them that I needed not their assistance; and, turning towards the Indians who accompanied me, exposed to them the necessity we lay under of using the most strenuous exertions to reach the other side, for if this point were not effected we should all perish from hunger. I then pointed in the opposite direction, in which the province of Acalan lay, and cheered their spirits with the prospect of there obtaining provisions in abundance, without taking into consideration the ample supply which would be afforded us by the caravels. I also promised them, in the name of your Majesty, that they should be recompensed to the fullest extent of their wishes, and that not a person who contributed his assistance should go unrewarded. My little oration had the best possible effect with the Indians, who promised, to a man, that their exertions should only terminate with their lives. The Spaniards, ashamed of their previous conduct, surrounded me and requested that I would pardon their late act; alleging, in extenuation of their offence, the miserable position in which they were placed, obliged to support themselves with the unsavoury roots which the earth supplied, and which were scarcely sufficient to keep them alive. They immediately proceeded to work, and, though frequently ready to fall from fatigue, never made another complaint. After four days' incessant labour the bridge was completed, and both horse and man passed without the slightest accident. The bridge was constructed in so solid a manner that it would be impossible to destroy it otherwise than by fire. More than one thousand beams were united for its completion, and every one of them was thicker than a man's body, and sixty feet long.

•     •     •     •

At two leagues' distance from this place, the mountains commenced. From no words of mine, nor of a more gifted man, can your Majesty form an adequate idea of the asperity and unevenness of the place which we were now ascending. He alone who has experienced the hardships of the route, and who himself has been an eye-witness, can be fully sensible of its difficulty. It will be sufficient for me to say, in order that your Majesty may have some notion of the labour which we had to undergo, that we were twelve days before we got entirely free of it,—a distance altogether of eight leagues! Sixty-eight horses died on the passage, the greater part having fallen down the precipices which abounded on every side; and the few that escaped seemed so overcome that we thought not a single one would ever afterwards prove serviceable. More than three months elapsed before they recovered from the effects of the journey. It never ceased to rain, day or night, from the time we entered the mountain until we left it; and the rock was of such a nature that the water passed away without collecting in any place in sufficient quantity to allow us to drink. Thus, in addition to the other hardships which we had to encounter, was that most pressing of all, thirst. Some of the horses suffered considerably from the want of this truly necessary article, and but for the culinary and other vessels which we had with us, and which served to receive some of the rain, neither man nor horse could possibly have escaped. A nephew of mine had a fall upon a piece of sharp rock, and fractured his leg in three or four places; thus was our labour increased, as the men had to carry him by turns. We had now but a league to journey before we could arrive at Tenas, the place which I mentioned as belonging to the chief of Tayco; but here a formidable obstacle presented itself, in a very wide and very large river, which was swollen by the continued rains. After searching for some time, one of the most surprising fords ever heard of was discovered. Some huge jutting cliffs arrest the progress of the river, in consequence of which it extends for a considerable space around. Between these cliffs are narrow channels, through which the water rushes with an impetuosity which baffles description. From one of these rocks to another we threw large trunks of trees, which had been felled with much labour. Ropes of bass-weed were affixed to these trunks; and thus, though at imminent risk of our lives, we crossed the river. If anybody had become giddy in the transit, he must unavoidably have perished. Of these passes there were upwards of twenty, and we took two whole days to get clear, by this extraordinary way.

\* \* \* \* \*

It were indeed an arduous task for me to describe to your Majesty the joy which pervaded every countenance when this truly inspiring account was received. To be near the termination of a journey so beset with hardships and labour as ours had been, was an event that could not but be hailed with rapture. Our last four days' march subjected us to innumerable trials; as, besides being without any certainty of our proceeding in the right direction, we were ever in the heart of mountains abounding with precipices on every side. Many horses dropped on the way; and a cousin of mine, Juan Davilos by name, fell down a precipice and broke an arm. Had it not been for the suit of armour which he wore, he would have been infallibly dashed to pieces. As it was, besides having his arm broken, he was dreadfully lacerated. His horse, upon which he was mounted, having no protection, was so wounded by the fall that we were obliged to leave him behind. With much difficulty we succeeded in extricating my cousin from his perilous situation. It

would be an endless task to relate to your Majesty the many sufferings which we endured ; amongst which the chief was from hunger ; for, although we had some swine which we had brought from Mexico, upwards of eight days had elapsed without our having tasted bread. The fruit of the palm-tree boiled with hog's flesh, and without any salt, which we had exhausted some time previous, formed our only sustenance. They were alike destitute of provisions at the place at which we had now arrived, where they lived in constant dread of an attack from the adjoining Spanish settlement. They needed not to fear such an event ; as, from the situation in which I found the Spaniards, they were incapable of doing the slightest mischief. So elated were we all with our neighbourhood to Nico that all our past troubles were soon forgotten, as are the dangers of the sea by the weather-beaten sailor, who on his arrival in port thinks no more of the perils he has encountered. We still suffered greatly from hunger ; for even the unsavoury roots were procured with the greatest difficulty ; and, after we had been occupied many hours in collecting them, they were devoured with the greatest eagerness, in the shortest space of time imaginable.

No. XV.—See vol. ii. p. 451.

LAST LETTER OF CORTÉS TO THE EMPEROR.

[I give this Letter of Cortés entire, *Ultima y sentidísima Carta*, his "Last and most touching Letter," as it is styled by Vargas Ponce, who has embraced it in his important collection from the archives of Seville.\* It may be called touching, when we consider the tone of it, as compared with the former correspondence of its author, and the gloomy circumstances under which it was written. Yet we are not to take the complaints contained in it of his poverty too literally ; since at his death, but three years after, he left immense estates. But these estates were so much embarrassed by his expensive and disastrous expeditions in the South Sea that his income during the rest of his life seems to have been scarcely sufficient to meet his ordinary expenditure. The last days of Cortés, wasted in ineffectual attempts to obtain redress from the court whom he had so signally served, remind us of the similar fate of Columbus. The history of both may teach us that the most brilliant career too often leads only to sorrow and disappointment, as the clouds gather round the sun at his setting.]

Pensé que haber trabajado en la juventud me aprovechara para que en la vejez tubiera descanso, y así ha quarenta años que me he ocupado

\* [It has since been printed in the Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. i., affording an opportunity for correcting the almost innumerable errors which disfigure the transcription of Vargas Ponce and render it scarcely intelligible.—Ed.]

en no dormir, mal comer, y á las veces ni bien ni mal, traer las armas á cuestras, poner la persona en peligro, gastar mi hacienda y edad, todo en servicio de Dios, trayendo ovejas en su corral muy remotas de nuestro hemisferio, ignotas, y no escriptas en nuestras Escrituras, y acrecentando y dilatando el nombre y patrimonio de mi Rey, ganándole y trayéndole á su yugo y Real cetro muchos y muy grandes reynos y señorios de muchas bárbaras naciones y gentes, ganados por mi propia persona y espensas, sin ser ayudado de cosa alguna, hantes muy estorvado por muchos émulos y invidiosos, que como sanguijuelas han reventado de artos de mi sangre. De la parte que á Dios cupo de mis trabajos y vigalias asaz estoy pagado, porque seyendo la obra suya, quiso tomarme por medio, y que las gentes me atribuye en alguna parte, aunque quien conociere de mí lo que yo, beré claro que no sin causa la divina providencia quiso que una hobra tan grande se acabase por el mas flaco é inútil medio que se pudo hallar, porque á solo dios fuese el atributo. De lo que á mi rey quedó, la remuneracion siempre estuve satisfecho, que ceteris paribus no fuera menor por ser en tiempo de V. M., que nunca estos reynos de España, donde yo soy natural y á quien cupo este beneficio, fuéron poseydos de tan grande y Católico príncipe, magnánimo y poderoso Rey; y así V. M., la primera vez que vesé las manos y entregué los frutos de mis servicios, mostró reconocimiento dellos y comenzó á mostrar voluntad de me hacer gratificacion, honrrando mi persona con palabras y hobras, que pareciéndome á mí que no se equiparaban á mis méritos, V. M. sabe que recibí yo de recibir. V. M. me dijo y mandó que las aceptase, porque paraciese que me comenzaba á hacer alguna merced, y que no las recibiese por pago de mis servicios; porque V. M. se queria haber con ningo, como se han los que se muestran á tirar la ballesta, que los primeros tiros dan fuera del terrero, y enmendando dan en él y en el blanco y fiel; que la merced que V. M. me hacia hera dar fuera del terrero, y que iria enmendando hasta dar en el fiel de lo que yo merecia; y pues que no se me quitava nada de lo que tenia, ni se me habia de quitar, que recibiese lo que me dava; y así vesé las manos á V. M. por ello, y envolviendo las espaldas quitóseme lo que tenia todo, y no se me cumplió la merced que V. M. me hizo. Y demas destas palabras que V. M. me dijo, y obras que me prometió, que, pues tiene tan buena memoria, no se le habrán olvidado, por cartas de V. M. firmadas de su real nombre tengo otras muy mayores. Y pues mis servicios hechos hasta alli son beneméritos de las obras y promesas que V. M. me hizo, y despues acá no lo han desmerecido; antes nunca he cesado de servir y acrecentar el Patrimonio de estos reynos, con mil estorvos, que si no obiera tenido no fuera menos lo acrecentado, despues que la merced se me hizo, que lo hecho porque la merecí, no sé porque no se me cumple la promesa de las mercedes ofrecidas, y se me quitan las hechas. Y si quisieren decir que no se me quitan, pues poseo algo; cierto es que nada é inútil son una mesma cosa, y lo que tengo es tan sin fruto, que me fuera arto mejor no tenerlo, porque obiera entendido en mis grangerias, y no gastado el fruto de ellas por defenderme del fiscal de V. M., que a sido y es mas dificultoso que ganar la tierra de los enemigos; así que mi trabajo aprovechó para mi contentamiento de haber hecho el dever, y no para conseguir el efecto dél, pues no solo no se me siguió reposo á la vejez, mas trabajo hasta la muerte; y pluguiese á Dios que no pasase adelante, sino que con la corporal se acabase, y no se estendiese á la perpetua, porque quien tanto trabajo tiene en defender el cuerpo no puede dejar de ofender al ánima.

Suplico á V. M. no permita que á tan notorios servicios haya tan poco miramiento, y pues es de creer que no es á culpa de V. M. que las gentes lo sepan; porque como esta obra que Dios hizo por mi medio es tan grande y maravillosa, y se ha estendido la fama de ella por todos los reynos de V. M. y de los otros reyes cristianos y aun por algunos infieles, en estos donde hay noticia del pleito de entre el fiscal y mí, no se trata de cosa mas; y unos atribuyen la culpa al fiscal, otros á culpas mías; y estas no las hallan tan grandes, que si bastasen para por ellas negárseme el premio, no bastasen tambien para quitarme la vida, honrra, y hacienda; y que pues esto no se hace que no deve ser mia la culpa. Á V. M. ninguna se atribuye; porque si V. M. quisiese quitarme lo que me dió, poder tiene para ejecutarlo, pues al que quiere y puede nada hay imposible; decir que se vuscan formas para colorar la obra, y que no se sienta el intento, ni caven ni pueden caber en los reyes unidos por Dios tales medios, porque para con él no hay color que no sea transparente, para con el mundo no hay para que colorarlo, por que así lo quiero, así lo mando, es el descargo de lo que los reyes hacen. Yo supliqué á V. M. en Madrid fuese servido de aclarar la voluntad que tubo de hacerme merced en pago de mis servicios, y le traje á la memoria algunos de ellos; díjome V. M. que mandaria á los del su consejo que me despachasen; pensé que se les dejaba mandado lo que abian de hacer, porque V. M. me dijo que no queria que trajese pleyto con el fiscal: cuando quise saberlo, dijéronme que me defendiese de la demanda del fiscal, porque havia de ir por tela de justicia, y por ella se habia de sentenciar: sentillo por grave, y escribí á V. M. á Barcelona, suplicándole que pues era servido de entrar en juicio de su siervo, lo fuese en que obiese Juezes sin sospecha y V. M. mandase que con los del Consejo de las Indias se juntasen algunos de los otros, pues todos son criados de V. M., y que juntos lo determinasen; no fué V. M. servido, que no puedo alcanzar la causa, pues quantos mas lo viesen mejor alcanzarian lo que se devia hacer. Véome viejo y pobre y empeñado en este reyno en mas de veinte mil ducados, sin mas de ciento otros, que he gastado de los que traje é me han enviado, que algunos de ellos debo tambien que los an tomado prestados para enviarme, y todos corren canbios; y en cinco años poco menos que ha que salí de mi casa, no es mucho lo que he gastado, pues nunca ha salido de la Corte, con tres hijos que traygo en ella, con letrados, procuradores, y solicitadores; que todo fuera mejor empleado que V. M. se sirviera de ello y de lo que yo mas hoviera adquirido en este tiempo; ha ayudado tambien la ida de Argel. Pareceme que al cojer del fruto de mis trabajos no devia hecharlo en basijas rotas, y dejarlo en juicio de pocos, sino tornar á suplicar á V. M. sea servido que todos quantos jueces V. M. tiene en sus Consejos conozcan de esta causa, y conforme á justicia la sentenciasen.—Yo he sentido del obispo de Cuenca que desea que obiese para esto otros jueces demas de los que hay; porque él y el licenciado Salmeron, nuevo Oidor en este Consejo de Indias, son los que me despojaron sin hoyrme de hecho, siendo jueces en la nueva España, como lo tengo provado, y con quien yo traigo pleito sobre el dicho despojo, y les pido cantidad de dineros de los intereses y rentas de lo que me despojaron; y está claro que no han de sentenciar contra sí. No les he querido recusar en este caso, porque siempre crey que V. M. fuera servido que no llegara á estos términos; y no seyendo V. M. servido que hayan mas jueces que determinen esta causa, sermas ha forzado recusar al Obispo de Cuenca y á Salmeron, y pesar meha en el ánima porque no podrá ser sin alguna dilacion; que para mí no



puede ser cosa mas dañosa, porque he sesenta años, y anda en cinco que salí de mi casa, y no tengo mas de un hijo Varon que me suceda; y aunque tengo la muger moza para poder tener mas, mi edad no sufre esperar mucho; y si no tubiera otro, y dios dispusiera de este sin dejar sucesion, ¿que me habria aprovechado lo adquirido? pues subcediendo hijas se pierde la memoria. Otra y otra vez torno á suplicar á V. M. sea servido que con los Jueces del Consejo de Indias se junten otros jueces de estos otros Consejos; pues todos son criados de V. M., y les fia la governacion de sus reynos y su real conciencia, no es inconveniente fiarles que determinen sobre una escriptura de merced, que V. M. hizo á un su vasallo de una partecica de un gran todo con que el sirvió á V. M., sin costar trabajo ni peligro en su real persona, ni cuidado de espíritu de proveer como se hiciese, ni costa de dineros para pagar la gente que lo hizo, y que tan limpia y lealmente sirvió, no solo en la tierra que ganó, pero con mucha cantidad de oro y plata y piedra de los despojos que en ella ubo; y que V. M. mande á los jueces que fuere servido que entiendan en ello, que en un cierto tiempo, que V. M. les señale, lo determinen y sentencien sin que haya esta dilacion; y esta será para mí muy gran merced; porque á dilatarse, dejarlo hé perder y volvermehé á mi casa: porque no tengo ya edad para andar por mesones, sino para recogerme á aclarar mi cuenta con Dios, pues la tengo larga, y poca vida para dar los descargos, y será mejor dejar perder la hacienda que el ánima. Sacra Magestad: Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la muy Real persona de V. M. con el acrecentamiento de Reynos y estados que V. M. desea. De Valladolid, á tres de Febrero de quientos quarenta y quatro años. De V. C. M. muy humilde siervo y vasallo, que sus muy reales pies y manos besa.—El Marques de Valle.

Cuvierta á la S. C. C. M., El Emperador y Rey de las Españas.

Tiene este decreto:—Á su Mag. del Marques del Valle, 3 de Febrero de 44:—*Nay que responder:* parece letra de Covos.

Original. Archivo de Indias.

No. XVI.—See vol. ii. p. 457.

#### FUNERAL OBSEQUIES OF CORTÉS.

[The original of this document is in the Hospital of Jesus, at Mexico; and the following literal translation was made from a copy sent to me from that capital.]

THE INTERMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF THE VALLEY OF OAJACA, HERNAN CORTÉS, AND OF HIS DESCENDANT, DON PEDRO CORTÉS, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THIS CITY OF MEXICO, FEB. 24, 1629.

The remains of Don Hernan Cortés (the first Marquis of the Valley of Oajaca), which lay in the monastery of St. Francis for more than fifty years since they had been brought from Castilleja de la Cuesta, were carried in funeral procession. It also happened that Don Pedro Cortés, Marquis of the Valley, died at the court of Mexico, Jan. 30, 1629. The Lord Archbishop of Mexico, D. Francisco Manso de Zuñiga, and

his Excellency the Viceroy, Marquis of Serralbo, agreed that the two funerals should be conducted together, paying the greatest honour to the ashes of Hernando Cortés. The place of interment was the church of St. Francis in Mexico. The procession set forth from the palace of the Marquis of the Valley. In the advance were carried the banners of the various associations; then followed the different orders of the religious fraternities, all the tribunals of Mexico, and the members of the Audience. Next came the Archbishop and the Chapter of the cathedral. Then was borne along the corpse of the Marquis Don Pedro Cortés in an open coffin, succeeded by the remains of Don Hernando Cortés in a coffin covered with black velvet. A banner of pure white, with a crucifix, an image of the Virgin and of St. John the Evangelist, embroidered in gold, was carried on one side. On the other were the armorial bearings of the King of Spain, also worked in gold. This standard was on the right hand of the body. On the left hand was carried another banner, of black velvet, with the arms of the Marquis of the Valley embroidered upon it in gold. The standard-bearers were armed. Next came the teachers of divinity, the mourners, and a horse with sable trappings, the whole procession being conducted with the greatest order. The members of the University followed. Behind them came the Viceroy with a large escort of cavaliers; then four armed captains with their plumes, and with pikes on their shoulders. These were succeeded by four companies of soldiers with their arquebuses, and some with lances. Behind them banners were trailed upon the ground, and muffled drums were struck at intervals. The coffin enclosing the remains of the Conqueror was borne by the Royal Judges, while the knights of the order of Santiago supported the body of the Marquis Don Pedro Cortés. The crowd was immense, and there were six stations where the coffins were exposed to view, and at each of these the responses were chanted by the members of the religious fraternities.

The bones of Cortés were secretly removed from the church of St. Francis, with the permission of his Excellency the Archbishop, on the 2nd of July, 1794, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the carriage of the Governor, the Marques de Sierra Nevada, and were placed in a vault, made for this purpose, in the church of Jesus of Nazareth. The bones were deposited in a wooden coffin enclosed in one of lead, being the same in which they came from Castilleja de la Cuesta, near Sevilla. This was placed in another of crystal, with its cross-bars and plates of silver; and the remains were shrouded in a winding-sheet of cambric embroidered with gold, with a fringe of black lace four inches deep.



# INDEX.

## A.

- ADONIRAHAN**, on the palm-tree, i. 145, n.
- Ablutions** at table, i. 128, 499.
- Aborigines of America**, origin of the, ii. 473, 476, 489; of their civilization, 477; peculiarities in their organization, 491. See *Indians* and *Montind*.
- Absolution**, Aztec rite of, i. 60.
- Achilles**, shade of, cited, i. 55, n.
- Acolhuana**. See *Colhuans* and *Tecuacans*.
- Acolman**, ii. 244; dispute there, 260.
- Aculan**, Spaniards at the capital of, ii. 409.
- Adelantado**, i. 207, n., 577.
- Adrian of Utrecht**, regent of Spain, ii. 245, 369; warrant by, 370; Pope, 372.
- Adultery**, charge respecting, ii. 506.
- Agave Americana**, or aloe, or maguey, i. 7; paper from the, 85, 115; various uses made of the, 86, n., 115, 116, 131; Dresden Codex made of the, 89, n.; account of it, 115, 116; Nezahualcoyotl concealed under fibres of, 138.
- Agriculture**, tax on, among the Aztecs, i. 85, 113; remarks on, 112; of North American Indians, 113; among the Mexicans, 113; articles of Aztec, 114; encouraged by Nezahualcoyotl, 147; Tlascalan, 338; Cholulán, 405; near the lake of Chalco, 443; attention to, after the Conquest, ii. 392, 443.
- Aguilar**, Gerónimo de, a Christian captive, account of, i. 226; Cortés' reception of, 227; an interpreter, 228; in the retreat from Mexico, ii. 102; at Chalco, 223.
- Aguilar**, Marcos de, succeeds Ponce de Leon as royal commissioner, ii. 422, n.; collects opinions in regard to repartimientos, ib.
- Ahuahutle**, insects' eggs, used as food, i. 488, n., ii. 312, n.
- Ahualco** crossed by Spaniards, i. 437.
- Ahuitsotl**, i. 20, 70, n.
- Ajotzinco**, city of, i. 443.
- Alaman**, Lucas, cited, i. 87, n., 191, n., 245, n., 435, n., 451, n., 452, n., 460, n., 494, n., 498, n., 512, n., ii. 85 n., ii. 207, n., 228, n., 240, n., 340, n., 342, n., 344, n., 367, n., 376, n., 379, n., 380, n., 384, n., 393, n., 411, n., 442, n., 455, n., 457, n., 458, n.
- Alamino**, Antonio de, chief pilot of the armada, i. 216, 267; despatched to Spain, 303; anchors at Cuba, 304.
- Alderete**, Julian de, royal treasurer, ii. 221; at Tacuba, 242; advice of, as to attack, 283; his division for assaulting Mexico, 290, and n.; too eager and in peril, 291, 292; urges the torture of Guatemoxin, 362, 374.
- Alexander the Great**, ii. 132, n.
- Alexander VI**, Pope, bull of partition by, i. 421, n.; enjoins conversion of the heathen, 422, n.
- Algiers**, expedition against, ii. 449.
- Alma-giving**, Aztec, i. 63.
- Aloe**. See *Agave Americana*.
- Alphabet**, Egyptian, i. 80, n.; nearest approach to, 81; European, introduced into Mexico, 83.
- Alvarado**, Jorge de, ii. 290.
- Alvarado**, Pedro de, enters the river Alvarado, i. 187, 242; his return to Cuba with treasures, 188, 189, 201; joins Cortés, 212; marches across Cuba, 213; reprimanded, 220; in the battles near the Tabasco, 232, 234; on a foraging party, 276; cuts down the body of Morla, 293; despatched to Compoalla, 305; troops put under, 319; at Tlascala, 392; Doña Luisa given to, 394; visits Montezuma with Cortés, 464; aids in seizing Monte-

- suma, 529; Montezuma pleased with, 547; takes command at Mexico, 590; instructions to, 590; forces under, 591, ii. 38, n.; assault on, 25, 31, 33; blockaded, 29, 37; joined by Cortés, 30; Aztecs massacred by, 32, 33, n., 35, n., ii. 314; character of, 37; Cortés' dissatisfaction with, 38; chivalrous, 54; storms the great temple, 63; overpowered at the Mexican bridges, 75; acts at the evacuation of Mexico, 91, 101; unhorsed, 99, 100; at the battle of Otumba, 122; accompanies Duero and Bermudez to Vera Cruz, 152; Sandoval and, 199; reconnoitres Mexico, 205; conspiracy against, 247; to command the point Tacuba, 255; demolishes the aqueduct, 260, 261; enmity of Olid and, 260; operations of, 275; protects breaches, 280; Sandoval to join, 289; his neglect to secure a retreat, 290; Rebuked, 290; his fortune at the assault, 297; Cortés' opinion of, 300; temple burnt by, 321; meeting of Cortés and, 323; in the murderous assault, 331, 334; to occupy the market-place, 336; detached to Oaxaca, 365; conquers Guatemala, 396.
- Alvarado's Leap, ii. 99, 100.
- Amadis de Gaula, i. 446, n.
- Amaquemecan, Spaniards at, i. 442.
- Ambassadors, persons of, held sacred, i. 39.
- Ammunition, ii. 381. *See Gunpowder.*
- Amnesty, granted by Nezahualcoyotl, i. 141.
- Anaglyphs, i. 82, n.
- Anahuac, i. 9; extent of, 11, n.; meaning of the word, 11, n.; forms of government in, 23; the golden age of, 52; number of human sacrifices in, 69, n., 70. *See Aztecs and Mexico.*
- Andrada, Don Juan, ii. 85, n.
- Animals, collection of, i. 495; of the New World and the Old, different, ii. 473; origin of, in the New World, 473; no useful domesticated, among the Aztecs, 501. *See Draught-cattle.*
- Animals, artificial, i. 118, n., 148, 263, 298, n., 427, 507.
- Antigua or Vera Cruz Vieja, i. 289, n., ii. 382.
- Antiquities, i. 153, ii. 497; of Cosumel, i. 222, n.
- Aqueducts, conducting to Texcotitlan, i. 153; at Ixtapalapan, 448; from Chapultepec, 465, 484, n., 489; destroyed, ii. 260, 261.
- Arabic manuscripts destroyed, i. 87.
- Architecture, refinement and, i. 143; of the Tezcucans, 147, 151; in Yucatan, 185, 186; of Cosumel, 221; at Cempoalla, 232, 233; of Tlascala, 387; marine, at Ajozincó, 443; at Cuitlahuac, 446; of Ixtapalapan, 448; on the Tezcuacan lake, 452; at Mexico, 458; encouragement of, by Montezuma, 490; after the Conquest, ii. 380; coincidences with Aztec, 493, 496; of Palenque, 496.
- Archives at Tezcucan, i. 144, 148.
- Argensola, on the house of Cortés, i. 191, n.; on the detention of Cortés in Spain, 193, n.
- Arithmetic among the Aztecs, i. 93.
- Ark, coincidences with the, ii. 479.
- Armada, intrusted to Cortés, i. 203; the fitting out of the, 204, 205; expense of it, 204, 211, 274; sails 209; equipment of it, 209, 211, 212; joined by volunteers, 212; sails from Havana, 216; its strength, 216; chief pilot of the, 216; encounters a storm, 220; at Cosumel, 220, 224; sails, 218, 225, 228; at the Rio de Tabasco, 228; wounded sent back to the, 233; sails for Mexico, 241; at San Juan de Ulua, Villa Rica, and Vera Cruz, 243, 247, 267, 285; one vessel joins the, 297; one vessel of the, despatched to Spain, 302, 304; Juan Diaz attempts to escape with one of the, 304; sunk, 306, 307, 308, n. *See Brigantine.*
- Armies, account of Aztec, i. 41.
- Armour, tribute of, i. 36, and n.
- Arms of Montezuma, i. 465. *See Arrows.*
- Arrows, defence against, i. 213, 235; burnt, 536; discharge of, at the assault in Mexico, ii. 47.
- Art, few works of Aztec, found, ii. 495.
- Artillery. *See Cannon.*
- Artisans, Montezuma's, i. 500.
- Astrology, i. 100, n., 103; origin of, 103.
- Astronomy, Mexican, i. 104, 105; studied, 161, 167.
- Atlantis of Plato, ii. 473.
- Audience, giving of, by Montezuma, i. 499.
- Auditors of accounts, Aztec, i. 27, n.
- Auxiliaries. *See Indian allies.*

- Aviary**, Aztec, i. 448, 491, 492, ii. 278, 379.
- Avila**, Alonso de, joins Cortés, i. 212; fights, 229, 234; aids to seize Montezuma, 529; Narvaez, ii. 10; before Cortés, in behalf of the soldiers, 23; tries to calm Cortés, 39; in the retreat from Mexico, 91, 101; at the battle of Otumba, 122; despatched to St. Domingo, 157, n.; to Spain, 368; captured by the French, 368.
- Axayacatl**, Aztec sovereign, Tlascalans oppose, i. 340; his treasure, 523, 559-561. See *Treasure*.
- Axayacatl's palace**, i. 460, 461, ii. 45, 272; Spaniards quartered in, i. 460, 461; chapel in, 522; Montezuma's confinement in, 533; return of Cortés to, ii. 30; Spaniards besieged there, 36; assaulted by Aztecs, 46; fired, 48; commanded by the temple of the war-god, 62; destroyed, 277.
- Ayllon**, the licentiate, sent to stay Velasquez's expedition, i. 579; joins the fleet, 580; seized and sent back, 582; his report, 582; released, ii. 246.
- Ayotlan**, siege and capture of, i. 124.
- Azcapotzalco**, a slave-market, i. 124, 140, ii. 207, n.
- Aztecs**, or Mexicans, civilization of the, i. 1, 43, 169, 509, ii. 473; extent of their country, i. 2, ii. 349; quarter from which they came, i. 16, n.; time of their arrival at Anahuac, i. 16, 18, n., 336, ii. 349; their migratory habits, i. 16, ii. 483; settlement of, at Mexico, i. 17; domestic feuds and secession among them, 18; extent of their territory just before the arrival of the Spaniards, 20; form of government among the, 23; election and installation of sovereigns, 23; legislative and judicial system among them, 27; great aim of their institutions, 38; on calling them barbarians, 43, n.; compared with Saxons of the time of Alfred, 43; comparison of modern Mexicans and, 44; their mythology, 47; cycles, 53, 95, n., 97; ii. 477, 486; ideas of future life, i. 55; their claims to civilization, 74, ii. 350; compared with Europeans of the sixteenth century, i. 73; their law of honour, 73, n.; their manuscripts, 106; the *Tecamotli*, or divine book of the, 91, n.; their literary culture, 92; measurement of time, 94; their cycle called an "old age," 96, n.; astrology, 102; astronomy, 104; their festival at the termination of the great cycle, 106; their agriculture, 113; acquaintance of, with plants, 116; with minerals, 117; with the mechanical arts, 118, 122; their domestic manners, 126; differ from North American Indians, 132; ii. 491, n.; character of the, original and unique, i. 132; *Nesahualcoyotl* unites his forces with the, 140; beat and sacrifice *Maxtla*, 140; transfer of power to, from the *Texucans*, 168; the first communication with them, 186, 187, 188; orders to Cortés respecting the treatment of them, 206; their condition, and disgust with Montezuma, at the time of Cortés' arrival, 256; defeated by Tlascalans, 341; aid in a Cholulan conspiracy, 409, 412; number of, in the Mexican market, 509; enraged at the profanation of their temples, 568; aid in building vessels at Vera Cruz, 571, 584; insurrection by the, ii. 36; their assaults on the Spanish quarters, 47, 56; sally against them, 51; addressed by Montezuma, 68; insult Montezuma, 68, 69; their spirit at the storming of the great temple, 64, 65; Cortés' address to, 68; their reply, 69; their combative spirit, 74-77; assault the retreating Spaniards, 95; measures for rallying, 137; Tlascalan alliance with, rejected, 139; Guatemozin, emperor of the, 162; proceeded against as rebels, 164; want of cohesion among them, ii. 197; deride Cortés, 212; fights with, on the Sierra, 225; at *Xochimilco*, 235, 236; defend the aqueduct of *Chapoltepec*, 261; at *Ixtapalapan*, 263; defeat of their flotilla, 264, 265; fight on the causeways, 269; their exasperation, 278; their hatred of white men, 287, 320; their bravery at the general assault, 298; attack *Alvarado* and *Sandoval*, 298; their spirit and sufferings, 311, 316, 320, 323, 336; sortie of, 315; do not bury their dead, 319, 329; assault on, at the market-place, 334; effect of Guatemozin's capture on, 340; evacuate the city, 345; remarks on the fall of their empire, 350; essay on the origin of the civilization of the, 478; traditions respecting their

origin, 381. See *Guatemala* and *Montezuma*.

## B.

**BABEL**, coincidences of the tower of, and the temple of Cholula, ii. 479.  
**Bachelors** subject to penalties, ii. 383.  
**Badajoz**, British atrocities at, i. 424.  
**Badajoz**, Gutierrez de, storms the great *teocalli*, ii. 321.  
**Bahama Islands**, i. 180; expedition to, for slaves, 184.  
**Balboa**, Nufies de, i. 180, 198; transports brigantines, ii. 203, n.  
**Banana**, i. 114; the forbidden fruit, 115, n.  
**Banner of Cortés**, i. 213, 373, n.; lost and recovered, ii. 296; see *Standard*.  
**Banners**, River of, i. 187, 242.  
**Baptism**, Aztec and Pagan, i. 57, ii. 482, 483.  
**Barante**, on a disclosure in the reign of Louis the Eleventh, ii. 250.  
**Barba**, Don Pedro, governor of Havana, ordered to seize Cortés, i. 215.  
**Barba**, Pedro, killed, ii. 283.  
**Barbera**, Aztec, i. 388, 508.  
**Barca**, Madame Calderon de la, on Mexican love of flowers, i. 281, n.; on Tacuba, ii. 260, n.; on Cuernavaca, 442, n.  
**Barks** at Ajotainco, i. 443. See *Canoes*.  
**Barracks** built at Mexico, ii. 285.  
**Barrio de San Jago**, ii. 325.  
**Barter**, Grijalva's, at the River of Banners, i. 188, 242; object of Cortés' expedition, 205; at Cozumel, 221; with the Tabascans, 239. See *Traffic*.  
**Basque language**, ii. 489, n.  
**Bas-reliefs** destroyed, i. 120, 495.  
**Batanjos**, Fray Domingo de, discusses the repartimientos and probable fate of the Indians, ii. 422, n.  
**Baths of Montezuma**, i. 152, 495.  
**Battles**, Aztecs avoided slaying their enemies in, i. 71; of Tabasco, 230, 231; of Centla, 235; between Aztecs and Tlascalans, 341, 342; Spaniards and Tlascalans, 345, 346, 349, 351, 358, 362, 363; Escalante and Quauhpopoca, 527; Cortés and Narvaez, ii. 14; at the Aztec insurrection, 49, 52; at the great temple, 66; on leaving Mexico, 75, 77; of the Melancholy Night, 96; of Otumba, 117; of Quauhquechollan, 146; of Iztapalapan, ii. 190, 191, 263; near

Chalco, 193; at Xaltocan, 206; at Tacopan, 209; of Jacapichtla, 217; on the rocks of the Sierra, 224, 225; at Cuernavaca, 230; at Xochimilco, 232, 236; at the aqueduct of Chapultepec, 261; Naval, with the Indian flotilla, 263; on the Mexican causeways, 269; with Alderete's division, 293; with the Panuchens, 371.  
**Beetles**, Cortés aided by, ii. 16.  
**Beggary**, not tolerated, i. 159.  
**Bejar**, Duke de, befriends Cortés, ii. 372, 43; his reception of him, 432.  
**Belus**, on the tower of, ii. 493, n.  
**Benavente**, Count of, i. 178, n.  
**Bermudez**, Agustin, ii. 18, 151.  
**Bernaldez** on devils, i. 50, n.  
**Bilious fever**. See *Vómito*.  
**Bird**, Dr., on *mantas*, ii. 73, n.  
**Birds**, artificial, i. 118, n., 143, 263, 298, n., 427, 507. See *Aviary*.  
**Births**, consultation at, i. 103.  
**Bishop's Pass**, i. 325.  
**Bison**, domesticated, ii. 502, n.  
**Blanc**, Mont, height of, i. 432, n.  
**Blasphemy**, prohibited, ii. 167.  
**Blumenbach**, on American skulls, ii. 492, n.  
**Bodies of the Tlascalans**, painted, i. 353, 359. See *Dead*.  
**Bodleian Library**, roll and Codex in the, i. 36, n., 88, n.  
**Body-guard of Montezuma**, i. 496; of Cortés, ii. 251. See *Quinones*.  
**Booty**, law on appropriating, ii. 163; little found in Mexico, ii. 347, 348, 361. See *Gold* and *Treasure*.  
**Borunda**, the Mexican Champollion, i. 91, n.  
**Botanical garden**, i. 449, n., 493. See *Floating*.  
**Botello** urges night retreat, ii. 89.  
**Boturini**, Bonaduci, Chevalier, his writings and collection of manuscripts, i. 12, n., 20, n., 21, 26, n., 85, n., 88, n., 91, n., 133, n., 134, 145, n., 461, n., 115, n., ii. 480, n.  
**Bradford's American Antiquities**, ii. 471.  
**Branding of slaves**, ii. 143, 200.  
**Brass** substituted for iron, i. 118, n.  
**Brasseur de Bourbourg**, Abbé, cited, i. 10, n., 50, n., 92, n.; his theory in regard to Mexican Mythology, ii. 474, n.  
**Brasil** secured to Portugal, i. 421, n.  
**Breaches in the causeways**, made and filled, ii. 268-271, 276, 280,

- 291-292, 312, 323; neglected by Alderete, 291-293; measures for filling, 311.
- Bread and wine, consecrated, ii. 483, n.
- Bridges, at Mexico, i. 454, 459, 484, 485, 524, ii. 261; removed, 30, 40; demolished, 69, 73, 75; restored, 75; leaped by Cortés, 76; portable, 91, 93, 94; arched, at Tlascala, i. 385; at Cuernavaca, ii. 229; in the expedition to Honduras, 401, 403, 413. See *Breaches and Canals*.
- Brigantines, built on Lake Tezcuco, i. 544; burnt, ii. 25, 149; built and transported to Lake Tezcuco, 149, 159, 174, ii. 187, 199, 201, 219, 222, 251, 254; attempts to destroy, 219; launched, 244, 252; canal for transporting, 251; remains of, preserved, 252, n., 381; co-operate with the army, 263, 264, 265, 267, 269, 289, 298, 339; decoyed and destroyed, 283; sail from Honduras to Truxillo, 415. See *Fleet*.
- Brinton, Dr. Daniel G., explanations of Mexican mythology by, i. 11, n., 51, n., 53, n., 222, n.
- British atrocities, i. 424.
- Budh, incarnation of, i. 51, n.
- Buffalo ranges, ii. 501.
- Buffoons, Aztec, i. 131, n.; see *Jesters*.
- Bullock, W., on Tezcuco, i. 149, n., 551, n.; on a basin at Tezcoztzinco, 152, n.; on antiquities at Tezcoztzinco, 154, n.; on Puebla de los Angeles, 404, n.; on the pyramids of Teotihuacan, ii. 115, n., 114, n.; on a banner in the Hospital of Jesus, ii. 296, n.
- Bulls for the Conquerors, ii. 221, 423, n.
- Burials, i. 56, n. See *Dead*.
- Bustamante, editor of Sahagun's Universal History, i. 77, 82, 92, n., 109, ii. 325, n., 353, n., 360.
- C**
- Canoe, Sebastian, i. 180.
- Cacama, king of Tezcuco, rival for the crown, i. 256, 549, ii. 181; favours a friendly reception of Cortés, i. 261, 549; counsels Montezuma, 442, 549; mission of, to Cortés, 442, 444; accompanies Montezuma, 455; his plan for liberating Montezuma, 551; negotiations with, 552, 553; seizure of, and of his confederates, 553, 554, ii. 174, 314; brought away from Mexico, ii. 91, 174; fate of, 174.
- Cacao, i. 114, 147, n.; a circulating medium, 123, 510.
- Cesar, Julius, order by, i. 237, n.
- Calderon, Señor de, ii. 84, n. See *Barca*.
- Calendar, Aztec, i. 94, 95, and n., 96; of the lunar reckoning, 100, 108; coincidences with the Asiatic, ii. 487.
- Calendar-stone, i. 104, 120, 121, n., 490.
- Calmeac school, i. 61.
- Calpulli, or tribes, distribution into, i. 35, n.
- Camargo, Diego Muñoz, i. 391, n.; account of, and of his writings, ii. 44; cited, 79, n., 99, n., ii. 522.
- Campeachy, Bay of, i. 228.
- Canals, for irrigation, i. 114, 235, 405, 445; instead of streets, 443; in the gardens at Ixtapalapan, 449; in Mexico, 482, 485; filled up, 482, ii. 96; for transporting brigantines, 251. See *Breaches and Bridges*.
- Cannibalism, i. 69, 74, 130, 226; during the siege, ii. 284, 312; of the allies, 286; Spanish captives the victims of, 302; coincidences as to, 374.
- Cannon, landed from the ships, i. 233; command of, given to Mesa, 234; effect of, at the battle of Ceutla, 235; mounted on the Vera Cruz hillocks, 247; effect of, on Aztec visitors, 251; sent to the fleet, 278; at Cempoalla, 283; effect of, on the Tlascalans, 352, 362, 363; at Cholula, 416; effect of, at Mexico, 464, ii. 49, 50, 52; on board Narvaes's fleet, i. 580; at Cempoalla, ii. 12, 15; turned against Narvaes, 16; effect of, at the retreat, 96; all lost in the retreat, 106; for attacking Mexico, 164; in the fleet on Lake Tezcuco, 254; effects of, at the siege of Mexico, 271, 297, 298; cast in Mexico, 381.
- Cano, Don Thon, ii. 34, n.; married Montezuma's daughter, 34, n., 60, n., 85, n., ii. 407, n.; cited, 60, n., 105, and n., 129, n., ii. 527.
- Canoes, i. 443, 453, 486, ii. 261, 264, 267.
- Captives. See *Christians and Prisoners*.
- Caribbee Islands, i. 180.
- Carli, Count, cited, i. 26, n., 105, n..



- 121, 122, *n.*, ii. 474; *n.*, 483, *n.*, 485, *n.*, 502, *n.*
- Carpets, cotton, at Vera Cruz, i. 247.
- Carreri, Gemelli, chart of, ii. 490, *n.*
- Casa de Contratacion, i. 179, 573.
- Casa, Giovanni della, i. 486, *n.*
- Casas Grandes, ruins of, ii. 491, *n.*
- Castes in Mexico, i. 123.
- Catalina. See *Xuarez*.
- Catalogue of Mexican historians, i. 84, *n.*
- Catapult, built, ii. 326.
- Cathedrals, i. 120, 481, 511, ii. 379, 380.
- Catherwood's illustrations, ii. 471.
- Catholics, Protestants and, i. 240, 296; views of, as to infidels, 421-423.
- Catoche, Cape, i. 185, 228.
- Cattle, i. 201, *n.*, ii. 443.
- Causeways, dividing Chalco from Xochicalco, i. 445, 452; the three at Mexico, 483; present state of the, ii. 382. See *Coyohuacan*, *Itzapalapan*, *Tepejacac*, and *Tlacopan*.
- Cavaliers, i. 212.
- Cavallero, superintendent of marine, ii. 24.
- Cavalry, i. 234, 236, 237; Indian ideas respecting, 237; in Narvaez's armada, 580, ii. 15; effect of, at Mexico, 51, 97, 101, 110; loss of, 106; at the battle of Otumba, 121; for attacking Mexico, 164; at Tlacopan, ii. 209; ambuscade with, 213, 241; at the siege and surrender of Mexico, 274, 297. See *Horses*.
- Cavo, on Cortés' bigotry, ii. 465, *n.*
- Campoalla, i. 271, 279, 282; reception of Cortés at, 283; cacique of, at Chiahuitztla, 286; Cortés' second visit to, 288, 293; cacique of, aided by Cortés, 292; arr. sts there, 295; proceedings there, 319; Narvaez at, 586, ii. 12; sick and wounded left at, 26.
- Campoallan allies, i. 321, and *n.*; periah from oold, 326; distrust Cholulans, 333; four, sent to the Tlascalans, 333, 347, 348; fight Tlascalans, 351; enter Cholula, 406; detect a conspiracy, 408; withdraw, 429; at Mexico with Cortés, 452, *n.*, ii. 38, *n.*
- Centaurs, Spaniards thought to be, i. 237.
- Central America, its ancient civilization distinct from that of Mexico, i. 13, *n.* See *Chiapa*, *Milla*, and *Palenque*.
- Ceremonies, religious, i. 64.
- Coutla, battle of, i. 235, 238.
- Chalcaas, i. 150, *n.*, ii. 223.
- Chalchuites, resembling emeralds, 267.
- Chalco, ii. 193; Sandoval's expedition to, 215, 222; Cortés' expedition in favour of, 222; Indian levies join Spaniards at, 254, 263.
- Chalco, lake of, i. 120, 443, 445, 516.
- Challenges, ii. 317.
- Champollion, i. 82 and *n.*, 91, *n.*
- Chapultepec, carved stones at, destroyed, i. 104. *n.*; residence of Mexican monarchs, 438, 491; aqueduct from, 465, 484, *n.*, ii. 260, 261; account of, i. 494; views from, 494.
- Charles V., Spain under, i. 175; erroneous statements regarding, 178, *n.*; discovery by the beginning of his reign, 180; title of, 273, *n.*; Cortés' first letter to, 299, ii. 156; discussion before, on the civilization of Indians, i. 312; Montezuma's gifts to, 559, 560, 561; his first visit to Spain after his accession, 574; his treatment of envoys from Cortés, 575, 576; second letter to, by Cortés, ii. 154; absent, 245, 369; grant by, to Cortés, for capturing Guatemoczin, 341, *n.*; third letter to, from Cortés, and one from the army, 367, 368; in Spain, 373; board selected by, respecting Cortés, 373; powers given by, to Cortés, 375; fifth letter to, 440, *n.*, 540; appoints a *juez de residencia*, 420; writes to Cortés, 422; orders him to return to Spain, 425; gives audience to him, 432; confides in Cortés, 432; visits him, 433; honours and rewards Cortés, 433; goes to Italy, 437; absence of, 443; applications to, by Cortés, and the result, 450; last letter to, by Cortés, 450, 451, 543.
- Chase, Montezuma's fondness for the, i. 543, 544.
- Chastity, injunctions as to, ii. 506.
- Cheas, i. 264, *n.*
- Chiahuitztla, visit to, i. 285.
- Chiapa, resemblances to architecture in, ii. 494, 496.
- Chiapa, bishop of, i. 313. See *Las Casas*.
- Chichimecatl, a Tlascalan chief, ii. 201, 254, 305.
- Chichimeca, i. 14, 15, 18, *n.*; ii. 490.
- Children, baptizing and naming of, i. 57; ii. 482; education and disci-

- pine of, i. 59, 126; sacrificed, 408; Cortés' treatment of, 418; stew of, for Montezuma, 497, n.
- Chimalpopoca, sacrificed, i. 73, n.
- China, i. 38, n., 51, n., 123, n. See *Chinese*.
- Chinantla, lances from, i. 589; ii. 4.
- Chinantlan allies aid Cortés, i. 589; ii. 22.
- Chinese, i. 111; their language and the Othomi, ii. 439; iron among the, 502, n. See *China*.
- Chivalry, spirit of, in the troops, ii. 234, 317.
- Chocolate, i. 36, n., 114, 130, 498.
- Cholula, traditions connected with Quetzalcoatl at, i. 52, 258, 400, 558; ii. 179; account of, i. 399, 406, 408; pilgrims to, 403; entered by the Spaniards, 406; junction of Cortés and Velasquez de Leon at, 589; ii. 1; Olid's countermarch on, 145; coincidences of the tower of Babel and the temple of, ii. 479.
- Cholulan allies, i. 145, ii. 305.
- Cholulans, i. 333; distrust of, 333, 396, 397; summons to the, 396, 397; embassy from the, 397; their reception of the Spaniards, 406; conspiracy of the, 409; to aid Cortés, 412, 414; massacred, 415; efforts to convert, 426.
- Christianity, ideas, rites, and usages not unlike to, among the Mexicans, i. 49, 56, 60, 522; ii. 484; measures for conversion to, i. 182, 222—225, 239, 296, 324, 330, 331, 390, 426; ii. 410, 412; similarity of Quetzalcoatl's teachings to, 400, n.; on conquest for conversion to, i. 420, 539; duty to convert to, 422, 539; attempts to convert Montezuma to, 463, 467, 548, 564; ii. 78; Maxixca, 151; his son, and Xicotencatl, 153; after the conquest, 380, 390; rapid spread of, 391. See *Cortés*.
- Christians in captivity, i. 205, 221, 226. See *Christianity*.
- Chronology, i. 94, 97, 472.
- Churches, ii. 108, 115, 322, 380.
- Cihuaca, cacique, killed, ii. 122.
- Cihuacoatl, title of Mexican magistrate, i. 27, n. See *Cihuacoatl*.
- Cimatlan, phonetic sign for, i. 83.
- Ciuacoatl, Eve and, ii. 480.
- Circulating medium, i. 123, 510.
- Cities, division of, i. 60. See *Towns*.
- Civilization, Mexican claim to, i. 73; of the Tezoucans over the rest of Anahuac, 170; in Yucatan, 185, 187; in Cozumel, 220; at Tabasco, 231; of Tlascala, 257, 340; as shown in Indian manuscripts, 302, n.; of Indians, discussed, 312; at Ixtapalapan, 448—450; in Mexico, 471; essay on the origin of Mexican, ii. 473, 477; similarity and dissimilarity of, in the two continents, 477; two general conclusions respecting it, 502. See *Refinement*.
- Claudian, cited, i. 432, n.
- Clavigero, i. 2, n., 11, n.; on Boturini's authorities, 12, n.; dates from, 18, n.; notices of, and of his *Storia antica del Messico*, 22, 45; on the high-priest, 59, n.; on the number of human sacrifices, 69, n.; catalogue of Mexican historians by, 84, n.; on Aztec fairs, 95, n.; on the population of Tlascala, 349, n.; on Mexican dialects, ii. 488, n.
- Clemencin, on coins, i. 264, n.
- Clement VII., pope, ii. 428, n.
- Cloths, Mexican, i. 121, 400. See *Cotton*, *Feather-work*, and *Maniles*.
- Coanaco, made cacique of Texcoco, ii. 175; joins the Aztecs, 175; puts Spaniards to death, 175; destroys his brother, 175; escapes from Texcoco, 178; captured, 340.
- Coatepec, town of, ii. 173.
- Coatzacoalco, i. 555, 589; ii. 24, 400.
- Cochineal, i. 121, 322, 507, n.
- Cocotlan, i. 327, 328.
- Code, military, ii. 166, 536. See *Laws*.
- Codex Telleriano-Remensis, i. 70, n., 90, n.
- Cofre de Perote, a volcano, i. 326.
- Cogolludo on ruins in America, ii. 499, n.
- Cojohuacan, ii. 239, 255, 262, 343, 365; Cortés' residence at, 425; provisions respecting, in Cortés' will, 452.
- Cojohuacan causeway, ii. 240, 261, 266.
- Colhuacan, hospital at, i. 255.
- Colhuans, i. 16, n.
- Coliman founded, ii. 382.
- Colonial administration of Spain, under Charles V., i. 179.
- Colonization, progress of, by the beginning of the reign of Charles V., i. 180; not attempted by Grijalva, 188, 189, 206; Velasquez obtains authority for, 207, n.; plan of, at Vera Cruz, 275; at Coatzacoalco, i. 555.
- Colour of Mexican hieroglyphics, i. 81.
- Columbus, Christopher, i. 50, n., 183; ii. 428.

- Columbus, Diego, i. 183.  
 Columbus, Ferdinand, i. 190, n.  
 Commission. See *Hieronymite commission*.  
 Communion, Aztec and pagan, ii. 482, 483.  
 "Companions," the, i. 101, n.  
 Compostella, Castilian cortes at, i. 574.  
 Concubines of Tescucan princes, i. 154.  
 Confession, Aztec, i. 50; among Tatars, ii. 484, n.  
 Conquerors, distribution of Indians among the Spanish, i. 181.  
 Conquests, not always partitioned, i. 87, n.; on the right of, 420, 421, 539.  
 Conspiracy, i. 307, 409; ii. 246.  
 Constant, Benjamin, i. 102, n.  
 Continency of Aguilar, i. 226.  
 Convent of St. Francis, i. 324, n.; ii. 420; Cortés and Columbus at La Rabida in Spain, 428.  
 Conversion, Las Casas on forced, i. 225, n.; ii. 517; object of the Spaniards, ii. 167. See *Christianity*.  
 Cook, James, Captain, ii. 476, n.  
 Copal, tribute of, i. 36, n.  
 Copan, city of, ii. 413.  
 Copper, weapons headed with, i. 859; tools of, ii. 495.  
 Cora language, ii. 491, n.  
 Cordillera mountains, i. 6, 115.  
 Cordova, Gonzalvo de, ii. 453.  
 Cordova, Hernandez de, i. 184.  
 Corn. See *Indian Corn*.  
 Coronation of Montezuma, i. 254.  
 Corral, ensign, ii. 224, 296.  
 Cortés, Hernando, i. 70; Velasquez selects him for an expedition, 190, 205, 206; birth and genealogy of, 191; ii. 428; his early years, i. 192; in Hispaniola, 197; in Cuba, 198; marriage of, with Catalina Xuares, 196, 200, 201; his difficulties with Velasquez, 199, 200; put in irons, 198, 199; escapes twice, 198, 199; the Armada intrusted to him as Captain-general, 203, 207, 210; applies all his money to fitting out the fleet, 204, 205, 211, 274; instructions to, by Velasquez, 205; ii. 514; his clandestine embarkation, i. 210; his measures for equipment, 209, 212, 213; described, 214; strength of his armament, 216, 217; his address to his soldiers, 217; at Cozumel, 220; endeavours to liberate captive Christians, 221; his zeal to convert the natives, 223, 239, 268, 295, 325, 330, 426, 516, 518; ii. 154, 167, 243, 388, 452; at Tabasco, i. 232, 232; his first interview with Mexicana, 247; his presents and demand to see Montezuma, 249; embassy returns to, with presents from Montezuma, 262 (see *Montezuma*); his second message to Montezuma, 266; the reply, 267, 268; first made acquainted with the condition of Mexico, 271, 285; his resignation and reappointment, 275, 276; ii. 6; his policy with the Totonacs and Montezuma, i. 287, 288; another Aztec embassy to, 291; aids the canoe of Cempallá, 293; hangs up Morla, 293; reconciles Totonacs, 293; his despatches to Spain, 297, 299, 300, n., 303; condemns conspirators, 304; destroys his ships, 306, 308, 309, n. (see *Armada*); his embassy to Tlascala, 333; his vigilance, 333, 345, 368, 390, 412, 431, 444, n., 462, 571; ii. 195; his march to Tlascala, i. 334, 372, 385; ill of a fever, 372, 384; standards borne by, 373, n.; malcontents expostulate with, 375; mutilates Tlascalan spies, 378, 379; Montezuma discourages his visit to Mexico, 392; called Malinche, 394; ii. 68; invited to Mexico, i. 395; massacre by, at Cholula, 415, 420, 425; prohibition of wanton injuries by, 418, 423; encourages the disaffection of the Aztecs, 440; his entrance into Mexico, 452—462; visited by Montezuma, 455—457; his quarters, 461, 462; his visit to Montezuma, 465, 466; descendants of, now in Mexico, 465 (see *Monteleone*); visits the market, 504; the great temple, 511, 514; its sanctuaries, 517; chapel granted to, 522; discovers hidden treasures, 523; his seizure of Montezuma, 527; fetters him, 537; unfetters him, 538; seizes Cacama, 553; willing to relinquish his share of Montezuma's gift, 564; on profaning Mexican temples, 569; learns Narvaez's arrival, 584; his treatment of envoy prisoners, 585; his letter to Narvaez, 585; marches against him, 590, 591; his parting with Montezuma, 591; his strength, ii. 4; met by Guevara and Duerio, as envoys, 5, 7; summons Narvaez, 7; assaults and defeats him, 10, 15, 16; his treatment of him, 18; of

the captives and his own troops, 23; his return to Mexico, 26; his forces, 27, 38; in ill-humour, 39; releases Cuitlahua, 40; rehorses Duero, 54; wounded, 55, 65, 76, 111, 121, 129, 233, 294; leads in storming the great temple, 64; addresses the Aztecs through Marina, 68; builds a *mantla*, 72; deceived and releases priests, 74, 75; exposures and hardihood of, 76; Montezuma's last conversation with, 80; his respect for Montezuma's memory, 87; his retreat from Mexico, 91, 92; at Popotla, 101; loss of his diary, 106; kills Cihuaca at the battle of Otumba, 122; at Tlascala, 129; remonstrance with, by the troops, 132; his expedition against the Tepeacana, 141; against Quauhquechollan, 144; at Itzacan, 147; increase of his authority, 148; his plans for recovering Mexico, 149, 150, 159, 164, 170, 254, 255; his second letter to the Emperor, 154; his despatches to St. Domingo, 157; triumphal return of, to Tlascala, 157; his forces, 164; enters Tezcuco, 176; his mission to Guatemozin, 188; reconciles Indian allies, 196; his reception of brigantines from Tlascala, 302; reconnoitres the capital, 205, 213, 222; seized and rescued, 233; at Xochimilco, 235; at Cojohuacan, 239; orders of, respecting his bones, 240, *n.*, 452; dejected, 241, 242; proceedings in Spain in regard to, 245; conspiracy against, in the camp, 246; his body-guard, 251; his forces, 258; makes three divisions, 255 and *n.*; with his fleet at Ixtapalapan, 263; takes post at Xoloc, 266; his movements on the causeway, 269; levels buildings, 271, 277, 311, 317; his proffers to Guatemozin, 287, 331, 332, 333, 337; assaults the city, 291; reconnoitres Alderete's route, 291; seized and rescued, 294; anxiety respecting, 298, 299; gives the command to Sandoval, 300; his entries into the *tianguis*, 323, 325; murderous assault by, 334; his last assault, 338; his reception of Guatemozin, 342; permits him to be tortured, 362; sends detachments to the Pacific Ocean, 364; rebuilding of Mexico by, 366, 374, 379; his third letter, and one from the army, 367, 368; sends costly presents to Spain,

367, *n.*; complaints against, in Spain, 369; board appointed respecting, 373; the charges against, and the replies, 373, 421, 439; commission and powers given to, 375; founds settlements, 382; joined by his wife, 384; the ordinances made by, 384, *n.*; his scruples about slavery, 386, 387, 463; suppresses the royal instructions annulling *repartimientos*, 386, *n.*; his desire of religious teachers, 388; his regulations respecting agriculture, 393; voyages and expeditions of, 393; his instructions for expeditions, 396; looks into the resources of the country, 316, 399, 416; his expedition to Honduras, 399, 420, *n.*, 499, *n.*; his fifth letter, 400, *n.*, 426, 540; at Truxillo, 415; further plans of conquest by, 415; embarks and returns, 418; sick and despondent, 418; driven to Cuba, 419; at San Juan de Ulua and Medellin, 419; triumphal return of, to Mexico, 419; superseded by a *fues de residencia*, 420; further faction against, in Spain, 421, 425; urged to assert his authority, 424; ordered to leave Mexico, 424; ordered to Spain, 425; arrival of, in Spain, 428; meets Pizarro, 428; at Guadaloupe, 431; his reception, 432; his interview with the emperor, 432; Marquis of Oaxaca, 433; gift of land to, 434; not reinstated in government, 435; Captain-general of New Spain, 435; second marriage of, 436; embarks for New Spain, 438; an investigation of his conduct by the Royal Audience, 438; accused of murdering his first wife, 439; to keep ten leagues from Mexico, 441; welcome to, at Tezcuco, 441; retires to Cuernavaca, 442; expeditions of, for discovery, 443, 447; his final return to Castile, 448; his attendance on the Council of the Indies, 449; joins an expedition against Algiers, 449; wrecked, 449; his applications to the emperor, 450; his last letter to him, 543; prepares to return to Mexico, 451; sick, 452; his will, 452, 453; dies, 455; obsequies of, 455—457; his children and descendants, 458; his character, 459; ascendancy over his soldiers, 461; compared to Hannibal, 462; as a conqueror, 463; not cruel, 464;

- in private life, 464; his bigotry, 465; his dress and appearance, 467; his education, 467. See *Spaniards*.
- Cortés, Don Luis, ii. 458.
- Cortés, Don Martin, i. 574; exertions of, for his son, ii. 372; death of, 427.
- Cortés, Don Martin, son of Marina, i. 245; ii. 411, 458.
- Cortés, Don Martin, son of Cortés by his second marriage, ii. 448; wrecked, 449; provision for, 452; present at his father's death, 454; persecuted, 458.
- Cosmogony, Humboldt on, i. 54, n.
- Cottons, given to Cortés, i. 249, 263, 291.
- Cotton dresses, i. 36, 427, 463.
- Cotton mail, or escaupil, or jackets quilted with cotton, i. 40, 213, 235, 360, 361.
- Council, of finance, i. 142; of justice, 142; of state, 142; of war, 142; of music, 142.
- Council of the Indies, i. 179; ordinances by the, ii. 245, 370; reception of Cortés by the, 449.
- Couriers, i. 37, 38, n., 107, 437.
- Courts, Aztec, i. 24, 26, 27, 28; merchants allowed to have, 125; at the Mexican market, 511.
- Coxcox survived the Deluge, ii. 478.
- Cosamel, i. 186, 220, 225.
- Cosumel Cross, ii. 481, n.
- Crimes, punishments for, i. 31.
- Cross, the, a common symbol of worship, i. 222, n. See *Crosses*.
- Crosses of stone, in Yucatan, i. 187; in Cosumel, 221; at Tabasco, 241; at Cempoalla, 296; at Naulinoo, 325; frequency of, 325, and n. ii. 481; on raising, at Tlatlauquitepec, or Cocotlan, i. 330; at Tlascala, 393; upon Quetzalcoatl's temple at Cholula, 427; at Mexico, 516, 518, 567; ii. 64; pulled down, 66, 273; Cruz del Marques, 231; at Palenque, 481; Cosumel, 481, n.; antiquity and generality of, among pagans, 483.
- Crowning of Aztec sovereigns, i. 24.
- Cruz del Marques, mountain, ii. 231.
- Ouha, i. 183; expeditions from, to Yucatan, 184-186; Cortés in, 196, 201; propositions in the army to return to, 266, 270, 272; Cortés' emissaries land at, 303; Las Casas' labours in, 311; Cortés' apprehensions from, 429; sailing of Narvaes's fleet from, 580; desire of troops to return to, ii. 192, 247; return of some to, ii. 152; Cortés driven to, 419. See *St. Jago de Cuba*, and *Velasquez*.
- Cuernavaca, or Quauhnahuac, capture of, ii. 227-230; asks aid, 309; Cortés' residence at, 442; remarks on, 442.
- Cuicuitza, made cacique of Tezcuco, i. 553, and n., ii. 174; absent, 29; put to death, 175.
- Cuiclahua, lord of Ixtapalapan, i. 442; interview of, with Cortés, 189, 448; accompanies Montezuma i. 455; released, ii. 40, 136; supplies Montezuma's place, 40, 57, n.; arouses the Aztecs for the battle of Otumba, 117, 136; notice of, 136; dies of small-pox, 150, 160; succeeded by Guatemozin, 162.
- Cuiclahuac, Spaniards at, i. 446.
- Culinary science, Aztec, i. 496, 497.
- Currency, Mexican, i. 123 and 510.
- Cycles, Aztec, i. 53, 97, and n.; Persian, 95, n.; Etruscan, 97, n.; wheels of, 99, n.; of the lunar reckoning by the priests, 100, n.; analogies respecting, in the Old and the New World, ii. 477, 436.
- Cypress, Cortés', i. 331; size of, 496.

## D.

- Dancuso, Mexican, i. 131, and n.
- Dante, i. 48, 55, n., 68, n., 421, n.
- Darien, Isthmus of, crossed, i. 180; colony there, 181, 224; Oviedo there, ii. 41.
- Dates, on Mexican, i. 97.
- Daughters, counsels to, i. 127, ii. 505.
- Days, Aztec arrangement of, i. 96, 97; hieroglyphics for, 97; division of civil, 103, n.; coincidences as to the signs of, ii. 468.
- Dead, burnt, i. 56, 168, n.; buried, 56, n.; carried off in battle, 352, 353; Spanish buried, 364; unburied during the siege, ii. 319, 330, 344; buried, 346; coincidences as to the obsequies of the, 485. See *Funeral ceremonies*.
- Death, a penalty, i. 27; judges punished with, 30; for crimes, 30; inflicted on soldiers, 42; two sons put to, by a Texcuan prince, 42.
- Defaulters, liable to slavery, i. 37.
- Deities, Mexican, i. 50, 51, 70; days and festivals appropriated to, 50, 65; on unity and plurality of, 49;

- Huitzilopochtli, the Mexican Mars, 50; Quetzalcoatl, the god of the air, 51; Penates, 63, 106; Tezcatlipoca, 66, 517; Presiding over agriculture, i. 113; images of, 119, 120. See *Huitzilopochtli*, *Idols*, *Quetzalcoatl*, and *Tezcatlipoca*.
- Delafield's antiquities, map in, ii. 490, n.
- Deluge, coincidences as to the, in the Old and the New World, ii. 478.
- Denon, on an Egyptian temple, i. 79, n.
- Devil, Mexican, i. 50, n., 71, n.; Cortés possessed with the, 277, n.; his delusion of the Aztecs, ii. 484, and n.
- Diary of Cortés, lost, ii. 106.
- Diaz, Bernal, errors of, i. 395, n.; his way of life, 572, n.; his share of spoil, ii. 23, n.; letter not signed by, 156, n.; account of, and of his writings, 182-185; ravine crossed by, 230, n.; leaves his farm to accompany Cortés to Honduras, 400, n.; on the Christianity of Guatemala and the Prince of Tacuba, 406, n.; on Cortés at Honduras, 418; his character of Cortés, 467-469.
- Diaz, Juan, the licentiate, efforts of, to convert natives, i. 224, 548; his conspiracy, 304; performs mass in the great temple, 523, 567.
- Dikes opened upon the Spaniards at Ixtapalapan, ii. 189, 191. See *Causeways* and *Breaches*.
- Diodorus, i. 151, n.
- Discovery, i. 112, 179; progress of, by the beginning of the reign of Charles V., 180; Catholic and Protestant views as to, 400, 421, n.; progress of, under Cortés, ii. 365, 382, 394, 444, 447.
- Dishes of Montezuma, i. 496, 497.
- Divine book, or Teomoxtili, i. 92, n.
- Domestic manners of the Aztecs, i. 126.
- Dominican friars, i. 181, 312-316.
- Dove, on the topmast, i. 194; coincidences with Noah's, ii. 478.
- Drain of Huehuetoca, i. 482.
- Draught-cattle, want of, i. 120, ii. 366, 390.
- Draw-bridges, Mexican, i. 454, 484, 525, ii. 40.
- Dresden Codex, i. 89, and n., 90, n., ii. 497.
- Dresses, of Aztec warriors, i. 40; owls embroidered on, 50, n.; of Cholulans, 406; of Aztec chiefs, 454; of Montezuma, 456, 496, ii. 57; of Mexicans, i. 505, 506, ii. 51; of Indian allies, 165.
- Drought at Tezcuco, i. 481.
- Drum, the Tlascalcan, i. 350; the huge Mexican, 514, ii. 93; of the war-god, sounded for the sacrifice of Spaniards, 301.
- Ducat, value of the, i. 264, n.
- Duero, Andres de, i. 202, 209; in Narvaez's armada, 587; envoy to Cortés, ii. 5, 7; to share in the profits, 7; at Cempoalla, 18; unhorsed and re-horsed, 54; remonstrates, 132; returns to Cuba, 151; in Spain, sustaining Velasquez, 152.
- Dupaix, i. 104, n., ii. 471, 494, n.; on Mexican tools, 390, n.; on antediluvian buildings, 498, n.
- Du Ponceau, P. S., ii. 488, n.; on the synthetic structure of the Indian dialects, 488, n.
- Dyes, and dye-woods, Mexican, i. 121, 181.

## E

- EAGLE, on a standard, i. 359, ii. 254.
- Earthenware, Aztec, i. 121.
- Earthquake, i. 82.
- Ebeling, collection of maps by, ii. 401, n.
- Eclipses, Aztec knowledge as to, i. 104.
- Education, Aztec, i. 61, 126, 520; for the profession of hieroglyphical painting, i. 84; the council of music virtually a board of, 142; of the Tezucan royal household, 150.
- Egyptians, temples of, i. 80, n.; hieroglyphics of, 80, 81; Sothic period of, 101, n.; Sophocles on the, 114, n.; addresses to their kings by priests, 150; their representations of the human frame, ii. 496.
- Elphinstone, W., on mythology, i. 49, n.
- Emeralds, Mexican use of, i. 118; one of the, sent to Spain, ii. 367; genuineness of, disputed by Alaman, 367, n.; given by Cortés to his second wife, 436, and n.
- Emperor, i. 24, 273, n.
- Encomiendas. See *Repartimientos*.
- Entertainments, style of Mexican, i. 123.
- Era, the Mexican, i. 97.
- Ercilla, cited, ii. 109, n., 121.
- Escalante, Juan de, i. 319, 321; forces intrusted to, 321, 527; instructions to, from Cholula, 429; treachery

- towards, 527; mortally wounded, 528.
- Recobar, a page, i. 276, ii. 62.
- Recudero, Juan, i. 199; executed, 305.
- Estates held by Aztec nobles, i. 25.
- Estrada, *juan de residencia*, ii. 422, 424, 425, 427.
- Estrada María de, a heroine, ii. 96.
- Estrella's manuscript, cited, i. 183, n., 193, n., 194, n., 200, n., 201, n., 209, n.; account of it, 218, n.
- Etruscans, cycles of the, i. 97, n.
- Eucharist, rite analogous to the, ii. 482.
- Euripides on purification, ii. 483, n.
- Eve, Aztec coincidences as to, ii. 366.
- Everett, Edward, ii. 501, n.
- F.**
- Fairs, days for, i. 95, 122, 510; traffic at, i. 122; for the sale of slaves, 124; at Tlascala, 338. See *Market*.
- Falsehood, a capital offence, i. 143.
- Famine, in Mexico, ii. 284, 288, 307, 318, 319, 328; at Honduras, 414.
- Fans given by Montezuma, i. 300, n.
- Farfan grapples with Narvaes, ii. 16.
- Feather-work, mantles of, for tribute, i. 36 and n.; worn by warriors, 40; manufacture of, 122; made by the royal household of Tezcucó, 150; given to Cortés, 249, 263, 291, 298, n., 382, 440; worn by Tlascalans, 360; beauty and warmth of, 505.
- Females. See *Women*.
- Ferdinand and Isabella, state of Spain at the close of the reign of, i. 175.
- Festivals for deities, i. 49, 64; at the termination of the great cycle, 106.
- Festivities, style of, i. 128.
- Feudal system, in Anahuac, i. 26, 337.
- Fever. See *Vomito*.
- Fiefs, origin of, in Anahuac, i. 26, n.
- Figurative writing, i. 80. See *Hieroglyphics*.
- Fire-arms, i. 235, 366; all lost in the retreat from Mexico, ii. 106; supply of, 158.
- Fires always burning, i. 64, 408, 514, 519.
- First-fruits for the priests, i. 63.
- Fish, reservoirs of, i. 449; tanks of, 494.
- Fleet fitted out by Velasques against Cortés, i. 304, 577, 578; Narvaes commander of the, 578; its strength, 580; at San Juan de Ulua, 580; dismantled, ii. 24. See *Armada*, *Brigantines*, *Flotilla*, and *Stips*.
- Fleets for discovering a strait, ii. 364, 393, 394; ruined by the Royal Audience, 444.
- Flemings in Spain, i. 177, 311.
- Floating gardens, or chinampas, i. 446, 453. See *Gardens*.
- Florida, i. 180, ii. 394.
- Flotilla, Indian, destroyed, ii. 265.
- Flowers, fondness for, i. 281, 407, 437, 509; in the Ixtapalapan gardens, 449.
- Fohi, incarnation of the, i. 51, n.
- Fonseca, Juan Rodríguez de, Bishop of Burgos, notices of, i. 311, 575; his hostility to Columbus, to his son, and to Cortés, 576, ii. 374, 376; exactions of, against Cortés and his envoys, i. 576, ii. 245, 369, 374; orders Cortés to Spain for trial, ii. 152; procures the passing of ordinances, 246, 369; interdiction of, 372, 375; end of his influence, 376; his death, 376.
- Forbidden fruit, the, i. 114, n.
- Forests, destroyed, i. 8, 332, and n., 438; penalties for destroying, i. 114; laws on gathering wood in, 157, 158. See *Fuel*.
- Fractions, arithmetical, of Aztecs, i. 94.
- Franciscan friars, in New Spain, ii. 388.
- Francis I., of France, envious of the Emperor Charles V., ii. 368.
- Franklin, Benjamin, on the turkey, i. 130, n.
- French atrocities, i. 424.
- Fruit-trees not allowed in Montezuma's gardens, i. 493, n.
- Fuel, on gathering, i. 157.
- Funeral ceremonies, Aztec, i. 56; for Nezahualpilli, 163, n. See *Dead*.
- Funeral piles, i. 163, n.; of arms, 536.
- Future life, Aztec views of, i. 55.
- G.**
- GALINDO, Colonel, on civilization in Palenque, ii. 497.
- Gallatin, Albert, on Mexican prayers, i. 58, n., ii. 489, n., 501, n.
- Galvez, castle of, i. 494.
- Gama, Antonio, on hieroglyphics, i. 81, 82, n.; Bustamante's continuation of his work, 83, n.; on Mexican notation, 94, n.; on intercalation, 95, n.; on the beginning of the year of the new cycle, 97, n.; on the lunar

- reckoning of the priests, 100, *n.*; on the nine companions, 100, *n.*; his astrological almanac, 103, *n.*; carved stones seen by, 104, *n.*; account of, and of his writings, 109, 110; on a night in Cholula, i. 413, *n.*
- Gaming, i. 545, 565; ii. 167, 440.
- Gante, Pedro de, convent by, ii. 380.
- Garay, Francisco de, his squadron, i. 320; ii. 152; crews of, join Cortés, 153.
- Gardens of plants, i. 117; of Ixtapalan, 448; first European, 449, *n.*; Montezuma's, 493, 494; at Huaxtepec, ii. 216. See *Floating gardens*.
- Garrisons, in the larger cities, i. 37.
- Gauntlet run by Spaniards, i. 533.
- Geology, conjectures confirmed by, i. 55, *n.*
- Gerolt, Federico de, i. 436, *n.*
- Gestures, Indian, i. 243.
- Gibbon, Edward, i. 308, *n.*
- Girls, counsels given to, i. 127; ii. 504.
- Gladiatorial sacrifices, i. 68, *n.*
- Glass, sent to Montezuma, i. 250.
- Gold, tribute of, i. 36, and *n.*, 117; from a tomb, 56, *n.*; said to be found in temples, 64, *n.*; traffic with, 123; mines of, worked in Cuba, 184, 201; curiously wrought specimens of, from Yucatan, 186; plates of, given to Grijalva, 187; trade for ornaments and vessels of, 188; despatched to Spain by Velasquez, 189; barter for, at Cozumel, 221; Spanish desire of, 231, 239, 246, 250, 430, 563; given to Cortés, by Tenchtile, 249; bits of, obtained by the soldiers, 262; presented by Montezuma, 263, 264, 291, 298, *n.*, 382, 427, 440, 464, 469; relinquished by the Conquerors, i. 298, 563; sent by Cortés to Spain, i. 298; four loads of, offered as a bribe to Cortés, 440; present of at Amatemecan, 442; worn by Montezuma, 456; place of getting, 554; sent by Montezuma to the Castilian sovereign, 559, 560, 561; comparison of, with silver, 561, *n.*; converted into chains, 565; ii. 90; effect of the arrival of, in Spain, i. 575; given to Narváez's soldiers, ii. 23; fate of, on the evacuation of Mexico, 90, 106, *n.*, 111; Spaniards killed while transporting, 130, 176; given for maize bread, 131, *n.*; cannon of, sent to Spain, 395, *n.*; carried to Spain by Cortés, 428, 429; drawn from Tehuantepec by Cortés, 443. See *Treasure*.
- Golden Fleece, i. 178, *n.*
- Goldsmiths, skill of Mexican, i. 118, *n.*, 460. See *Animals*.
- Golfo Dolce, ii. 414.
- Gomara, Francisco Lopes de, i. 71, *n.*, 188, *n.*, 215, *n.*; authority for Cortés' First Letter, 301; on firing at the Aztecs, ii. 47, *n.*; on the baptism of Montezuma, 79, *n.*; on losses at the retreat, 105; account of, and of his writings, 181, 182; on protecting Guatemozin, 409; on Cortés' precious stones, 436, *n.*; on domesticated bisons, 501, *n.*
- Goods, sale and transportation of, i. 123, 124.
- Government in Anahuac, i. 23; under Nezahualcoyotl, 142; in the Tlascalans, 337; of Cholula, 400.
- Grado, Alonso de, at Villa Rica, i. 543.
- Granaries, i. 37, 114.
- Grijalva, Juan de, expedition of, to Yucatan, i. 186, 241; returns to Cuba and is censured, 188, 189; Cortés to join, 205; volunteers from, join Cortés, 212; chief pilot of, 216; effect of his landing, on Montezuma, 261.
- Grijalva, River of, i. 187, 223.
- Guadaloupe, in Spain, ii. 431.
- Guadaloupe, Our Lady of, i. 133, *n.*
- Gualipan, ii. 127, *n.*
- Guatemala, conquered, ii. 396; settlement of Toltecs in, 450.
- Guatemozin, Montezuma's nephew, ii. 59, *n.*; Tecuichpo, wife of, 85, *n.*, 162, 343, 407, *n.*; elected emperor, 162; rallies for defence of his capital, 163; missions to, 188, 197; his animosity to the Spaniards, 198; his application to Tangapan, 198, *n.*; Cortés' desire of an interview with, 211; attempts the recovery of Chalco, 218; to relieve Xochimilco, 235; his policy, 238, 282; decoys brigantines, 283; proffers to, 287, 318, 331, 332, 333, 334, *n.*, 337; distributes heads of Spaniards and of horses, 303; effect of his machinations, 309; counsel called by, 314; will not surrender, 314, 337; his palace, 317; declines meeting Cortés, 333, 337; efforts of, to escape, 339, 340; captured, 340; intercedes for his wife and followers, 340; his interview with Cortés, 342; on a monument to, 253, *n.*; torture of, 362, 371, 373, 374; regarded as a



rebel, 371; suspected, 404; executed, 406; remarks on, 406.  
 Guevara, Narvaer's envoy to Sandoval, i. 583; Cortés' reception of, 585; his return, 586; envoy to Cortés, ii. 5, 8.  
 Gulf of California, ii. 365, 444; penetrated by Ulloa, 446; called Sea of Cortés, 447.  
 Gulf of Mexico, i. 181, 555.  
 Gunpowder, manufactured, ii. 159, 381.  
 Guna. See *Cannon* and *Fire-arms*.  
 Guzman, captured, ii. 295; sacrificed, 306.  
 Guzman, Nunez de, at the head of the Royal Audience of New Spain, ii. 438, 441; Cortés' expedition against, 444.

## H.

HANGING gardens of Nezahualcoyotl, i. 151. See *Floating gardens*.  
 Hannibal, i. 438, n.; ii. 462.  
 Hardy, Lieutenant, on Casas Grandes, ii. 491.  
 Harems, royal, i. 148, 440, 495.  
 Harvard University Library, maps in, ii. 401, n.  
 Hatuey, on Spaniards and heaven, i. 183.  
 Havana, i. 184, n.; the armada at, 213, 215; orders respecting Cortés at, 215. See *Cuba*.  
 Head of a Spaniard sent to Montezuma, i. 528.  
 Heaven, the Aztec, i. 55, 56, n.; Hatuey's remark on, 183.  
 Heckewelder, John, i. 50, n.  
 Heeren, A. H. L., i. 48, n., 79, n., 83, n.  
 Helmet, the Aztec, i. 40; filled with gold dust, 250, 264.  
 Henry IV. of France, treasury of, i. 562, n.  
 Hernandez, Francisco, on maize, i. 115, n.; on the species of the maguay, 116, n.; panegyric on tobacco, 129, n.; takes models, 148; his work on natural history, 148, n.; on the gardens of Huastepoc, ii. 216, n.  
 Herodotus, i. 38, n., 48.  
 Heron, an heraldic emblem, i. 350.  
 Herrera, Antonio de, i. 183, n., 189, n.; on Cortés' escape on a plank, 199, n.; on Aguilar's temptations, 226, n.; gives a speech by Marina, 351, n.; on the Spaniards at Cholula, 407, n.; on canoes in Lake Texcoco, 453,

n.; account of, and of his writings, i. 472—474; on humming-birds, 491, n.; on cochineal, 507, n.; on arrows at the Aztec assault, ii. 46, n.; on gold thrown away, 111, n.; on stewed human flesh, 143, n.; on launching brigantines, 252, n.

Herrick, cited, i. 146, n.

Hesiod, i. 48; on brass and iron, 117, n.

Hidalguia, privileges of the, ii. 254, n.  
 Hieroglyphics, i. 79; Egyptian and Aztec, compared, 81, ii. 497; chiefly representative, among the Mexicans, i. 83; education respecting, 84; of the Mendoza Codex, 88, n.; of the Dresden Codex, 88, 89, n. ii. 497; on interpreting, i. 89, n., 91; for months and days, 97; for half-centuries, 97; for years, 97—99, n., ii. 486; in the lunar calendar, i. 100; of the Aztec calendar, ii. 487, n.; on Oriental coincidences with Aztec, 497. See *Paintings*.

Hieronymite commission to redress Indian grievances, i. 182, 310; their authority for the expedition under Cortés, 189, 206; redress asked of the, 303; their discretion, 311.

High-priests, Aztec, i. 59, and n.; one of the, liberated, ii. 75; prayer of the, at the election of Guatemozin, 160.

Hill of Otuncalpolco, or Hill of Montezuma, ii. 103, 208; the temple there, ii. 103; church there, 108.

Hispaniola, Las Casas in, i. 310, 312; despatches to, by Cortés, ii. 157; detention of Cortés at, 438, 440. See *Royal Audience*.

Historians, four, of the house of Nezahualcoyotl, i. 144, n.

Holguin, captures Guatemozin, ii. 339; quarrels with Sandoval, 341.

Homer, and the theogony of the Greeks, i. 48; cited, 55, n., 128, n.

Monduras, expeditions to, ii. 395, 399, 420, n., 499, n.

Honour, the Aztec law of, i. 73, n.

Horn of Guatemozin, sounded, ii. 233, 297.

Horse, homage to the, at Poton, ii. 412.

Horses, in Cortés' expedition, i. 217; dearth of, 217, n.; ii. 299, n.; landing of, at Tabasco, i. 234; loss of, at Tlascala, 346, 351; buried, 421; all, wounded, 365; give out, 372; effect of, at Mexico, 459; Aztecs cling to, ii. 52; eaten, 110

- new supply of, 153; loss of, at the general assault, 299. See *Cavalry*.
- Hospitals, i. 42, 255.
- Hours, astrological symbols for, ii. 487, n.
- Household gods, i. 53; broken, 106.
- Huacachula, ii. 144, n. See *Quauhauechollan*.
- Huachtepec, ii. 215, 226.
- Huehuetoca, drain of, i. 482.
- Huejotlipan, i. 127.
- Huematzin composed the Teoamoxitl or divine book, i. 91, n.
- Huexotzinco, meaning of, i. 83.
- Huitzilopochtli, the Mexican Mars, account of, and of his image, i. 50, 517; symbolical character, i. 50, n.; incensing of, ii. 31; image of, thrown down, 66; new image of, 273; view of Spaniards sacrificed to, 301; prediction respecting, 304, 305, 308.
- Huitzilopochtli's temple, human sacrifices at the dedication of it, i. 70; ashes of Nezahualpilli in the, 168, n.; Spaniards there, 460; Cathedral on its site, 460, 481, 511; ii. 379; visited by Cortés, i. 54; described, 512-515; ii. 62; view from it, i. 515; Christian chapel in, 567; ii. 31, 64; Mexicans quartered in, 62; stormed, 62, 64; funeral pyre of, 67.
- Human monsters at Mexico, i. 493.
- Human sacrifices, at the installation of monarchs, i. 24, 70, 254; of prisoners, 33, 39, 71; to Huitzilopochtli, 50; ii. 302; at the funerals of the rich, i. 56; at confession and absolution, 61, n.; origin of, in Anahuac, 65; for the god Tzacatlipoça, 66; of women, 68; gladiatorial, 68, n.; extent of, 69, n.; at the dedication of the temple of Huitzilopochtli, 70; measures for procuring victims for, 71, and n.; influence of, on the Aztecs, 72, 75, n.; ii. 351; compared with the Inquisition, i. 73; voluntary, 73; to some extent by the Toltecs, 74, n.; at the kindling of the new fire, 107; of Mexla, 140; by Nezahualcoyotl, 169; Nezahualcoyotl's ideas respecting, 159, 166; at the obsequies of Nezahualpilli, 168, n.; at the Isla de los Sacrificios, 188; not offered at Cosumel, 224; of Christians wrecked at Yucatan, 226; at the coronation of Montezuma, 254; during his administration, 258; remains of, near Vera Cruz, 279; victims for, demanded of the Totonaques, 287; among Tlascalans, 340; of captives in the Aztec and Tlascalan wars, 341; Cempoallan envoys seized for, 348; victims for, released, 398; fruits and flowers instead of, 400; number of, at Cholula, 403; of children, 408; condemned in Montezuma's presence, 467; stench of, in the great temple, 518; promise for Montezuma respecting, 543; of Spaniards, ii. 66, 96, 163, 175, 237, 302, 306, 322; among the Mongols, 485. See *Cannibalism* and *Prisoners*.
- Humboldt, maps of, i. xxvii. 8, n.; on the extent of the Aztec empire, 4, n.; on the extent of Anahuac, 10, n.; on the Aztec cosmogony and that of Eastern Asia, 54, n.; on the Aztec annals, 84, n.; on the Dresden Codex, 89, n.; on the publication of Aztec remains, 108, n.; his obligations to Gama, 110; on Indian corn, 113, n.; on the *mucsa*, 114, n.; on the American agave, 115, n.; on silk among the Aztecs, 121, n.; on the peopling of a continent, 172, n.; ii. 477, n.; on diseases in Mexico, i. 248, n.; on the volcano Orizaba, 273, n.; on the Cofre de Perote, 326, n.; on the mound to Quetzalcoatl, 401, n., 402, n.; on the word *volcan*, 432, n.; on Montano's ascent, 435, n.; identifies localities, 465, n.; on the drain of Huehuetoca, 482, n.; on the comparative quantities of silver and gold, 461, n.; on the pyramids of Teotihuacan, ii. 114, n.; on the avenue to Iztapalapan, 240, n.; on scientific analogies, 487, n.; his definition of *ocelotl*, 487, n.; on Mexican languages, 488, n.; on Mexican beards and moustaches, 491, n.; on the colour of the aborigines, 492, n.
- Humming-birds, i. 491, and n.; ii. 479.
- Husbands, on duties to, ii. 505.
- Hymns. See *Songs*.

## I.

- ICELAND, early colonization of, ii. 475.
- Idols, treatment of, at Cosumel, i. 224; at Cempoalla, 296; of the war-god, thrown down, ii. 66; destroyed at Peten, 412. See *Cathedrals*.
- Immortality. See *Future life*.
- Impressments for manning the fleet, ii. 254.
- Incense, compliments of, i. 286, 380; in Montezuma's palace, 466.

o o 2

- Incensing of Huiztilopochtli, i. 466.  
 India, epic poets of, i. 48, n.  
 India House, i. 179, 578.  
 Indian allies, i. 347; value of the, 351; on the march against Mexico, ii. 165, 170; reconciled by Cortés, 196; join Spaniards at Mexico, 285; desert, 304, 305; return, 308; in the expedition to Honduras, 399; See *Cempoallan*, *Chinantan*, *Cholulan*, *Tepeacan*, *Texoucan*, *Tlascalan*, and *Totonaca*.  
 Indian corn, i. 113, 115, 235. See *Maize*.  
 Indians, Aztecs and, differ, in domestic manners, i. 132; repartimientos in regard to, 181, 310; commission respecting, 182; ii. 422, n.; held in slavery that they may be Christianized, i. 182; Las Casas insists upon the entire freedom of the, 182; treatment of, at Cuzumel, 221; fight the Spaniards, at Tabasco, 230; at Ceutla, 235; interview with, at San Juan de Ulua, 243; aid the Spaniards, 247; on the civilization of, 312; taken by Spaniards, 356; find Spanish new-comers to be enemies of the old, 581, 587; protected by the Spanish government, ii. 424, n. See *Aborigines*, *Christianity*, *Indian allies*, and *Repartimientos*.  
 Indies. See *Council of the Indies*.  
 Indulgences, papal, for the troops, ii. 221, 428, n.  
 Infidelity, on persecution for, i. 421, n.  
 Inquisition, Aztec sacrifices compared to the, i. 78; brought to Mexico, 76.  
 Intemperance, i. 32, 131.  
 Intercalation, among the Aztecs, i. 95, 96, n., 97, n.; Persian, 95, n.; ii. 487.  
 Interpreters. See *Aguilar*, *Marina*, and *Melchorejo*.  
 Iron, not known to the Aztecs, i. 117; ii. 495, 501; substitutes for, i. 118; on the table-land in Mexico, ii. 501, 502; the early use of, 502, n.  
 Irrigation, i. 114. See *Canals*.  
 Irving, Washington, i. 227, n.; ii. 376, n.  
 Isabella, suppressed repartimientos, i. 181.  
 Isla de los Sacrificios, i. 188, 241.  
 Israelites, i. 109, 468, 522, n.; ii. 484.  
 Itzalana, ii. 494.  
 Itzacan, conquered, ii. 147.  
 Itzli, tools made of, i. 118; weapons pointed with, 359, 361; blades of, 361.  
 Itzlixochitl, son of Nezahualpilli, rival for the Tezucan crown, i. 257, 396, 550; embassy from, to Cortés, i. 396.  
 Itzlixochitl, cacique of Tezucuo, account of, ii. 178; instructed and watched, 187; procures allies, 220, 276; efficiency of, 276, 279; kills the Aztec leader, 279; does not desert, 305.  
 Itzlixochitl, the historian, on the extent of Anahuac, i. 11, n.; his opinion of the Toltec records, 12, n.; on feudal chiefs, 26, n.; on halls of justice and judgments in Tezucuo, 31; on the cycles, 55, n.; on sacrifices at the dedication of the temple of Huiztilopochtli, 70, n.; on measures for procuring victims, 71, n.; on Mexican hieroglyphical writers, 85, n.; on the divine book, 91, n.; story by, 125, n.; notices of, and of his writings, 135, 170, n.; source of the materials of his works, 144, n., 171, n.; translation by, of a poem of Nezahualcoyotl, 145; ii. 507; cited, i. 146, n.; on the population of Tezucuo, 147, n.; on Nezahualcoyotl's residence, 151; ii. 511; on Indian antiquities, i. 154, n.; on Nezahualcoyotl's advice to his son, 164, n.; his character of Nezahualcoyotl, 165; on the Lady of Tula, 166, n.; on Nezahualpilli's punishment of his wife, 167, n.; ii. 417; account of, and of his writings, i. 170, n.; on Montezuma's conversion, 565, n.; on the massacre by Alvarado, ii. 35, n.; on a statue of the Sun, 116, n.; authority for Tezucol, 178, n.; etymology of the name of, 178, n.; on headquarters at Tezucuo, 186, n.; on Tangapan's sister and her vision, 198, n.; termination of his works, 271, n.; on the rescue of Cortés by a Tlascalan chief, 295, n.; on the Toltec migration, 449.  
 Itzacuahuatl, i. 404, 432, 435, n., 436; ii. 171.  
 Itzacs, destruction of idols by, ii. 412, n.  
 Itzapalapan, i. 448; Gardens of, 449; ii. 189; sack of, 190; Sandoval's expedition against, 255, 263. See *Cuiclahua*.  
 Itzapalapan causeway, first crossed by Spaniards, i. 452; described, 452, 483; advance on the, ii. 241; at the junction of the Cojohuacan, 266; cannon placed upon the, 266; fight

ing there, 273, 276; Alderete on the, 291.  
Istapan, ii. 402.

J.

JACAPICHTLA, expedition against, ii. 217.  
Jackets. See *Cotton*.  
Jalap, i. 323, n.  
Jauhitepec, ii. 227.  
Java, market-days and weeks in, i. 95, n.  
Javelin, the Tlascalan, i. 361.  
Jesters, i. 208, 499.  
Jewels, i. 169, n., 188; ii. 367, 428.  
Jews. See *Israelites*.  
Jomard, on the *new fire*, i. 106, n.  
Judges, Aztec, i. 27; in Tescuco, 28; collusions of, punishable with death, 30; details respecting, 30, 31; Montezuma tries the integrity of, 255; twelve, at the Mexican market, 511.  
Jugglers, i. 131, n., 499, 500; ii. 428.  
Julian, fleet burned by, i. 308, n.  
Julian year, i. 97, n.  
Juste, Juan, inscriptions by, ii. 131, n., 200.

K.

KINGS, Egyptian, i. 23, n.; use of the word among the Aztecs, 24. See *Sovereigns*.  
Kingsborough, Lord, publishes Sahagun's Universal History, i. 77; manuscripts in his work, 88, 89, n.; identifies the Tecamantli and the Pentateuch, 92, n.; on the scientific instruments of the Mexicans, 104, n.; account of his publication of the remains of the Aztec civilization, 108; on the Aztec knowledge of the Scriptures, ii. 480, n.; his Aztec and Israelitish parallelisms, 484, n.; on the words Mexico and Messiah, 484, n.  
Knight-errantry of Cortés, ii. 459.  
Knighthood, i. 40, 339; ii. 158, 522.  
Knotted strings, i. 85, n.

L.

LAWORS, instructions by Cortés respecting, i. 237, 348, 358; ii. 118; for the Spaniards, i. 589; ii. 4, 165, 316.

Lands, revenues from, i. 35; held in common, 35, n.; for the maintenance of priests, 62; Cholulan cultivation of, 405. See *Agriculture*.  
Languages, in Anahuac, i. 93, 144; Tlascalan, 340; on coincidences as to, in the Old and the New World, ii. 438; remarks on the Indian, 438; on the Othomi, 489; on the Cora, 491, n.  
Lares, Amador de, i. 202, 209.  
Las Casas, Bartolomé de, on human sacrifices in Anahuac, i. 69, n.; procures a commission to redress Indian grievances, 181, 310; protects the natives of Cuba, 183; on the censure of Grijalva, 189, n.; on the father of Cortés, 192, n.; on Cortés and Velasquez, 200, n., 210, 215; on property acquired by Cortés, 201; on the etymology of *adelantado*, 207, n.; his charity and friendship for the Indians, 223, 310; on forced conversions, 225, n.; ii. 517, 518; on the proclamation at Tabasco, i. 229, n.; on Tabasco, 231; on the loss at the battle of Ceutla, 238, n.; on Indian gestures, 243, n.; on traditions and Montezuma, 258, n.; account of, and of his writings, 310—316; ii. 43; his connection with negro slavery, i. 311; bishop of Chiapa, 313; his death and character, 314; biographies of, 316; on the population of Cholula, 399, n.; on the massacre at Cholula, 419, n.; Herrera borrows from, 478; his portrait of Velasquez, ii. 377; on ruins in Yucatan, 499, n.; extract from, 517.  
Las Tres Cruces, village of, ii. 402.  
Latrobe, his descriptions, i. 6, n.; on the calendar-stone, 121, n.; describes two baths, 152, n.; on Indian antiquities, 154, n.; on Tacuba, ii. 102, n.; on the interposition of the Virgin, 109, n.; describes a cavity in a pyramid, 114, n.  
Law of honour, the Aztec, i. 73, n.  
Lawrence, on animals in the New World, ii. 473, n.  
Laws, Aztec, i. 32; military codes of, 42; ii. 166, 536; Nezahualcoyotl's code of, i. 141.  
Lead, from Tasco, i. 117.  
League. See *Mexico*.  
Legerdemain, i. 131, n., 499.  
Legislative power, i. 27.  
Le Noir, M., i. 89, n.; ii. 498, n.  
Leon, Juan Velasquez de, joins Cortés.

- i. 212; at Tabasco, 234; in irons, 276; at Tlascala, 392; aids in seizing Montezuma, 529, 531; guards him, 534; Montezuma's pleasure in his company, 547; to plant a colony at Coatzacoalc, 555; charged with purloining plate, 563; Narvaes's letter to, 589; joins Cortés at Cholula, 589; ii. 1; fidelity of, ii. 10, 19, and n.; to secure Panuco, 24; joins Cortés at Tlascala, 26; tries to calm his anger, 39; chivalrous, 54; at the evacuation of Mexico, 91; killed, 107; fate of gold collected by, 130.
- Leon, Luis Ponce de, *jués de residencia*, ii. 422.
- Lerma, defends Cortés, ii. 294.
- Lieber, Francis, on punishment, i. 142, n.
- Lime, i. 86, n., 185, 221, 232.
- Littera, i. 286, 444, 465, 467, 533, 535, 591; ii. 122.
- Livy, cited, i. 172, n.; ii. 462, n.
- Llorente's *Life of Las Casas*, i. 316.
- Lopez, Gerónimo, condemns the education given by the missionaries, ii. 390, n.
- Lopez, Martin, ship-builder, i. 544; ii. 102, 149, 159, 201.
- Lord's Supper, rite like the, ii. 482, 483.
- Lorenzana, on a tribute-roll, i. 36, n.; on the seizure of Montezuma, 540, n.; cited, ii. 66, n., 239, n.
- Louis XI., disclosure in his reign, ii. 350.
- Lucan, cited, i. 237, n., 260, n.
- Lucian, on the Deluge, ii. 478, n.
- Lucretius, cited on iron, ii. 502, n.
- Luisa, Doña, given to Alvarado, i. 394.
- Lujo, Francisco de, i. 232, 529; encourages Cortés, ii. 10; at the evacuation of Mexico, 91.
- Lunar calendar, i. 100; ii. 486, n.
- Lyell, Charles, on the spread of mankind, ii. 476, n.
- M.
- MACACA, armada at, i. 210, 211.
- Machiavelli, i. 21, n., 75, n., 260, n.
- Magarino, at a bridge, ii. 92, 94.
- Magellan, discoveries by, ii. 394.
- Magistrates, Aztec, i. 23; Nesahualpilli, the terror of unjust, 167, n.
- Magney. See *Agave Americana*.
- Mahometan belief as to martyrs, i. 55, n.
- Maize, the word, i. 115, n.; yearly royal expenditure of, in Tezcuca, 147, n. See *Indian corn*.
- Majesty, the title, i. 273, n.
- Malinche, i. 394. See *Marina*.
- Malinche, Cortés called, i. 394; ii. 68.
- Malinche, the mountain, i. 389.
- Manifesto to the Indians, i. 229, n.
- Mankind, origin of, in America, ii. 473, 475; two great families of, in America, 476. See *Aborigines*.
- Mantas, use and description of, ii. 72.
- Mantles of feather-work. See *Feather-work*.
- Manuscripts, scarcity of, among the Toltecs, i. 12, n.; materials of the Mexican, 85; their shape, 86; destruction of, 87, 88; collected at Mexico and perished, 88, 134; Mendoza Codex, 88; Dresden Codex, 89; with interpretations, 90, n.; no clue to the, 91; report of a key to them, 91, n.; the Tezomortli, or divine book, 91, n.; notice of the Aztec, in Europe, 109; Estrella's, 219; collection of, by Vega, ii. 507. See *Hieroglyphics and Paintings*.
- Maps, i. xxvii; for the revenue, 37; Ebeling collection of, ii. 401, n.; in Delafield's *Antiquities*, 490, n.
- Marina, or Malinche, a female slave and interpreter; account of, i. 244; Cortés and, i. 245; ii. 410; Don Martin Cortés, son of, 245, 412; Moratin cited on, i. 245, n.; interprets, 283, 287, 295; cheers a Cempoallan chief, 351; value of her services, 369; discovers Tlascalcan spies, 378; Cortés called Malinche from, 394; ii. 68, discovers a conspiracy at Cholula, i. 409; interpreter between Cortés and Montezuma, 462, 467; urges Montezuma to go to the Spanish camp, 532; finds out Cuiclahua, ii. 57, n.; interprets Cortés' address to the Aztecs, 68; in the retreat from Mexico, 102; at Chalco, 223; at the interview between Cortés and Guatemocin, 341; meets her mother, 410; marriage of, 411.
- Marineo, Lucio, on gaming, ii. 168, n.
- Market, Mexican, i. 506; closed, ii. 37.
- Market-days. See *Fairs*.
- Market-place, i. 508. See *Tlatelolca*.
- Marquis of Oaxaca, ii. 433.
- Marriage, among the Aztecs, i. 33, 127; among the Tescucana, 154; of Nesahualcoyotl, 155; of Spaniards with Tlascalans, 390, 394.
- Martin, Benito, chaplain, i. 573.

- Martin of Valencia**, ii. 339.
- Martyr, Peter**, on maps and manuscripts, i. 86, n., 109, 120, n., 302, n.; on cacao as a circulating medium, 123; on a huge beam, 153, n.; on *Flemings* in Spain, 177, n.; on *Tahasco*, 231, n.; on a fabric, 263, n.; on the gold and silver wheels, 265, n.; account of, 476; on the dwellings in Mexico, 486, n.; on the calendar-stone, 490, n.; on Mexican trinkets, 507, n., 559, n.; on the pusillanimity of *Montezuma*, 538, n.; on the insurrection against *Alvarado*, ii. 35, n.; on firing Mexico, 67, n.; on cannibalism, 257, n.; on an emerald, 367, n.
- Martyrs**, Mexican idea respecting, i. 39; Mahometan belief, 55, n.
- Masks**, in the Aztec plays, i. 93.
- Massacre**, at Cholula, i. 415; by *Alvarado*, ii. 32; at *Ixtapalapan*, 190.
- Matadero**, fortress in the, ii. 380.
- Matanzas**, i. 184, n.
- Maundeville**, Sir John, i. 113, n.
- Maximilian**, poverty of, i. 562, n.
- Maxixca**, cacique of *Tlascala*, i. 366; ii. 27; welcomes *Cortés* from Mexico, 128; *Cortés* quartered in his palace, 129; present to, 130; averse to an alliance with Aztecs, 138; dies of smallpox, 150; *Olmedo* with, 151; Spaniards in mourning for, 153; son of, confirmed in the succession, 158; son of, goes to Spain, 427.
- Martha**, *Tepanec* empire bequeathed to, i. 137; his treatment and jealousy of *Nezahualcoyotl*, 137, 138; oppressions by, 140; conquered and sacrificed, 140.
- McCulloh**, i. 53, n., 85, n., 101, n.; notice of his work, ii. 435, n.
- Meals**, i. 123; *Montezuma's*, 496.
- Mechanical arts**, Aztec, i. 113, 119, 120, 121.
- Medellin**, ii. 382, 419.
- Medicinal plants** in Mexico, i. 493.
- Melancholy night**, i. 96—107; ii. 255.
- Melchorejo**, interpreter, i. 220, 232.
- Menagerie**, at Mexico, i. 492.
- Mendicity**, not tolerated, i. 159.
- Mendoza Codex**, i. 36, n.; history of the, 88; with an interpretation, 90, n.; examined by the Marquis *Spino*, 109; the arrangement of, 109.
- Mendoza**, Don Antonio, viceroy of New Spain, ii. 446; interferes with *Cortés*, 448.
- Merchandise**, sale and transportation of, i. 122, 124.
- Merchants**, Aztec, i. 124.
- Merida**, *Cosumel* Cross at, ii. 481, n.
- Mesa**, commander of artillery, i. 234.
- Messiah**, the words Mexico and, ii. 434.
- Metals**, in *Ithaca* and Mexico, i. 128, n.; early exportations of, from the Spanish colonies, 181. See *Gold Mines*, and *Silver*.
- Mexia** charges *Leon* with purloining plate, i. 563.
- Mexican Gulf**, i. 181; explored, i. 555.
- Mexicans**. See *Aztecs*.
- Mexico**, interest and importance of, i. 1; ancient and modern extent of, 2; climate and products of, 3; primitive races of, 9, 10, ii. 490; legislative power in, i. 27; predictions and prodigies connected with the downfall of, 52, 168, 258, 259, 260, 380, 382, 426, and n., 556, 558, ii. 173; on the colonization of, by the Israelites, i. 109; apathy of, respecting antiquities, 153, n.; hostility to *Montezuma* in, 256; languages of, ii. 488.
- Mexico**, *Tezcuco*, and *Tlacoopan*, league of, i. 19, 140; extend their territory, 20.
- Mexico**, city, situation of, i. 9; called *Tenochtitlan*, 17; settlement of the Aztecs at, 17, 18, n.; derivation of the name, 17; map of, referred to, 20, n.; images spread throughout, 119; terror there, at the landing of *Cortés*, 261; the cacique of *Cocotlan's* account of, 328; Spanish route to, 436; first view of, by the Spaniards, 437; seen from *Ixtapalapan*, 450; entrance of the Spaniards into, 451—459; environs of, 453; streets in, 453, 485; population of, 458, 487; comparison of ancient and modern, 481, 487, n.; description of, 484, 506; view of, from the great temple, 515; *Alvarado* takes command of, 590, 591; insurrection in, ii. 25, 29, 31, 36; *Cortés* re-enters, 30; massacre there, by *Alvarado*, 32; assault on the Spanish quarters at, 46; sally of the Spaniards, 51; fired, 63, 67; storming of the great temple at, 62, 63; evacuation of, by the Spaniards, 74, 88, 92; *Cuitlahua's* acts there after the evacuation, 137; *Guatemozin's* measures for defending, 163; second expedition to, 169; reconnoitred, 205, 222, 243; siege of, 254, 255.

- 262; assaults on the causeways of, 269; famine in, 284, 288, 307, 313, 318, 319, 328; general assault on, 289; measures for securing retreat there, 291, 311; destruction of buildings at, 311, 312, 315, 317; want of water in, 318; seven-eighths of, in ruins, 324; pestilence in, 330; murderous assault there, 334; last assault on, 338, 339; tempest there, 344; evacuation of, permitted, 345; purification of, 346; loss during the siege of, 346; remarks on the conquest of, 349, 351; rebuilding of, 366, 374, 379; population for, 381; at the present day, 382; disturbances in, 417; Cortés' triumphal return to, 419; Cortés ordered to leave, 424; to keep ten leagues from, 441; deserted to visit Cortés at Tezcuco, 441.
- Michoacán, ii. 199, n.; embassy from, 363; visited, 364; Coiman in, founded, 382; tradition there, connected with the Deluge, 478.
- Midwives, baptism by, ii. 482, n.
- Mier, Dr., i. 53, n., 401, n.
- Military institutions, Aztec, i. 39.
- Milk, on the use of, ii. 501.
- Milman, on Budh, i. 51, n.
- Milton's Paradise lost, i. 48.
- Mines, and minerals, i. 117; wrought, ii. 392, 443.
- Minstrels entertained, i. 131, n.
- Mirrors, Aztec, i. 507.
- Missionaries to New Spain in the time of Cortés, ii. 388; leave Mexico, 417; provision for, in Cortés' will, 452; charity for their religious analogies, 481; schools and colleges established by, ii. 390. See *Dominican*, *Las Casas*, *Olmedo*, and *Toribio*.
- Mitla, ruins of, i. 555, n., ii. 494.
- Mixtecapan, ii. 148.
- Monastic institutions among pagans, ii. 484, n.
- Money, substitutes for, i. 123, and n. See *Currency*.
- Montano, Francisco, ascends Popocatepetl, i. 435.
- Montejo, Francisco de, i. 234, 267, 269; explores the coast, 270, 285; alcalde of Villa Rica, 274; in the expedition to Honduras, ii. 399.
- Montejo and Puertocarrero, mission of, to Spain, i. 302; touch at Cuba, 303, 573; on the destruction of the fleet, i. 309, n.; prosecuted before the Royal India House, 573; treatment of, by Charles V., 575, 576; influence of Fonseca against, 575.
- Monteleone, dukes of, descendants of Cortés, i. xxvii. 465, ii. 380, 453.
- Monterey, founds Vera Cruz, i. 247, n. ii. 333, n.
- Montesinos, old ballad of, i. 242.
- Montezuma I., i. 20; bas-relief of, destroyed, 120, 495.
- Montezuma II., i. 23, 71; bas-relief of, destroyed, 120, 495; the orthography of, i. 246, n.; message to, by Cortés, 250; accounts of, 253, 323, 395, ii. 82; meaning of the word, i. 253, n., 558; his coronation, i. 254; benevolent and religious acts of, 255; hatred of, 256, 284, 430, 446, 503; principal cause of his calamities, i. 258; resurrection and warning of his sister, 259, n.; dismayed at the landing of Spaniards, 261; sends presents and forbids Cortés' approach, 262, 265, 268, 298, n.; exactions of the Totonacs by his tax-gatherers, 287; inventory of his gifts, 298, n.; his efforts to subdue the Tlascalans, 312; new embassy from, 332; invites the Spaniards to Mexico, 395; treacherous embassy from, to the Spaniards at Cholula, i. 408, 409, 411, 412, 415; Spaniards, the historians of, 428; tries to bribe the Spaniards to return, 441; welcomes Cortés, through Cacama, 444; respect for, near the capital, 447; his visit to Cortés, 454, 455, 457; Aztec homage to, 455, 457, 466, 500, 502, ii. 58; his personal appearance, i. 456; his reception of Cortés at Axayacatl's palace, 460; effect of his conduct on the Spaniards, 464, 470, 546, 558; conversation of, with Cortés, 463; attempts to convert, 463, 467, 548, 564, ii. 78; visit to, by Cortés, i. 464; his palace, 465, 490, ii. 379; submission of to Charles V., i. 469, 471; his domestic establishment, 495-501, ii. 524; his wives, i. 495, ii. 84, 524; his meals, i. 496, ii. 524; his reception of Cortés at the great temple, i. 514, 515; aids in preparing a chapel, 522; his treasures discovered, 523; history of his seizure, 527, 529; accompanies Cortés to head-quarters, 532; respect shown to, 533, 545; his reception of Quauhpopoca, 536; fettered, 537; unfettered, 537; declines going to his palace, 538; his life in the Spanish quarters, 544;

- his munificence, 545; his visit to the great temple, 547; sails in a brigantine, 548; plan for liberating, by Cacama, 551; intercedes for Cacama, 552; swears allegiance, 556; his gifts for the emperor, i. 559, 560, 561; parting of Cortés and, 591; sends a messenger to Cortés, ii. 29; checks the Aztecs in an insurrection, 86; welcomes Cortés, and is coldly received, 89; Cuiclahua chosen successor of, 40, 117, 136; witnesses the Aztec fighting, 56; prevailed on to address the Aztecs, 58; insulted, 53, 59; wounded, 59, 60, and n.; last days and death of, 60, 78, 80; commends his children to Cortés, 80; his conversation with Cortés, 80; fate of his children, 80, n., 85 and n. 91, 106, 162, 343, and n., 407, n., 533; compassion for him, 80, 83, 86; his character, 82; descendant of, viceroy of Mexico, 85, n.; respect to his memory, 86; his successor, 117, 136; son of, goes to Spain, ii. 427. *See Cortés and Tecuichpo.*
- Montezuma's Hill. *See Hill.*
- Months, Aztec division of, i. 97.
- Monument and the limits of Tlascala, i. 334, 341, 345, ii. 128.
- Moon, worshipped, i. 160, n.; monument to the, ii. 113.
- Moran, a horseman, assaulted, i., 350.
- Moratin, cited on Marina, i. 245, n.
- Morla, condemned to be hung, i. 293.
- Morla, Francisco de, ii. 91, 97, 107.
- Morpeth, Lord, cited, i. 280, n.
- Morton, S. G., on the burial of the dead, ii. 485, n.; facial angle of his skulls, 492, n.; remarks on his *Crania Americana*, 493, n.
- Mosaic, imitated, i. 122.
- Mothers. *See Daughters.*
- Motilla, Sandoval's steed, ii. 299, n.
- Motolinia, i. 474.
- Mound to Quetzalcoatl, i. 401, 402.
- Mountain of Plints, ii. 413.
- Muñoz, zeal of, respecting the manuscript of Sahagun's History, i. 76; manuscript of Hernandez discovered by, 149, n.; transcribed an account of Grijalva's expedition, 190, n.
- Murray, C. A., i. 33, n.
- Musa, the plant, i. 114.
- Music, council of, 143; its influence, 144; instruments of, 161.
- Musketry, i. 235. *See Fire-arms.*
- Mythology, i. 47; Mexican, 48; effect of the Aztecs, 169.
- N.
- Naco, expeditions to, ii. 393, 414.
- Najera, his *Dissertatio de Lingua Othomitorum*, ii. 489, n.
- Naming children, ceremony of, i. 57, ii. 482.
- Napoleon, on pyramids, ii. 119, n.
- Narvaez, Pánfilo de, i. 183, 309, n.; notice of, 578; commander of Velasquez's fleet against Cortés, 578; will not listen to Ayllon, 579; arrives at San Juan de Ulua, 580; his summons to Sandoval, 581, 583; seizes Ayllon and sends him back, 582; envoys of, carried by porters to Mexico, 583, 585; Cortés mission to him, 586; Olmedo's intercourse with, 586, 587; at Compostela, 586, ii. 12, 15; proposes to liberate Montezuma, 587; Cortés marches against, 590, ii. 2; his summons to Cortés to surrender, 2; his envoys to Cortés, 5, 7; reply to, 7; preparations for assaulting, 9, 10, 15, 21; marches to the River of Canoes, 11; his sentinels, 11, 13; attacked and defeated, 14, 20; wounded, 15; treatment of, by Cortés, 18; his gossip with Oviedo, 21, n.; murmurs among his troops, 22; property taken from, 20, n.; mutinies among the levies from, 70, 132, 134, 246; to send Cortés for trial to Spain, 152; proceedings in Spain in regard to, 245, 246, 370, n.; ordered before Cortés, 372; brings charges against Cortés, 372. *See Spaniards.*
- Nations, on the identification of, ii. 485.
- Nativities, astrologers consulted at, i. 103.
- Naulinco, entertainment at, i. 324.
- Negro slaves, introduction of, into the western world, i. 311; transportation of, by Cortés, ii. 445. *See Slaves.*
- Nero, Cortés, and i. 420, n.
- New fire, the, i. 106 and n.
- New Spain, Yucatan called, i. 185; early settlements in, ii. 382; condition of the natives there, 383; population of, in 1810, 388, n.; arrival of Franciscan friars in, 383; royal audience of, 425, 438; new Royal Audience of, 440; viceroy of, 445; number of languages in, 488.
- New Spain of the Ocean Sea, ii. 155.
- New Zealanders and Otahaitians, ii. 476, n.



- Nezahualcoyotl**, prince of the Tezucana, efficiency of, i. 16, 18, 186; poetry by, 19, n., 145, 146, n.; ii. 507; Mexican code under, i. 34, n., 141; meaning of the name, 83, 152, n., 166, n.; personal history and adventures of, 136; conquers Maxtla, 140; four historians of the royal house of, 144, n.; an illustrious bard, 145; pile of buildings erected by, 147, 149.
- Nezahualpilli**, monarch of Tescuco, i. 80; account of, 163; his treatment of his guilty wife, 167, n., ii. 512; has forebodings of calamity to his country, i. 168, 179, 259; his death, 168, 256; his obsequies, 168, n.; address made by at the coronation of Montezuma as king, 254; ii. 84; contest respecting the succession to, i. 256, 550, ii. 181; Spaniards quartered in his palace, 177; pardons a son, 180.
- Niebuhr**, on calendars, i. 97, n., 100, n.
- Night attacks**, i. 347, 368; ii. 14, 95, 266.
- Nine "companions,"** the, i. 100, n.
- Noah**, Quetzalcoatl identified with, i. 58, n.
- Nobles**, Aztec, i. 23; entertain minstrels, buffoons, and jugglers, 131, n.; treatment of, by Nezahualcoyotl, 141; their manners, 147, 457, 484; Tlascalan, i. 337 and n.; chivalrous act of Aztec, 348; Aztec, meet Cortés, 454; bear Montezuma in a palanquin, 455, 457; must reside in Mexico, 484; attend on Montezuma, 496; massacre of, ii. 32; six, deputed to Tlascala, 187; delivered up, and sent to Guatemoxin, 188; sent to Guatemoxin, 318, 322, 333; four hundred, hung, 371; accompany Cortés to Spain, 427.
- Noche triste**, ii. 96—367, 255.
- Nootka**, dialects there, ii. 491.
- Northmen** visit America, ii. 475, n.
- Notation**, i. 93, 98.
- Numeration** among the Aztecs, i. 93.
- Núñez**, Cortés' page, challenged, ii. 317.
- O**
- OAXACA**, plantation for the crown at, i. 555; embassy from, ii. 148; mineral wealth of, 365; Marquis of the Valley of, 433.
- Observatory**, Nezahualpilli's, i. 167.
- Obsidian**, Mexican tools made of, i. 118.
- Ocelotl**, Humboldt on the, ii. 437, n.
- Ojeda**, at the evacuation of Mexico, ii. 106, n.
- Olea**, Cristóval de, saves Cortés, ii. 294.
- Oleron**, on the laws of, i. 421, n.
- Olid**, Cristóval de, sent in search of Grijalva, i. 189; joins Cortés, 212; noticed, 234, 569, ii. 10, 39, 54, 57, 91, 97, 106, 123; detached to Quauhquechollan, 144, 147, n.; his countermarch on Cholula, 145; Sandoval and, ii. 199; reconnoitres Mexico, 205; at Cuernavaca, 230; conspiracy against, 247; takes post at Cojohuacan, 255, 262; demolishes the aqueduct, 260, 261; enmity between Alvarado and, 260; his expedition to Honduras, 395; defection of, 398; beheaded, 398.
- Olmedo**, Bartolomé de, Father, notice of, i. 224; his efforts to convert the natives, 224, 239, 268, 324; interposition of, 330, 390, 392, 516; character of, 380, 393; performs mass, 523, 567; attempts to convert Montezuma, 548, 565; ii. 78; mission of, to Narvaes, i. 586, 587, ii. 20; meets Cortés, 2; goes against Narvaes, 13; before Cortés in behalf of the soldiers, 23; urges Montezuma to address the Aztecs, 57; visits the expiring Mexica, 151; sermon by, after the surrender of Mexico, 348; last years of, 380.
- Oral tradition**, connection of, with Aztec picture-writing, i. 84, 92; embodied in songs and hymns, 92.
- Ordaz**, Diego de, i. 212; to ransom Christian captives, 221, 225; commander of infantry in the battle of Ceutla, 234; charges the enemy, 237; in irons, 276; attempts the ascent of Popocatepetl, 433; escautcheon of, 435; visits Montezuma with Cortés, 484; to settle Coatzaqualco, ii. 24; joins Cortés at Tlascala, 26; chivalrous, 54; storms the great temple, 63; at the evacuation of Mexico, 91, 95, 101.
- Ordinances** for the government of New Spain during Cortés's viceroyalty, ii. 384, n.
- Orizaba**, the volcano, i. 278, 324, 404.
- Orosco y Berra**, on the various races in Mexico, i. 10, n.; on ancient remains in Central America, 14, n.; cited, 15, n., 16, n., 90, n.
- Ortega**, editor of Veytia's History, i. 22.

- Ortegauffa, page of Montezuma, i. 547, 569.
- Otaheitans and New Zealanders, ii. 476, n.
- Otomies, i. 841; aid the Tlascalans, 342; a migratory race, ii. 275, n., 276, n.; claim protection, 275, 309; notice of, 275, n.; their language, 489.
- Otompan, or Otumba, ii. 112, 117, 193.
- Orando, Don Juan de, orders manuscripts to be restored to Sahagun, i. 76.
- Orando, Don Nicolas de, Governor of Hispaniola, i. 193, 195, 580, n.
- Oviedo de Valdez, Gonzalo Fernandez, i. 114, n., 310; on the *peso de oro*, 264, n.; on the gold and silver wheels, 265, n.; on the device of Tlascala, 359, n.; on the skill of Aztec goldsmiths, 460 n.; on Montezuma, 496, n., 532, n., 558, n., ii. 524; on Montezuma and Narvaez, i. 537, n.; on the ascendancy of Cortes, ii. 20, n.; Narvaez's gossip with, 21, n.; on the massacre by Alvarado, 34, n.; account of, and of his writings, 41—44; compares Cortés to Horatius Coclès, 76, n.; on a leap by Cortés, 76, n.; on horse-flesh, 110, n.; panegyrises Cortés, ii. 197, n., 253, n.
- Owl, Mexican devil and, i. 50 n.
- P.
- PACIFIC Ocean, described by Nufiez de Balboa, i. 180; discovered and taken possession of, ii. 365; Spanish ideas of the, 394.
- Padilla, i. 151, n., 153, n.
- Paintings, hieroglyphical, made in court, i. 81; chair for the study and interpretation of, 81, 91; Aztec laws registered in, 32, 84; cycles of the Vatican, 55, n.; of Sahagun, 77; features of Mexican, 81; colouring in, 81; Aztec and Egyptian compared, 81; chiefly representative, in Anahuac, 88; the records made in, 84; connection of oral tradition with, 84, 92; Humboldt on, 84, n.; education respecting, 84; destruction of, 87, ii. 177; their importance, i. 91; sent to Spain, 302; of Narvaez and his fleet, 584; of the storming of the great temple, ii. 67. See *Hieroglyphica*.
- Palace of Nezahualcoyotl, i. 147, 149, 150; ii. 511; of Axayacatl, i. 460, 461, 523; of Montezuma, 465, 490; ii. 379, 380; of Maxixca, ii. 129; of Guatemogin, fired, 317; of Cortés, at Mexico, 380; at Cuernavaca, 442.
- Palenque, i. 239; ii., 402, 494; cross at, 481; architecture of, 496; sculpture there, 496.
- Palfrey, John G., Lectures by, ii. 478, n.
- Palos, Cortés at, ii. 428.
- Panachese, defeated, ii. 371.
- Panuco, i. 269; ii. 24, 152.
- Papantzin, resurrection of, i. 259, n.
- Paper, i. 36, and n., 85.
- Papyrus, account of, i. 85, n.
- Pearls, worn by Montezuma, i. 456.
- Penance among Tartars, ii. 434, n.
- Peninsular War, i. 424.
- Pentateuch and Tecomotli, i. 92, n.
- Perrine, Dr., on the *maguey*, i. 116, n.
- Pernaia, i. 38, n., 95, n.
- Peru, records in, i. 85, n.
- Peso de oro, i. 264, and n., 562, n.
- Pesquisa Secreta, or Secret Inquiry, ii. 438.
- Pestilence, at Mexico, ii. 330.
- Peten, lake and isles of, ii. 409, 410.
- Philosophy, mythology, and, i. 48.
- Phonetic writing and signs, i. 79, n., 80, 82, 83, 90, n.
- Picture-writing, i. 79, 250, 263. See *Hieroglyphica*.
- Pikes. See *Lances*.
- Pilgrims to Cholula, i. 402.
- Pins, from the agave, i. 116.
- Pisa, tower of, ii. 500.
- Pizarro, Francisco, ii. 416, 428.
- Pizarro y Orellana, i. 191, n., 194, n., 236, n.
- Plants, medicinal, among the Aztecs, i. 493.
- Plato's Atlantis, ii. 473.
- Plaza Mayor, in Mexico, i. 119, and n., ii. 379.
- Pliny, on the Papyrus, i. 85, n.
- Poetry, connection of mythology and, i. 47, 48; Tezucan, 169. See *Nezahualcoytl*.
- Polo, Marco, i. 123, n.; on cannibalism, ii. 485, n.
- Polygamy, among the Mexicans, i. 127, n.
- Popes, power of, i. 421.
- Popocatepetl, i. 404, 516; sulphur from, 404, ii. 159; the hill that smokes, i. 432; account of, 432; at-

- tempt to ascend, 433; ascended by Montaña, 435.
- Pepotla, Cortés rests at, ii. 101.
- Porters, or tamames, i. 286; drag cannon to Tlascala, 321, 384; carry Narvaez's envoys to Mexico, 583-585; carry wounded Spaniards, ii. 109; rigging from Vera Cruz, 159; the brigantines from Tlascala, 201.
- Portraits of Cortés, i. xxvii, xxviii; Aztec, ii. 496, 497, n.
- Potonchan, i. 223;
- Pottery, i. 121, n., 388, 400.
- Poyauhtlan, battle of, i., 336, 341.
- Prayers, Mexican, like Christian, i. 57, 58; n., 58, n.; of Aztec priests, 60; by Aztec confessors, 61, n.; Sahagun collected forms of, 77.
- Predictions or forebodings respecting the fate of the Aztec empire, i. 52, 168, 258, 259, 260, 380, 382, 400, 426, n., 556, 558, ii. 179.
- Priestesses, i. 61.
- Priests, connection of, with Aztec royalty, i. 23 and n.; Aztec, 58; their influence, 59, 72; services by, 59; duties of, in regard to education, 61, 84; maintenance of, 62; Aztec and Egyptian, 63, n.; extorting victims for sacrifices, 71; on secret symbolic characters by the, 82; their lunar reckoning, 100, n., 101, 102; their celebration of the kindling of the new fire, 107; under Montezuma, 258; defend their gods, 295; consulted by Tlascalans, 367; disclose the conspiracy at Cholula, 410; in the great temple, 518, 521; influence Aztec warriors, ii. 64; captured, 66; released, 75; hurled from the great *teocalli*, 273; sacrifice Spaniards, 302; cheer Guatemozin, 304; the eight days' prediction by, 304, 305, 308; dissuade Guatemozin from surrendering, 314; immoralities in, punished, 338; among Tartars, 484, n.; Mexican word for, 486, n. See *Illyh-priests*.
- Prisoners, usually sacrificed, i. 33; zeal to make, 41, 71, 353, ii. 237; treatment of, at Cozumel, i. 321; Tabascan, taken by Cortés and sent to their countrymen, 238; Aztec plan in regard to Spanish, 409; at the Cholulan massacre, 419; released by Tlascalans, 419; Spaniards made, and sacrificed, ii. 237, 241, 295, 296, 299, 301, 322. See *Human sacrifices*.
- Prizes, distribution of, i. 143.
- Proclamation at Tabasco, i. 229.
- Prodigies. See *Predictions*.
- Property of infidels and pirates, i. 421, n.
- Protestants, Catholics, and, i. 244, 296; their rights to discover, 422, n.
- Provisions, in the Mexican market, i. 508; distress for, on the retreat, 110; camp supplied with, ii. 285. See *Famine*.
- Puebla de los Angeles, i. 404, n.
- Puertocarrero, Alonso Hernandez de, i. 212, 234, 242; deposition of, 273, n., ii. 518; alcalde of Villa Rica, i. 274. See *Montejo and Puertocarrero*.
- Pulque, i. 33, 115, 131.
- Punishments, i. 32; absolution substituted for, 60; object of, 142; for falsehood, 143.
- Purchas, Samuel, manuscript engraved in his Pilgrimage, i. 97, n.
- Pyramids, at Cholula, i. 401, 403, 417; ii. 113; Napoleon's remark on 119, n.

## Q.

- QUA, changed into GUA, ii. 162, n.
- Quails, sacrificed, i. 65, n.
- Quauhnahuac. See *Cuernavaca*.
- Quauhpopoca, an Aztec chief, deceives Escalante, i. 527; sent for by Montezuma, 530, 535; burnt, 536, 537, 540.
- Quauhquechollan, or Huacachula, ii. 144-146.
- Quauhtitlan, ii. 110, 207, n.
- Quetzalcoatl, the god of the air, account of, i. 51, 241, 400; temple to, at Cholula, i. 52, 402; fate of, i. 52; tradition respecting, favourable to the future success of the Spaniards, 52, 258, 556, 558; ii. 179; meaning of the word i. 53, n.; identified with the apostle Thomas, 53, n.; 401, n., ii. 481; with Noah, i. 53, n.; mythological character, 63, n.; helmet worn by, 250; mound to, 401; does not aid the Cholulans at the massacre, 417; firing of the temple of, 417; cross put upon its ruins, 427; temple of, at Mexico, 519; analogies with Scripture suggested by, ii. 480.
- Quifones, Antonio de, captain of Cortés' body-guard, ii. 251; aids in saving Cortés' life, 295; killed at the Azores, 363.

Quintana's Life of Las Casas, i. 316.  
 Quintero, Alonso, i. 194.  
 Quijpus, recording events by the, i. 85, n.

## R.

- RACON, cited, i. 146, n., ii. 163, n.  
 Raffles, Sir Stamford, i. 95, n.  
 Ramirez, José F., his views of human sacrifices and cannibalism, i. 72, n.; of the destruction of the fleet by Cortés, 309, n.; cited, 74, n., 117, n., 171, n., 251, n., 460, n., 465, n., 510, n., 535, n., ii. 33, n., 94, n.  
 Rangre, Rodrigo, commander at Villa Rica, ii. 26; mission to, 131; takes troops sent by Velasquez, 152; purchases a ship with military stores, 153.  
 Ranking's Historical Researches, i. 161, n., ii. 485, n.  
 Raynal, Abbé, i. 117, n.  
 Razors, Mexican, i. 507.  
 Rebels, proceedings against Tepeacans as, ii. 142; against Aztecs, 164.  
 Receiver-general, i. 37.  
 Refinement, in domestic manners, among the Aztecs, i. 126, 169; shown in the council of music, 144; at Cempoalla, 282. See *Civilization*.  
 Religion, similar ideas as to, in remote regions, i. 50, n.; on outraging, 568. See *Christianity* and *Mythology*.  
 Religious services always public, i. 64.  
 Repartimientos, the system of, i. 181, 310; to Cortés, in Hispaniola, 195; in Cuba, 201; in New Spain, ii. 143, 385, 464; disapproved by the crown, 386; regulations respecting, 387; consultations and opinions respecting, 423, n.  
 Representative writing, i. 80, 83.  
 Resurrection of Tangapan's sister, ii. 198, n.  
 Reubios, Palacios, proclamation by, i. 230, n.  
 Revenues, sources of, i. 35; houses for collecting, i. 485. See *Tribute*.  
 Ribera, on Indian maps, i. 86, n.  
 Rich, Obadiah, i. 476.  
 Rigging saved and used, i. 306, 544, ii. 24, 150, 203.  
 Rio Gila, remains there, ii. 491.  
 Rio de Tobasco, i. 187, 228, ii. 401.  
 Ritter, i. 50, n.  
 River of Banners, i. 187, 242.  
 River of Canoes, ii. 8, 11, 12.  
 Robertson, William, i. 34, n., 264, n.; inconsistency of, respecting a colony, 274, n.; cites a harangue from Solís, 275, n.; spelling of proper names by, 285, n.; on the First Letter of Cortés, 299, n.; error of, as to Montezuma's gift, 562, n.; on Cortés' expedition to Honduras, ii. 420, n.  
 Rock of the Marquis, ii. 263.  
 Roman Catholic communion, i. 240, 297.  
 Romans, on their successes, i. 21, n.  
 Royal Audience of New Spain, ii. 425; their investigation of Cortés' conduct, and treatment of him, 438, 441; superseded, 440, 441; disagreement of Cortés and the, 442; superseded by a viceroy, 445.  
 Royal Audience of St. Domingo, i. 579, 582, ii. 157, 246.  
 Royal Council of Spain, i. 229.  
 Ruins, antiquity of American, ii. 493.

## S.

- SAAVEDRA, i. 453, n., 456, n., ii. 294, n.  
 Sacrifices. See *Human Sacrifices*.  
 Sacrificial stone, i. 64, 67, ii. 64, 302.  
 Sahagun, Bernardino de, i. 57, n., 59, n. account of, and of his Universal History, 75—77; noticed, 101, 103, n., 123, n., 125, n., 126, n.; on Aztec counsels to a daughter, 127, n., ii. 504; to a son, i. 123, n.; cited, 267, n., 402, n., 426, n., ii. 29, n., 30, n., 47, n.; says Montezuma and others were strangled, 60; noticed, 65, n., 101, n., 120, n., 129, n., 150, n., 175, n.; on a sacrifice of Spanish captives, 302, n.; on the devastation at Mexico, 312, n.; cited, 318, n., 323, n., 326, n., 331, n.; notice of, 360; on the demolition of the temples, 390 n.  
 St. Antonio, Cape i. 212, 216.  
 St. Augustine, ii. 475, n.  
 St. Domingo. See *Hispaniola*.  
 St. Francis, convent of, i. 324, n., ii. 420.  
 St. Hypolito, ii. 337.  
 St. Jago de Cuba, i. 184, 186, 201.  
 St. James, appearance of, in battle, i. 236, n., ii. 77, 124, n.  
 St. Lucar, i. 304, 573.  
 St. Peter, patron saint of Cortés, i. 218, 236, n.  
 St. Thomas, identification of Quetzalcoatl and, i. 52, n., 401, n., ii. 431.

- Salamanca, i. 192, 310.  
 Salamanca, Juan de, ii. 122.  
 Salazar, Juan de, killed, ii. 97.  
 Sales of merchandise, i. 122, 123.  
 Salt, i. 36, a., 147, a., 453; Tlascalans without, 342; Spaniards without, 365; manufacture of, 453.  
 Salvatierra, i. 587, ii. 16, 18.  
 San Christobal, ii. 206.  
 Sandoval, Gonzalo de, i. 179, a., 574, a., 577, a.  
 Sandoval, Gonzalo de, i. 212, 317, 464; aids in seizing Montezuma, 529; commands at Villa Rica, 543, 561; noticed, 581, 582, 588, ii. 3, 10, 15, 54; storms the great temple, 63; at the evacuation of Mexico, 91, 93, 95, 97, 101; in battles, 120, 122, 148; commander at Teacoco, 189, 205, 222; expedition of, to Chalco, 193, 215; transports brigantines, 199, 201; notice of, 199; at Zoltepec, 200; wounded, 217, 299; misunderstanding of Cortés and, 218, 219; conspiracy against, 247; expedition of, against Iztapalapan, 255, 263; at the Tepejacac causeway, 268; in the assault, 275, 288, 297, 315; his visit to Cortés, 299; his steed, 299; returns, 301; to aid in the murderous assault, 331; to secure Guatemozin, 337, 340; to escort prisoners to Cojohuacan, 343; detachment of, to reduce colonies, 365, 371; hangs four hundred chiefs, 371; in the expedition to Honduras, 403; domestic of, punished, 424; accompanies Cortés to Spain, 427; death of, 429.  
 San Estévan, ii. 371, 382.  
 San Gil de Buena Vista, ii. 414.  
 San Juan de Ulua, i. 188, 243; Narvaes's fleet at, 580; Vera Cruz built there, 580.  
 Santa Cruz, ii. 444, 445.  
 Santa Maria de la Victoria, i. 237.  
 Saucedo, a cavalier, i. 297.  
 Saussure, M. de, i. 433, a.  
 Scalping, i. 41, a.  
 Schiller, i. 103, a.  
 Science, instruments of, i. 104, a.; tribunal for works on, 142; coincidences as to, in the Old and New World, ii. 488.  
 Sculpture, i. 120, ii. 496.  
 Secret Inquiry, The, ii. 438.  
 Sedeño, joins the armada, i. 212.  
 Segura de la Frontera, ii. 154.  
 Serpents, wall of, i. 512, ii. 32, 272.  
 Serradifalco, Duke di, ii. 496, a.  
 Sheep, importation of, ii. 442.  
 Shields, i. 300, a., 360, 351.  
 Ships, Aztec painting of, i. 251. See *Armada and Vessels*.  
 Sidonia, Medina, ii. 430, 454.  
 Sierra Madre, i. 324; Del Agua, 326; De Malinche, 404, a., 358; De las Pedernales, ii. 413.  
 Sienta, i. 129, a., ii. 462, 499.  
 Sigüenza, Dr., on Quetzalcoatl and the apostle Thomas, i. 53, a.  
 Silk, i. 121, a.  
 Silver, i. 36, 117; vases of, 118; from Montezuma, 263, 264, 561; comparative gold and, 562, a.; carried to Spain by Cortés, ii. 428; from Zacatecas, 443.  
 Sin, Aztec origin of, ii. 480, 482.  
 Sismondi, on blasphemy, ii. 167, a.  
 Skins, use of human, ii. 175, a.  
 Skulls, i. 70, 327, 520; coincidences with Mexican, ii. 492; Morton's work on, 492, a.; scarceness of Aztec, 493, a.  
 Slavery, Aztec, i. 32, 37, ii. 453.  
 Slaves, sacrificed, i. 56, 61, a.; traffic in, 124, 140; eaten, 130; expedition to the Bahama Islands for, 184, 186, a.; female, given to Cortés, 239, 244, 293; bring gifts from Montezuma, 263; sent to Spain, 302; owned by Las Casas, 310; wait on Spaniards at Mexico, 462; for sale in the Mexican market, 508; branded, ii. 143; given to Spaniards by the Mexicans, 143, a.; hung, 169; scruples of Cortés as to, 386, 453; exemption of, 387. See *Negro slaves and Repartimientos*.  
 Small-pox, ii. 24, a., 150.  
 Smoking, i. 129, and a.  
 Snuff, taken, i. 129.  
 Soldiers, i. 39, 40; Nezahualcoyotl's kindness to disabled, 159.  
 Solís, Don Antonio de, i. 210, a., 275, a.; on Cortés, 277, a., 288, a.; on Montezuma's oath of allegiance, 557, a.; on Cuiclahua, ii. 160; account of, and of his writings, 356—360.  
 Songs and hymns, i. 92.  
 Sons, counsels to, i. 127, a., 128, a.  
 Sophocles, cited, i. 114, a.  
 Sotelo, catapult by, ii. 327.  
 Sotbic period, i. 101, a.  
 Southey, i. 40, a., 107, a., 353, a., 450, a., ii. 265, a.  
 Sovereigns, Aztec, i. 23, 39; influence of priests on, 72; presents to, by merchants, 124; reproved, 151; power of, for ameliorating the con-

- dition of men, 169; the title, 273, *n*.
- Spain, at the close of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, i. 175; subsequently, 176, 179; gold despatched to, by Velasquez, 189; titles applied to the royal family of, 273, *n*; despatches to, by Cortés, 298, 304, ii. 156; fruitful in historical composition, 42; chivalry in, 236; faction in, against Cortés, 245, 369, 372, 421, 425. See *Charles V*.
- Spaniards, traditions and prodigies connected with the, i. 52, 168, 258, 259, 260, 380, 382, 425, 426, *n*, 556, 558, ii. 179; cause of their not being slain in battle, i. 71, 353, ii. 234; favoured by sanguinary rites, i. 75, *n*; their desire of gold, 231, 239, 246, 250, 430, ii. 184; aided and befriended by Indians, i. 247, 262; effects of Montezuma's gifts on the, 265, 266; proposition to return to Cuba, 264, 270, 273; sickly, and distressed for supplies, 267, 269, 270; troubles in the camp, 270; reinforced, 297; send gold to Spain, 298; effect on, of the destruction of the ships, 306; fight Tlascalans, 345, 346, 349, 351, 358, 362, 368; loss of, 353, 364; the killed are buried, 364; declared to be children of the Sun, 367; enter Tlascala, 385; march to Cholula, 405; on judging of their actions, 425; called "The white gods," 425; their route to Mexico, 436; effect of Montezuma's conduct on them, 463, 470, 546, 557; assaulted in Mexico, ii. 25, 36; besieged, 29, 37; assault on their quarters, 46; storm the temple, 62, 64; mutiny among, 70; at the hill of Otomcalpolco, 103; all wounded at the battle of Otumba, 121; cut off, 130, 200; discontents of the, ii. 131; remonstrance, 132, 134, 151; jealousy between the allies and, 135; reinforced, 153; great purpose of the, 167; murdered, 176; quartered in Nezahualpilli's palace, 177; Quetzemolin's description of, to Tangapan, 198, *n*; capture Cuernavaca, 228—230; captured and sacrificed, 237, 241, 301, 322. (See *Human sacrifices*.) At Cojohuacan, 239; reinforced, 244; at the temple of the war god, 273; second assault by the, 276; their distresses, 281, 288; joined by allies, 285; their places of settlement, 302; general illusion of the, 395; their dreadful march to Honduras, 401; deserted by guides, 402. See *Cortés*.
- Spaniards under Narvaez, i. 580; Indians find them enemies of Cortés, 581, 587; join Cortés, ii. 27; overlaid with gold, 91, 97, 106. See *Narvaez*.
- Spanish nobles and Charles V., i. 177, *n*.
- Spice, i. 125, 378.
- Spineto, Marquis, i. 109.
- Standard, Aztec national, i. 41, ii. 50; of Tlascala, i. 359, ii. 254. See *Banner*.
- Stars, worshipped, i. 160, *n*.
- Statues of the Montezumas, destroyed, i. 120, 494.
- Stephens, John L., i. 90 *n*, 432, *n*, ii. 471, 472, 481, *n*.
- Stone houses, i. 185, 221, 282, 436, 443, 448.
- Stone, sacrificial, i. 64, 67, ii. 64, 302.
- Stone, hurling of, ii. 53, 75, 110, 224; from the great temple, 64; at Jacapichitla, 217.
- Strait, efforts for discovering the, ii. 394.
- Streets. See *Canals*.
- Suetonius, cited, i. 167, *n*.
- Sugar-cane, i. 181, 184, ii. 393, 443.
- Sully, Duke of, i. 562, *n*.
- Sulphur, i. 435; ii. 159.
- Sun, temples to the, i. 160, *n*; plate representing the, 264; Spaniards, children of the, 367; Alvarado called child of the, ii. 99; monument to the, 113; statue of the, 115.
- Superstition, Aztec, during the siege, ii. 330.
- Sword-blades, ii. 137.
- Swords, substitutes for, i. 361.
- Symbolical writing, i. 80.

## T.

- TABASCANS, i. 223, 232, 235, 238; conversion of, 239.
- Tabasco, Rio de, i. 187, 228; ii. 401.
- Tabasco, town of, i. 229, 231.
- Table, ceremonies at, i. 128.
- Table-land, i. 6, 8, 323.
- Tables, hieroglyphical, i. 98, *n*.
- Tactics, Aztec military, i. 41.
- Tacuba. See *Tlacopan*.
- Tamames. See *Porters*.
- Tamerlane's skull, i. 520, *n*.
- Tangapan, lord of Michoacán, ii. 198, *n*.
- Tápia, Andrés de, i. 236, *n*, 418, *n*.

- 501, *n.*, 520, *n.*, 533, *n.*, *ii.* 230, 290, 297, 298, 309.
- Tapia, Cristóbal de, commissioner to Vera Cruz, *ii.* 246, 370; bought off, 370; in Castille, 372; brings charges against Cortés, 372.
- Tarentum, vessels at, *ii.* 203, *n.*
- Tarragona, atrocities at, *i.* 424.
- Tasco, mines of, *i.* 117; *ii.* 381.
- Tatinus, Achilles, *ii.* 487, *n.*
- Taxes. See *Revenues* and *Tribute*.
- Tax gatherers, *i.* 37, 287; collect tribute for the Spanish sovereign, *i.* 559.
- Teocol, cacique of Tezcuco, *ii.* 178, *n.*
- Tectecan, meaning of, *i.* 185.
- Tecunichpo, daughter of Montezuma and wife of Guatemozin, *ii.* 85, *n.*; 182, 343, 407, *n.*; her several husbands, *ii.* 85, *n.*, 407, *n.*; Cortés' reception of, 343; grant to, 533.
- Teeth, Aztec custom as to, *i.* 128, *n.*
- Teahuantepec, *ii.* 443, 444.
- Telleriano-Bemensis Codex, *i.* 70, *n.*, 90, *n.*
- Tellier, Archbishop, *i.* 90, *n.*
- Temitaitan, a corruption of *Tenochtitlan*, *i.* 17.
- Tempest after the surrender, *ii.* 344.
- Temples, or teocallis, to Huizilopochtli, the Mexican Mars, *i.* 50; account of, 59, 63, 64, *n.*; on the teachings of Egyptian, 79, *n.*; built by Nezahualcoyotl, to the Unknown God, 160, 161; Toltec, dedicated to the sun, 160, *n.*; at Cozumel, 220, 221; rifled by Alvarado, 220; turret of one in Mexico burned, 259, 260; at Tlatlaucnitépec, 327; on the hill of Tzompach, 352, 384; to Quetzalcoatl, 402, 417, 519; various, at Cholula, 403, 404; *ii.* 113, 479; modern, on the site of Quetzalcoatl, *i.* 427; in Mexico, 513, 519, *ii.* 64; occupied at Cempoalla, 12, 16; at Popotla, 101; on the hill of Otonecalpolco, 103; on a pyramid of Teotihuacan, 115; at Xochimilco, 235, 236; at Tacuba, 241; burnt by Alvarado, 321; all destroyed, 390, 391, *n.*, 493; resemblances to, in the East, 493, 496; at Xochicalco, 494, 496. See *Huizilopochtli*, *Idols*, *Quetzalcoatl*.
- Tenajoccan, town of, *ii.* 207, *n.*
- Tenochtitlan, *i.* 17; called Mexico, 17; the word 17, *n.*, 459, *n.*; prosperity and enlargement of, 20, 21. See *Mexico*.
- Teomoxtili, or divine book, *i.* 91, *n.*
- Teotihuacan, pyramids of, *ii.* 112.
- Tepanecs, *i.* 15, 18, 136, 140.
- Tepeaca, colony at, *ii.* 154.
- Tepeacan allies, *ii.* 165, 308.
- Tepeacans, *ii.* 130, 141.
- Tepechpan, lord of, exposed to death, *i.* 154, 155.
- Tepejacac causeway, *i.* 483, *ii.* 267.
- Tetzmellocan, village of, *ii.* 171.
- Teuhtlile, a provincial governor under Montezuma, *i.* 246; orders supplies and favours, 251, 262.
- Teules, *ii.* 109.
- Tezcatlipoca, the god, sacrifices to, *i.* 66, 518.
- Tezcatzinco, palaces and ruins there, *i.* 151, 153, 167; *ii.* 494, 511.
- Tezcucans, or Alcolhuans, arrival of the, in Anahuac, *i.* 14, 17, *n.* 136; their character, 14, 74; assaulted and beaten, 15, 18, 136; their institutions, 23, 28; in advance of the Mexicans, 75, 169; the divine book of the, 91, *n.*; their dialect, 93, 144, 169; their fidelity to young Nezahualcoyotl, 140; transfer of their power to the Aztecs, 168; their civilization, 169, 170; cause of their superiority, 169; oppose Cortés, *ii.* 117; in Cortés' second reconnoitring expedition, 223; efficiency of, at the siege of Mexico, 276; desertion of, 505. See *Nezahualcoyotl* and *Nezahualpilli*.
- Tezcuco, its situation, *i.* 9, 14, 136; *ii.* 186; meaning of the word, *i.* 14, *n.*, *ii.* 176, *n.*; requirements of the chiefs of, *i.* 26; halls of justice, and pronouncing of sentences in, 31; golden age of, 135; historians, orators, and poets of, 144; contents of its archives, 144; account of, 147; pile of royal buildings at, 147; royal harem in, 148; architecture of, 151; territory of, clipped by Montezuma, 163, 550, *ii.* 82; description of, at the time of the conquest, 550, *n.*; reception of Cortés at, on his return to Mexico, *ii.* 28; state of affairs there, 175; Teocol put over, 178; brigantines brought to, 202, 219; mustering of forces at, 254; respect to Cortés there, on his return from Spain, 441. See *Cacama*, *Nezahualcoyotl*, and *Nezahualpilli*.
- Tezcuco lake, its height, *i.* 437, *n.*, 482; conjectural limits of, 447, *n.*; dike across, 452; towns on the,

- 453, and *n.*; canoes there, 453, 459; *ii.* 206; ancient state of, i. 482, *ii.* 382; tides in, i. 482, *n.*; two brigantines built there, i. 544; opened upon the Spaniards, *ii.* 191; forded, 207; reconnoitred, 208; brigantines launched on, 252; Indian flotilla defeated there, 265.
- Thatch, i. 85, *n.*, 116.
- Theatrical exhibitions, i. 93.
- Theogony of the Greeks, i. 48.
- Thomas the Apostle, identified with Quetzalcoatl, i. 52, *n.*, 406, *n.*, *ii.* 481.
- Thomson, cited, i. 217, *n.*
- Thread, Mexican, i. 116, 505.
- Tierra caliente, i. 5, 247, *ii.* 3.
- Tierra fria, i. 7.
- Tierra templada, i. 6.
- Time, computation of, i. 12, 94.
- Tin, i. 117, *ii.* 381; a circulating medium, i. 123, 510.
- Titcala, ensign of the house of, i. 349.
- Tlacopan, or Tacuba, i. 19, 146, *n.*, *ii.* 102; head-quarters at, 210; Cortés at, 241, 243, 244; command at, assigned to Alvarado, 255; evacuated by the inhabitants, 260; present state of, 260, *n.*
- Tlacopan, or Tacuba, causeway, i. 484; retreat by the way of it, *ii.* 88, 89, 92, 208; carnage there, *ii.* 95, 211.
- Tlaloc, a Toltec and Aztec deity, i. 74, *n.*
- Tlascala, victims from, for sacrifices, i. 71; inimical to Montezuma and the Mexicans, 257, 341, 343; Cortés' embassy to, 333, 334, 344; his march towards, 334, 345; fortification at the limits of, 334, 341, *ii.* 126; first settlement of, i. 337; meaning of the word, 339, *ii.* 112, *n.*; extent of, i. 342, *n.*; its population, 349, *n.*, 388, and *n.*; Spaniards enter, 385; described, 387; Spaniards go from, 398, 405; Cortés' return to, from Cempoalla, *ii.* 26; from Mexico, 88, 104, 128; fate of gold and invalids left there, 130; refuse an alliance with Aztecs, 139; brigantines built there and transported, 149, 150, 159, 166, 174, 187, 199, 201; triumphal return to, 157; departure from, against Mexico, 170.
- Tlascalan allies, i. 405, 408, 416, 417; release captives, 419; enter Mexico, 452, *ii.* 3; Aztec hatred of, i. 459, 524; join Cortés against Narvaes, *ii.* 3, on his return, 27; connection of, with the massacre by Alvarado,
- 35, *n.*, 37; under Alvarado, 38, *n.*; quarters of, 46, 48; in the retreat, 91, 93; guide Cortés, 110; their fidelity, 112; in the battle of Otumba, 123; return to Tlascala, 128; co-operate, 142, 144, 146, 165, 205, 209; imitate Spaniards, 166; burn records, 177; at the sack of Iztapalapan, 190, 191; convey brigantines, 202; their hostility to Aztecs, 212; booty demanded by, 214; noticed, 222, 229, 253, 254; efficiency of, at Mexico, 279, 291; desertion of, 305; their return, 308. See *Maximica*.
- Tlascalans, their early history, i. 336; their institutions, 337; refuse tribute, and fight, 341; their battles with Montezuma, 342; battles with the, 345, 346, 349, 351, 358, 362, 368; their treatment of the Cempoallan envoys, 347, 348; effect of cannon and fire-arms on the, 352, 362, 363; embassies to the camp of, 355, 356, 366, 369, 370; treason among the, 364; night attack by them, 367, 368; embassy from, stopped by Xicotencatl, 370, 378; spies from the, 378; reception of Spaniards by, 386; their character, 389; their representations of Montezuma, 395; exempted from slavery, *ii.* 337.
- Tlatelolco, i. 87, 120, *n.*; movements for possessing the market-place of, *ii.* 288, 289, 292, 297; occupied by the besieged, 319, 325; distress there, 319, 320; entered by Cortés, 323; modern name of, 325; murderous assault there, 334; purification of, 346; rebuilt, 380. See *Market*.
- Tlaxcallan, i. 83. See *Tlascala*.
- Tobacco, i. 128, 129, *n.*, 499.
- Tobillos, lances and, *ii.* 4.
- Toledo in Spain, Cortés at, *ii.* 432.
- Tollan, or Tula, supposed original seat of the Toltecs, i. 9, *n.*; etymology of the name, 10, *n.*
- Toltecs, account of the, i. 9, 74; doubtful accounts of their migrations, 14, *n.*, *ii.* 490, 499.
- Tonatiuh, *ii.* 99, 499. See *Alvarado*.
- Tools, i. 118, *ii.* 495.
- Toribio de Benavente, i. 99, *n.*, 453, *n.*, 455, *n.*, 466, *n.*; account of, and of his writings and labours, 474, 475; cited, 493, *n.*, 513, *n.*, 514, *n.*, 550, *n.*, *ii.* 150, *n.*
- Torquemada, i. 9, *n.*, 13, *n.*; notice of, and of his writings, 45, *n.*; cited, 55, *n.*, 59, *n.*, 60, *n.*, 62, *n.*, 63, *n.*, 65, *n.*



- 67, n., 68, n., 69, n., 70, n.; avails himself of a manuscript copy of Sahagun's Universal History, 77; on Mexican intercalation, 97, n.; on women, 113, n.; cited, 119, 132, 147, n., 149, n.; on pilgrims to Cholula, 402, n.; on the baptism of Montezuma, ii. 79, n.; on the Mexican Eve, 480, n.; his Aztec and Israelitish analogies, 483, n.
- Torres, Juan de, teacher of Totonac converts, i. 297.
- Tortillas, ii. 286, and n.
- Tortures, i. 68, ii. 237, n. See *Guatemorin*.
- Totonacs, i. 271; their fondness for flowers, 281; their feelings towards Montezuma, 284; exactions of, by Aztec tax-gatherers, 287; Cortés' policy as to, 288; join Cortés, 288; effect on, of Cortés' interview with Montezuma's embassy, 282; defend their idols, 295; their conversion, 296; join Cortés' expedition, 321, and n.
- Towns on cliffs and eminences, ii. 223. See *Cities*.
- Trade, i. 126, 506, 507. See *Traffic*.
- Trades, Aztec, i. 123.
- Traditions, instances of similar, in the two continents, ii. 478; argument from, for the Asiatic origin of Aztec civilization, 489; as authorities, 500. See *Oral traditions* and *Predictions*.
- Traffic, i. 123, 339. See *Export*.
- Transportation of vessels, ii. 203, and n. See *Briquantines*.
- Transubstantiation, i. 467, n.
- Travelling, i. 82. See *Couriers*.
- Treasure, Axayacatl's, discovered, i. 523; disposition of it, 559, 562, ii. 90; found after the siege, 347, 348. See *Gold*.
- Trees, size and duration of, in Mexico and Central America, ii. 498. See *Forests*.
- Trials, among the Aztecs, i. 30.
- Tribes, i. 35, n.
- Tribute, kinds of, i. 36, 113, 117; items of, furnished by different cities, 36, n.; roll respecting, 36, n.; maps for the, 37; burdensome exactions of, prepare the way for the Spaniards, 37; Montezuma's exaction of, 256, 286; Tlascalans refuse, 341; collected for the Castilian sovereign, 559.
- Trinidad de Cuba, i. 211.
- Truth, punishment for violating, i. 143.
- Truxillo, Cortés at, ii. 415.
- Tudor, William, i. 324, n., 325, n., ii. 114, n., 171, n.
- Tula, capital of the Toltecs, i. 12; arrival of the Aztecs at, 15. See *Tollan*.
- Tula, the Lady of, i. 166.
- Turkeys, i. 129, 147, n., 279.
- Tylor, Edward B., his account of Mexican remains, i. 488, n.; cited, i. 12, n., 13, n., 51, n., 56, n., 436, n.
- Trin, the termination, ii. 162, n.
- Tzompach, Hill of, i. 352, 334.
- Tzompanco or Zumpango, ii. 110.

## U.

- ULLOA, discoveries by, ii. 446.
- Uxmal, ii. 495, 499.

## V.

- VALLEY of Mexico, i. 8, 404, 437, ii. 239.
- Vanilla, cultivated, i. 115.
- Vater, ii. 479, n., 488, n., 493, n.
- Vega, Manuel de la, collection of manuscripts by, ii. 507.
- Velasquez, Don Diego, i. 183; conqueror and governor of Cuba, 183; sends Cordova on an expedition, 184; despatches Juan de Grijalva to Yucatan, 186; censures Grijalva, 189; despatches Olid in search of Grijalva, 189; armament of, under Cortés, 190, 205, 206, 207; difficulties of, with Cortés, 195, 199, 200; his instructions to Cortés, 205, ii. 514; jealous and dissatisfied, i. 209; orders the seizure of Cortés, 213, 215; partisans of, oppose Cortés, 272, 276, 374; tries to intercept despatches, 303; gets no redress, 303; fits out a fleet against Cortés, 304, 577; chaplain of, in Spain, complains against Cortés' envoys, 573; sends to Spain an account of Cortés' doings, 576, n.; his vexation with Cortés, 577; made adelantado, 577; intrusts his fleet to Narvaez, 578; interference with, of the Royal Audience of St. Domingo, 579; sustained by Duero, in Spain, ii. 152; capture of forces sent to Vera Cruz by, 152; ignorant of the fate of his armament, 156; state of things in Spain, in relation to him and Cortés, 245, 369, 373, 374; fate of, 377; his character, 377. See *Narvaez*.

- Venezuela, i. 447, n.  
 Venice, Mexico and, i. 486.  
 Vera Cruz, New, i. 247, 289, n.; natives flock to, 248; built at San Juan de Ulua, 580; Narvaez at, 580; Narvaez's plans for a colony there, 581, 586; the removal to, ii. 383.  
 Vera Cruz Vieja, or Antigua, i. 289 n., ii. 38. See *Villa Rica*.  
 Verdugo, i. 213, ii. 76.  
 Vessels, Aztecs aid in building, i. 571. See *Armada*.  
 Vestal fires. See *Fires*.  
 Veytia, i. 11, n., 21, n. 98, n., 142, n. 399, n., ii. 113 n.  
 Villafañá, conspiracy of, ii. 248.  
 Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, colonization of, i. 274, 275, 288, ii. 521; remarks on, i. 289 n.; arrival of a Spanish vessel at, 297; despatches to Spain from, 297, 301; garrisoned, 321; Grado succeeds Escalante at, 543; Sandoval commander at, 543, 581; Rangre commander at, ii. 26; reinforcements from, cut off, 130; messenger to, 131; troops ordered from, 132; desire to return to, 132; departure from, for Cuba, 151; capture of troops sent to, by Velasquez, 152; ships at, 153, 220, 310; harbour of, 333. See *Sandoval* and *Vera Cruz*.  
 Virgin Mary, i. 51, n.; appears in battle, 528, ii. 77, 124, n.; image of, i. 567, ii. 64, 66, n., 108; interposition of, in 1833, 109, n.  
 Volante, escape of, ii. 211.  
 Volcanoes, remains of, i. 6, 7; the Orizaba, 278, 324, 404; the Cofre de Perote, i. 326; Popocatepetl, 404, 432; use of the word, 432, n.; region of, ii. 227.  
 Voltaire, i. 74, n., ii. 78, n.; anecdote by, of Charles V. and Cortés, ii. 450, n.  
 Vómito, or bilious fever, i. 5, 248, n., 289, n., 323.
- W.
- WALDECK, i. 185, n., ii. 471, 494, n., 498, n.  
 Wall of serpents, i. 512, ii. 32, 272.  
 War, Aztec ideas respecting, i. 39; mode of declaring and conducting, 39, 40; great object of, 71; Tlascalcan love of, 338; Cholulans disqualified for, 400; evils of, 424.  
 Warburton, William, i. 79, n., 82, n.  
 War-god. See *Huitzilopochtli*.  
 Warren, John C., ii. 492, n.  
 Water, ablution with, at table, i. 128, 499; basins of, at Tezcotzinco, 152; want of, 231; use of, for religious purification, 483, n. See *Aqueducts* and *Tezcuco lake*.  
 Water-fowl, i. 494.  
 Watta, Isaac, i. 6, n.  
 Weeks, division by, i. 95.  
 Weights, no Mexican, i. 510, 561.  
 Wheat, yield of, i. 404, n.  
 Wheels, chronological, i. 99, n.; gold and silver, i. 264, 299, n.  
 White, Blanco, i. 467, n.  
 Wild turkeys, i. 129, 147, n., 279.  
 Wilkinson, J. G., i. 63, n., ii. 502, n.  
 Wives of Montezuma, i. 496, ii. 84, 524.  
 Women, employment and treatment of, in Mexico, i. 113, 127, 132, 505; Torquemada on, i. 113, n.; Sophocles on Egyptian men and, 114, n.; their appearance, 127; Asiatic, 132; sacrificed, 168, n.; Totonac, 281; protected at the Cholulan massacre, 418, 424; dress of, 505; accompany the Christian camp, ii. 96; heroism of, 306; heroism of the Mexican, 320, 335; efforts to spare, 335, 339; to bring into New Spain, 348. See *Daughters*.  
 Wooden ware, Mexican, i. 121.  
 World, tradition of the destruction of the, i. 53, 106.  
 Wounds, want of medicaments for, ii. 286, n.
- X.
- XALACINGO, i. 332, n.  
 Xalapa, Spaniards at, i. 323.  
 Xaltocan, assault on, ii. 206.  
 Xamarillo, Don Juan, ii. 411.  
 Xicotencatl the elder, i. 344, 386, ii. 138, 139; converted, 153; ominous words of, cited, 304.  
 Xicotencatl the younger, a Tlascalcan commander, i. 344, 350, 352, 356; his standard, 359; facts respecting, 364, 367, 370, 378, 379, 380; countenances jealousies, ii. 135; favours an embassy from Mexico, 138, 139; leads against Tepeacans, 142; imitates Spaniards, 166; joins Cortés, 254; leaves the army, 257; hung, 258; remarks on, 259.  
 Ximenes, Cardinal, destruction of manuscripts by, i. 87; his administration,

176, ii. 245; commission by, to redress Indian grievances, i. 181, 310.  
 Xochicalco, Lake, i. 445.  
 Xochicalco, ruins of the temple or fortress of, ii. 494, 496, n., 497.  
 Xochimilco, ii. 232, 239, 275.  
 Xoloc, Fort, i. 453; stormed, ii. 240; fleet at, 266; headquarters at, 266; barracks built there, 285.  
 Xuarec, Catalina, intimacy and marriage of Cortés with, i. 196, 200, 201; joins her husband, ii. 384; fate of, 385, n., 439, and n.

## Y.

YMAHA, Aztec, i. 94; on divisions of time into, 96; hieroglyphics for, 97, 98, 99, n.; on the names of, ii. 486, n.  
 Yucatan, expedition to, i. 184; the word, 185, and n.; called New Spain, 187; Ordaz despatched to, to liberate Christians, 221, 225; canoe from, with Aguilar, 226; mentioned,

ii. 399, 494; resemblances to the architecture of, 497. See *Tabasco*.  
 Yxtacamaxtitlán, i. 332, and n., 333.

## Z.

ZACATECAS, silver from, ii. 443.  
 Zacatula, fleet at, ii. 364, 382, 393.  
 Zacotollan, copper from, i. 117.  
 Zahuatl, the river, i. 383.  
 Zodiacal signs, coincidences as to, ii. 436.  
 Zoltepec, massacre at, ii. 130, 200.  
 Zuazo, i. 64, n., 115, n.; on mantles of feathers, 505, n.; on the Aztec cuisine, 509, n.; urges Cortés to return to Mexico, ii. 417.  
 Zumárraga, Don Juan de, i. 69, n.; first archbishop of Mexico, destroys manuscripts, 87; image destroyed by, 152, n.; demolishes the statue of the Sun, ii. 116.  
 Zumpango, or Tzompango, ii. 110.  
 Zuñiga, Doña Juana de, second wife of Cortés, ii. 436, 446.  
 Zurita, i. 23, n., 43, n., 142, n.

ness in the  
e. T. H. H.  
d. m. 1881

3.  
2. 1881  
7.

as to, E

200.  
action of  
these  
which is

19. m.  
action  
of the

the of











